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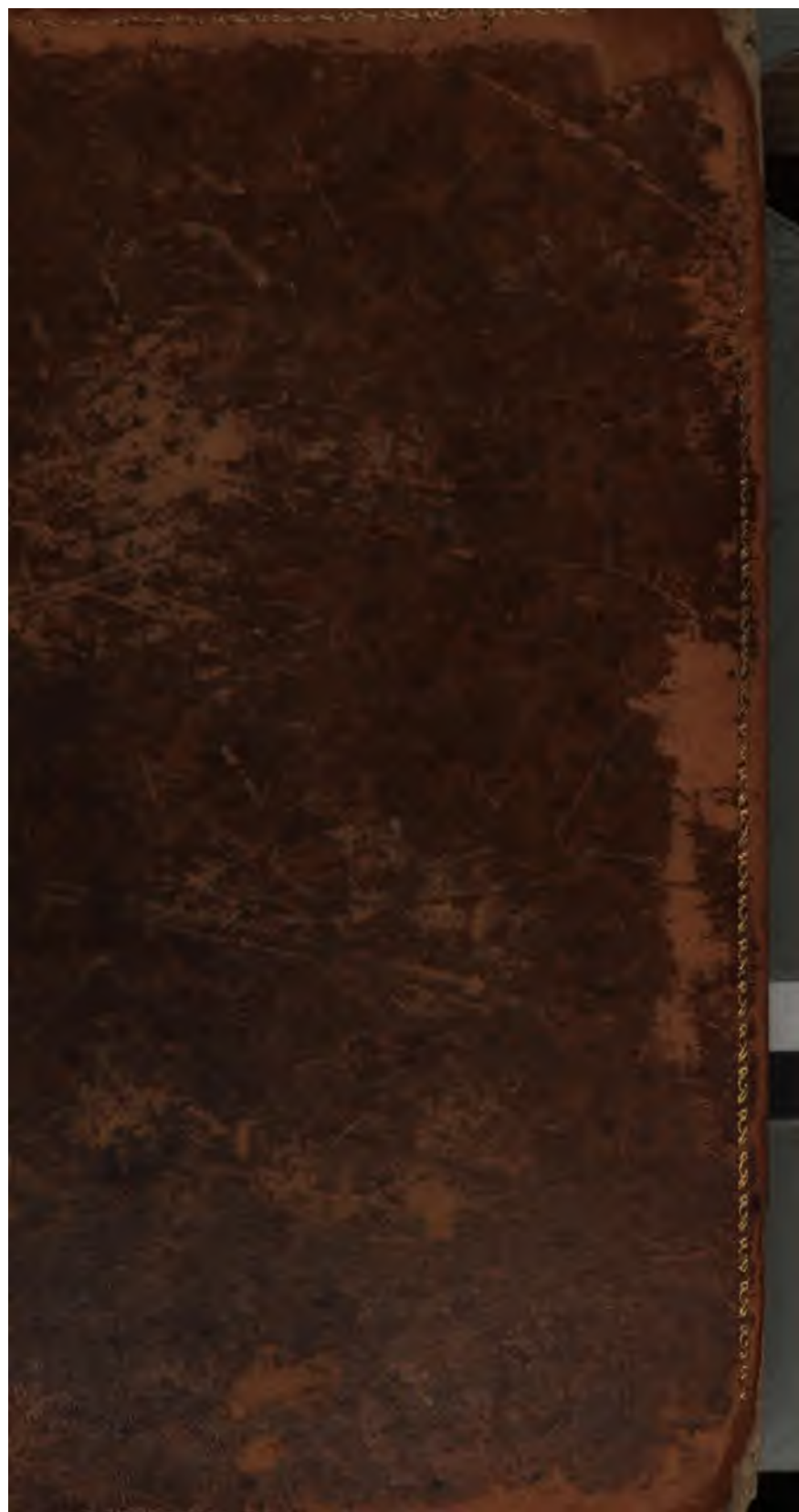
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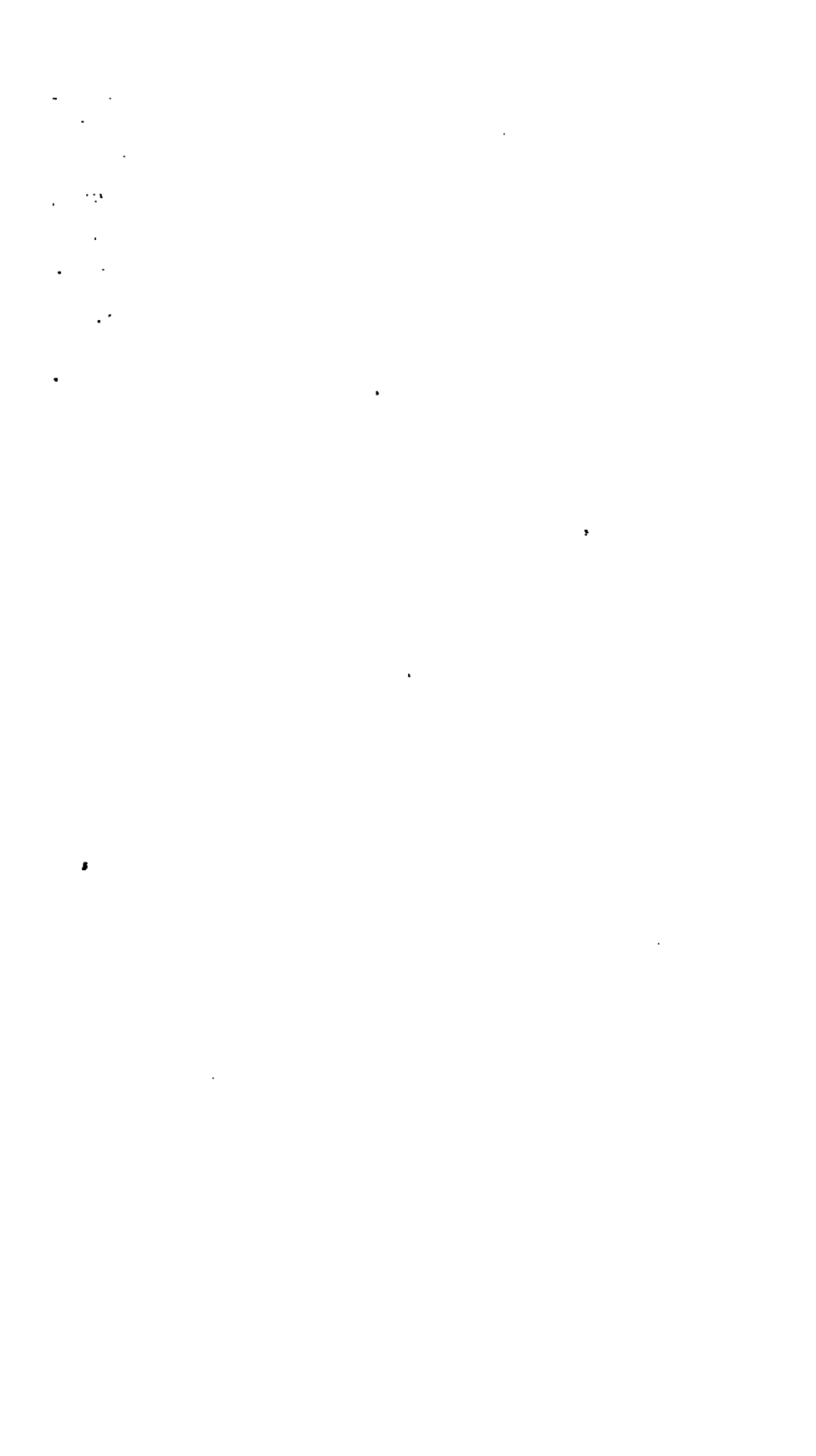
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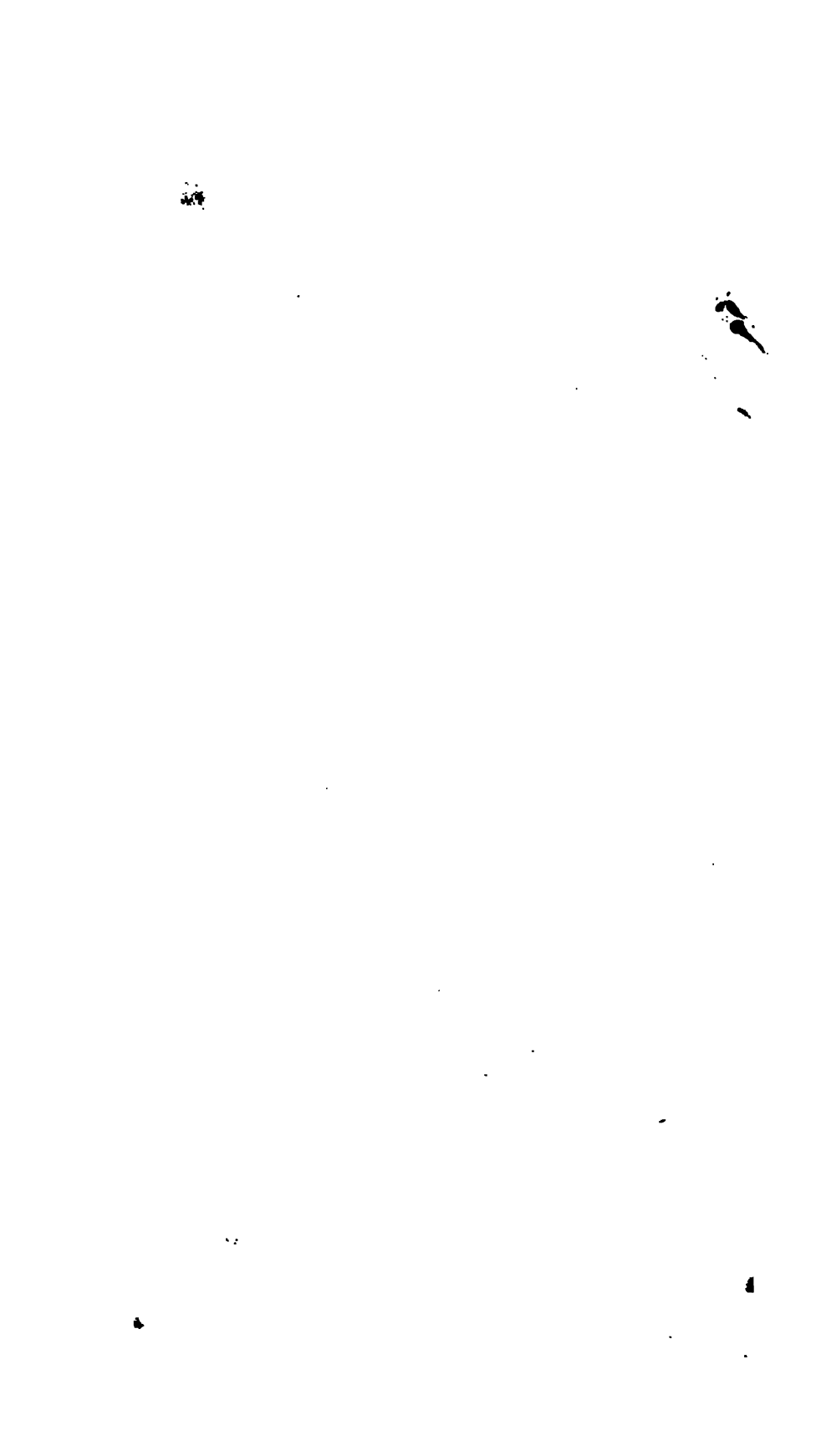
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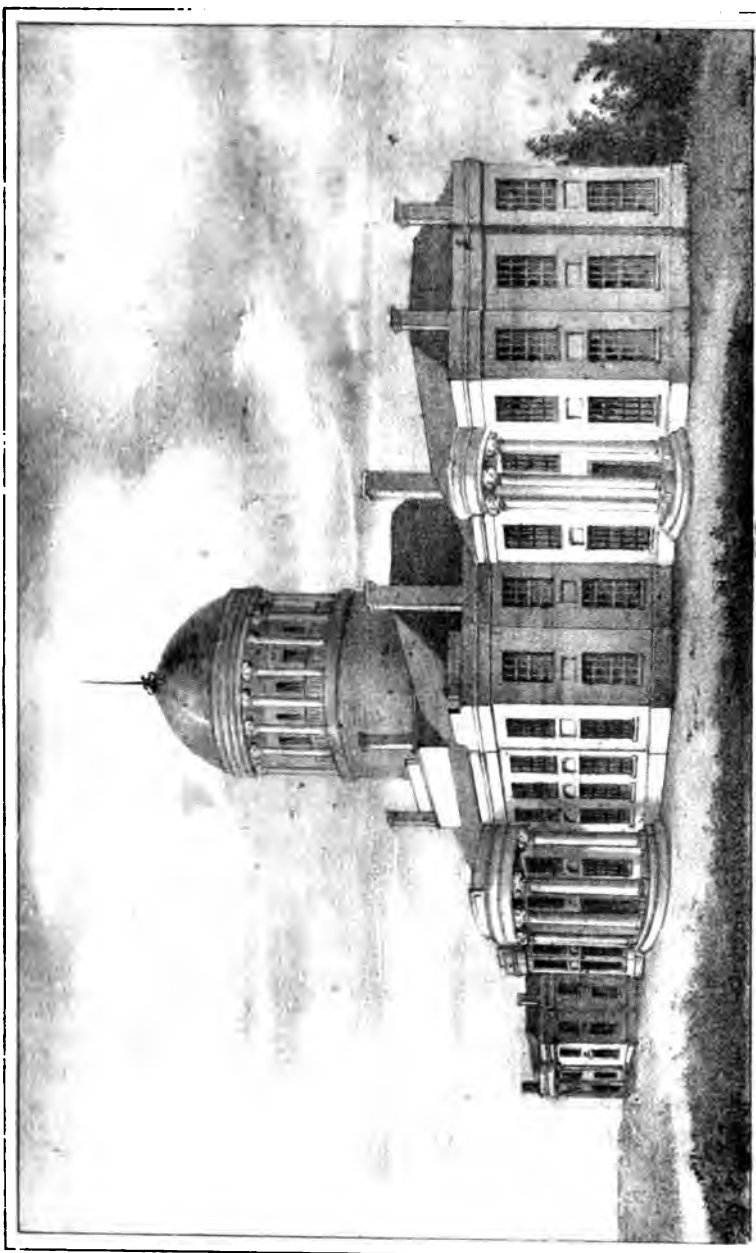
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THE
HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY

OF

DAUPHIN, CUMBERLAND, FRANKLIN, BEDFORD, ADAMS, AND PERRY
COUNTIES:

CONTAINING A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FIRST SETTLERS, NOTICES
OF THE LEADING EVENTS, INCIDENTS AND INTERESTING
FACTS, BOTH GENERAL AND LOCAL, IN THE HISTORY
OF THESE COUNTIES, GENERAL & STATISTICAL
DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL THE PRINCIPAL BO-
ROUGHS, TOWNS, VILLAGES, &c..

WITH AN

APPENDIX:

EMBELLISHED WITH SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS.

COMPILED FROM NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC SOURCES

BY I. DANIEL RUPP,

Author of He Pasa Ekklesia, &c., &c., &c.

GILBERT HILLS, PROPRIETOR & PUBLISHER,

Lancaster city, Pa.

1846

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P R E F A C E .

In this compilation, it has been my object to present, by way of introduction, a brief sketch of the earliest settlements made within the counties, of which a history and topography are attempted ; a detailed account is given of the adventures, sufferings and trials of pioneer settlers. I have studiously avoided giving place to any thing of a speculative character. Any remarks of my own, were made on a careful examination of such evidence as will stand scrutiny. The plan, I pursued, is that of making authentic documents speak for themselves, from which the reader may draw his own deductions. In several instances, I have introduced well grounded tradition ; and, as far as practicable, when exhibiting the sufferings of the first settlers, letters and narratives, written when they suffered, are given, expressing, it is believed, in their own words, with all the freshness of novelty, their trials and difficulties, much better than I could have done.

The reader will readily perceive, that I have made no attempt, in this *compilation*, at what has the semblance of originality—*embellishments of style*. This is not said to divert the critic in pointing out what is faulty.—Any defect, or inaccuracy, noticed by the reader, and pointed out, in a proper spirit, will be considered a favor.

That this compilation is defective, none can be more conscious of, than I am. But none need look for a perfect history of the kind, till a greater accumulation of historical facts, for this purpose, is extant. Whether I have, as the result of my researches, contributed any the least towards such a collection, is left to the decision of others. I strove to do so—This is all I could do.

To my personal friends, who have been pleased to promise contributions, and have *redeemed* their promises, I am under obligations. I am in a special manner indebted to the *Honorable Jesse Miller*, Secretary of the Commonwealth, and to his clerks, for facilities afforded me while examining the Archives of the State.

COMPILER.

Lancaster, Pa. 1846.

E R R A T A .

For the errors noted in the following list, and for others, he may not have detected, the *Compiler* assigns, that circumstances prevented him from revising the *compilation* in its progress through the press, and correct the proof sheet, as an apology.

☞ *la* means line *from above* ; *lb* line *from below* ; *l* line ; *r* read.

Page 43, 16 lb, read \$200 or \$300 ; p 45, 11 lb, for *fanielsen*, read *familien* (p. 45 and 46, a number of orthographical errors) p 43, 3 lb, for *often* *r* after ; p 48, 15 lb, for *not also*, *r* unless ; p 48, 5 lb, for *Schotter's*, *r* Schlatter's ; p 48, 1 b, for *Gergans*, *r* Germans ; p 49, 1 la, strike out *Reformirten* after Schlatter ; p 49, 3 lb, *r* *East Pennsboro* ; p 50, 2 la, for *Tistus*, read *Justus* ; p 50, 6 lb, for *Schmiedt*, *r* Schmiedt ; p 51, 14 lb, for *occasion*, *r* occasioned ; p 51, 5 lb, for *disserting plan*, *r* dissenting place ; 55, 10 la, strike out *were*, before granted ; 69, 8 la, for *Floster*, *r* Ffoster ; (similar errors in several pages) 77, 9 lb, for *Bigboor*, *r* Big cove ; 79, 2 la, for *effect*, *r* effects ; 80, 9 la, for *Anchmudy*, *r* Auchmudy ; 86 lb, should read, I do *not* like their company ; 83, 11 la, for *writing*, *r* waiting ; 87, 4 la, for *nature*, *r* nation ; 87, 8 lb, for *any*, *r* my ; 89, 4 la, insert *an* after from ; 94, 7 la, for *buried*, *r* burned ; 100, 14 la, for *Eolddward*, *r* Old Edward ; 108, 11 lb, for *deprivations*, *r* depredations ; 104, 4 la, for *Peter's*, *r* Potter's ; 109, for *raised in Bradford*, *r* resided in Bedford ; on p 114, erase three lines at the bottom ; 116, 3 la, for *Fronkstoun*, *r* Frankstown ; 116, 4 lb, for *eft*, *r* left ; 117, 26 lb, read fearful of being burnt, asked &c., *not being* &c., 119, 18 la, for *Zachen*, *r* Sachen ; 129, 25 la, for *McCommon*, *r* McCamman ; 136, 4 lb, for *shot two Indians*, read shot by two Indians ; 136, 1 la, for *what*, *r* which ; 143, 9 lb, for *Geo.* *r* Gov. 147, 15 la, for *Donnellon*, *r* Donnellan ; 155, 7 lb, for *Woodrock*, *r* Woodcock ; 157, 11 lb, for *constitute*, *r* constitutes ; 157, 2 lb, for *aggressor*, *r* aggressors ; 162, 2 la, for *separated*, *r* exasperated ; 163, 17 la, for *greatly*, *r* guilty ; 169, 13 lb, for *pourpting*, *r* purporting ; 172, 15 la, for *spiritual*, *r* spirited ; 190, 13 lb, for *acquaint*, *r* acquit ; 199, 1 la, for

keys, r *kegs*; 201, 2 la, for *Buch*, r *Bucks*; 204, 20 lb, for *Rinagel*, r *Binagel*; 208, 2 lb, for *Mayhantayo*, r *Mahan-tango*; 213, 12 la, for *husband*, r *husbandman*; 213, 11 lb, for *operatives*, r *operations*; 218, 10 la, for 4,285, read 1,825; 248, 1 lb, for *in*, r *into*; 264, 19 la, for *their*, r *three*; 278, for *Michael Ausbach*, r *Ansbach*; 281, for *George Huyer*, r *Hoyer*; 282, opposite the name of *Jacob Bucher*, for £1, 10½, r 1 shilling 10½; 284, 6 lb, between the words *vestry* and *contracted*, r by their building committee *Jacob Bucher*, *John Kelker* and *John Zinn*; 289, 20 la, after the name *Adam Boyd*, insert *Jacob Bucher*; 293, 11 la, for *Stern*, r *Stem*; 294, 17 la, read, 1844, instead of 1846; 295, read *Rauch*, instead of *Gauch*; 297, the Luth. Sab. School has 475 vols. instead of 225; 395, 3 lb, read *compliment*, instead of *complement*; 391, 24 la, read *is*, not *are*; 385, 13 lb, *Potter*, not *Porter*; 414, 15 la, *surmount-ed*, not *surmounts*; 431, 19 la, *Croghad's*, read *Croghan's*; 341, 7 lb, *contracted*, read *continued*; 439, 11 la, read *Louther*; 440, 25 lb, for *not*, read *none*; 440, 2 lb, *Mary*, read *Martha*; 444, 23 lb, *Cedar Hill*, read *Spring*; 446, 2 la, *Fracht*, read *Tracht*; 447, 15 lb, *years*, read *years ago*; 456, 21 lb, *Anticturn*, read *Antietum*; 458, 21 la, *when*, read *where*; 467, 21 la, *Conrad Mercer*, read *Colonel Mercer*; 468, 27 lb, *Fishbite*, read *Tishbite*; 448, 7 lb, *west* read *east*; 471, 19 la, *Diaguothian*, read *Diagnothian*; 480, 14 lb, *doing*, read *daring*; 495, 7 lb, *Great George*, read *gorge*; 496, 3 lb, *Jacob Riegler*, read *Ziegler*; 498, 26 lb, *Long Resch* read *Reach*; 499, 11 la, *sutlers*, read *suttlers*; 499, 16 la, *Loyal Harmer*, read *Loyal Hanna*;—similar errors in the sequel—505, 24 lb, *Vicrey*, read *Vicroy*; 509, 6 lb, *Sireo*, read *Lirio*; 509, 4 lb, *Satifolia*, read *Latifolia*; 510, 1 lb, *Encrim*, read *Encrini*; 510, 20 lb, *Stoneycast*, read *Stonecast*; 513, 24 lb, *Dauphin*, read *Dublin*; 482, 13 lb, *Schnebery*, read *Schneberg*; 489, 7 lb, *Barru*, read *Barre*; 493, *Broad Tay* township, read *Broad Top*; 519, 1744, read 1749; 539, 6 lb, *Torney's*, read *Farney's*; 553, 18 lb, *bearing*, read *becoming*; 553, 4 lb, *ore*, read *are*; 561, 5 la, *Lammer*, read *Tammer*.

INDEX.

	PAGE		PAGE
A.		Christ Church of Phila. relieved sufferers	146
Armstrong John killed	59	Cample Joseph killed	71
Arnold Woodward killed	69	Concastogo Indians killed	163
Armstrong John Col. his letters, 92, 116, 128, 133, 125, 131, 344, 393,	491	Carlisle, Stump rescued at	178
His expedition to Kittanning,	115	Early incidents at	385, 412
Archer Elizabeth killed	122	Cunningham's deposition	181
Armstrong's creek	219	Clark's creek	219
Aquanuschioni, or Six Nations	350	Conewago creek	221
Amberson's run	456	Conjuror at Harris'	250
Antietam creek	466	Churches at Harrisburg	277
Adams county	519	Catholic church	296
Abbotstown	535	Clapham's instructions from Gov-ernor Morris	310
Bloomfield	552	his reply to Gov. Morris	312
B.		Carson John his letter	323
Burns Patrick abducted	67	Coxtown	331
Burd James, his letter	92	Cumberland county	346
Bell James, his encounter	103	Conodogwinet	373
Blair James and John killed	104	Cedar Spring	374
Boyd William killed	104	Cave, near Carlisle	374
Barnet John killed	104	Centreville	426
Bigham Fort destroyed	109	Churchtown	432
Boyd Mrs. sons and daughters ab-ducted	118	Centre Square	433
Mrs. Bogg's made prisoner	118	Chartier Peter	436
Berrhill Andrew killed	125	Craighead's communication	440
Blair William killed	128	Conococheague creek	456
Burd's letter to Gov. Morris	393	Cove run	456
Barton Thomas Rev. his letters	133, 137	Chambersburg	461
Beatty Mr. murdered	131	Crunkleton	462
Busse Christian his letter	132	Concord	464
Bouquet Henry Col. his letter	145, 151	Conewago creek	523
Brown, a teacher and scholars killed	149	Cashtown	526
Bow run	220	D.	
Beaver creek	220	Devoy Henry abducted	67
Bucher C. J. Revd.	233	Denny William killed	104
Bridge at Harrisburg	269	Dickey Elizabeth abducted	131
Brainerd Rev. at Chambers'	290, 324	Doctor John, an Indian, murdered	156
Brushy Rockville	308	Dauphin county, 201; first townships in, 203; names of early settlers 204; erected, 208; geological features, 209; census of, in 1840	215
Berryburg	323	Derry township organized	203
Big Cove, first settlers in removed	352	Duncan's Island	352
Braddock's letter to Gov. Morris	391	Dickinson College	410
Bridge Port	453	Dickey's run	456
Bedford	495	E.	
Bedford Springs	508	Evans John abducted	67
Bendersville	536	Elder John Rev. his letters	95, 161, 302
Bonnaghowna	536	Enalow Andrew killed	129
Boundary line, &c.	537	Exhumation of remains of, &c.	150
Beird's abduction	543	East Berlin	534
C.		F.	
Catholics in 1757	49	French Mr. & Mrs. killed	100
Craghan George his letter	71	Finlay John killed	129
Chambers Benjamin his letters	90, 349	Fincher killed	144
Coxe's widow two sons abducted	98	Fishing creek	219
Culbertson Alexander killed	104	Fisher George Capt.	273
Chambers William killed	104		
Culbertson John killed	122		
Craig John killed	125		
Clancy and others abducted	129		

X

INDEX.

	PAGE	J.	PAGE
Fort and block houses erected east of the Susquehanna river	290	Jones Jacob and Henry killed	104
Fort Hunter	301	Jameson's letters	315
Franklin	331	Jacobs Captain	322
Fairview	438	Juniata, first white settlers on removed	360
Frogtown	444		
Franklin county	449	K.	
Falling Spring	456, 461	King Jacob killed	79
Funktown	469	Kerr William and Robert killed	104
Fannetsburg	484	Kelly John killed	104
Fairview	512	Kerrel Hugh killed	122
Fort Littleton	513	Kirkpatrick killed	199
Fairfield	536	Kingston	432
		L.	
G.		Le Roy Anne Mary abducted	80
Germans, brief sketch of	37	Layson John killed	104
German settlers in Cumberland	49	Leonard Long, his son killed	130
Galbreath James his letters	89, 123, 194	Landie's mill	237
Gibson widow killed	113	Lutheran church at Harrisburg	296
Granville Fort attacked & destroyed	114	Linglestown	331
Gibson William killed	129	Letort creek	373
Graydon alludes to sickness at Harrisburg in 1792-'4	245	Lieburn	422
alludes to western insurrection	275	Licking creek	456
Governor Morris at Harris's	298	London	476
Galbreath William his letters	299	Licking creek	512
German Reformed church at Harrisburg	262	Latimore creek	586
German Lutheran church	294	Littlestown	636
Galbreath Bartram, his letter	303	Liverpool, Landisburg & Loysville	664
Greensburg or Dauphin	339	M.	
Gratztown	333	Magenty Alexander abducted	67
Greencastle	481	Morris' remarks on Braddock's defeat	78
Gettysburg	526	Mitchelltree Mrs. killed	109
		McCoy Daniel killed	104
H.		McCarty John killed	104
Hatchison George abducted	67	Martin James killed	109
Hostilities between French & Eng.	73	M'cullough James abducted	109, 148
Harris John his letters, 81, 86, 86, 260, 251, 292, 253, 254, 257		Miller Robert his daughter killed	113
Hamilton Hance his letters	105, 115	McDonald James and William; B.	
Heckewelder, extract from	86	M'cafferty and A. McQuoid killed	122
Hoops Adam his letters	83, 84, 115	Martin John killed	126
Holiday James killed	128	McKinley William killed	126
Henderson Allen killed	129	Miller Alexander killed	129
Harper Janet abducted	129	Mitchel Joseph and William killed	129
Hanover township erected	206	M'cammon Jane abducted	129
Harris settled at Peixtan	223	Mitchel Margaret her letter	129
Harrisburg, at present	265	Manson William and son killed	130
Halifax	308	M'cracken John killed	130
Hill Island	330	Mannerer George killed	131
Hummelstown	330	Mackey James murdered	131
Highspire	331	Mahantongo creek	219
Huling Marcus	334	Manady creek	220
Hoge's run	373	Montgomery Rvd.	235
Hoguestown	430	Monacatootha died at Harris'	251
Hampton	535	Mount Airy Waterworks	269
Hunterstown	536	Methodist church at Harrisburg	219
Heidlersberg	536	McAllister's town	307
		Middletown	326
I.		Millersburg	332
Immigration westward	36	Manor on conedoguinette	363, 366
Indian's friendship	37	Moans' run	373
Irish, or Scotch Irish	51	Mountain creek	374
Indians killed at Conestoga	162	Mechanicsburg	429
Ice flood	231	Middlesex	430
Insurrection western	273	Milltown	444
Indian wigwams in Cumberland co.	352	Marsh run	426
Immigrants influx into North valley	367	Mercersburg	487
Intruders upon Indian lands removed	379	Mayer Lewis, D. D.	488
Jekesburg	554	Marion	482
		Martinsburg	511

INDEX.

XI

	PAGE		PAGE
McConnell's town	512	Rankin And. B. Esq. his letter	150
Mummasburg	536	Rocktown	331
McSherrytown	537	Roxberry	430
Millerstown	553	Roxbury	483
Milford	553	Rainsburg	513
N.			
Nealaender	42	S.	
Nicholson Owen abducted	67	Saners Christopher his letter	42
Nicholas Edwards killed	100	Smith James killed	69
Newspapers published at harrisburg		Smith James abducted	75
770, at Carlisle, at Shippensburg, at		Shingas, notice of	77
chambersburg, and Newville	428	Sheridan and his family killed	100
Newburgh	428	Scott Francis killed	104
New Cumberland	435	Shippen E. his letters, 74, 106, 171, 316,	426
New Oxford	535	Settlers fled in Dauphin co.	125, 126
New Port	553	Springson killed	129
New Buffalo		Steenerson Robert killed	129
New Germantown	554	Stanwix colonel his letters	133
O.			
Oneidon Dennison killed	129	Stimble Isaac killed	152
Oak Dale	333	Smith Adam his letter	155
Ortstown	483	Stump killed ten Indians,	173, 178, 179
Opposum creek	525	Shawana Ben's letter	177
P.			
Pennsylvania, whence the name	25	Seneca George's son shot	192
Penn's policy towards the Indians	25	Susquehanna river	218
Petition from Cumberland co.	66, 190	Stoney creek	219
Plan of defence	78	Spring and Swatara creeks	220
Penn's creek, petition from	79	State house	268
Potter John his letters	91	Snyderstown and Silvers' spring	333, 373
Paynter Jacob killed	104	Shippensburg	424
Peace John killed	104	Stoughstown, Springfield, Smoketown	425
Perry Samuel killed	122	Shepherdstown, Shiremanstown	433
Pendergrass' daughter killed	129	Sporting hill, Snow hill	444, 482
Patterson's letter to John Penn	176	St. Thomas	483
" to Shawana Ben	177	Shellsburg, Stonerstown	513
Peashtank or Paxton twp. organized	903	T.	
Powell's creek	219	Terrance Adam, his declaration	64
Paxton creek	219	Tull and family killed	152
Public improvements in D. co	221	Trindle Spring	430
Pumpkinfood	231	Theol. Sem. of Ger. Reformed church	467
Presbyterian church at harrisburg	258	U.	
" at Carlisle	420	Union W. M. church, at Harrisburg	296
Portsmouth	328	Union Bethel	297
Path Valley first settlers removed	362	Upton church, and Upper Strasburg	484
Peter Richard his report on removing		W.	
intruders from Indian lands	379	Wright Thomas killed	58
Packhorses	376	Weiser Conrad at Shamokin	61
Papertown	429	his letters, 83, 84, 85, 67, 249, 255, 300,	319
Pennsylvania college	532	Whitehill Robert	438
Petersburg	534	Wilson Mrs. killed	113
Perry county	545	Woods John and wife killed	122
Petersburg	553	William Walker killed	128
Q.			
Quarrels between Irish and German	55	Wiley John, and Wilson's son killed	129
Quincy	482	Watson James killed	130
R.			
Redemption servants	46	Williams Isaac his wife killed	131
Reformed German number of	48	Woodcock valley, persons killed	156
Reynolds John killed	104	Wisconsin creek	219
Robinson James killed	104	Wallace Joseph his letter	269
Ramsey Betty and son killed	110	Western insurrection	273
Robinson Hugh abducted	110	Washington at Harrisburg, 273, at	
Reed Adam his letters	124, 127	Carlisle, 418; at Bedford.	
Rush Robert killed	130	Wisconsin	333
		Whites intrude upon Indian lands	367
		Worleystown	421
		Wormleysburg, Whitehill	438
		Waynesboro, Woodberry	482, 513
		Waynesburg, Werefordsburg	512
		Warm Springs	541

	PAGE		PAGE
Y.		York Sulphur Springs	534
Yellow run	220		
Young James his letters	321, 304, 461	Z.	
Yellow Breeches creek	373	Zinachson, or Shamokin	304

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Pennsylvania named in honor of Sir William Penn—William Penn receives a charter from King Charles II.—Boundary of the Province—Penn's policy towards the aborigines—Similar policy had been pursued, in some measure, by others—Markham, in obedience to Penn's instructions, purchases lands from the Indians—Repeated purchases made—Deeds to John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn—Deeds of 1749 and 1754—William Penn's stay in, and departure from, the Province—His return to the Province: return to England: his death—Influx of immigrants—Settlements extend westward—Swiss settlement—Huguenots settlement—Scotch, Irish, and Irish settlements in Lancaster county, &c.—Settlements extend up along the Susquehanna river—Settlements commenced on the west side of the Susquehanna, in York county—Settlements west of the Susquehanna in North, or Kittochtinny Valley—Earliest settlements first among the Indians—Indians' friendship towards the first settlers.

If it were in accordance with the general design of this *compilation*, much might be said of the spirit of the age in which the founder of the Province of Pennsylvania lived. The main object in view, is to notice some of the leading incidents, events, and historical facts, in connection with the present state or condition of several counties of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, or the Province of Pennsylvania, was named by King Charles II., in honor of the son of *Giles Penn*, *Sir William Penn*, an Admiral of the English Navy, who commanded the British fleet in Oliver Cromwell's time; and in the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

In a letter to Robert Turner, William Penn says, that the King would have it called "by the name of *Pennsilvania*," in honor of his (William Penn's) father. The following is a copy of the letter:

"To Robert Turner,

5th of 1st Mo. 1681.

DEAR FRIEND,

My true love in the Lord salutes thee, and dear friends that love the

Lord's precious truth in those parts. 'Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of *Pennsylvania*, a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose *New Wales*, being as this, a pretty hilly country, but *Penn* being Welsh for a head, as *Penmanmoire* in Wales, and *Penrith* in Cumberland, and *Penn* in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this *Pennsylvania*, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed when the Secretary—a Welshman—refused to have it called *New Wales*, *Sylvania*, and they added *Penn* to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretaries to vary the name, for I feared least it should be lookt on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayst communicate my graunt to friends, and expect shortly my proposals: 'tis a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficultys will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it will be well laid at first: no more now, but dear love in truth.

Thy true friend,

W. PENN.

Sir William Penn, the Admiral, for services rendered, and in consideration of sundry debts, due him from the crown, had a promise made him, from King Charles II., of a large tract of land in America; but he died before he obtained it.

William Penn, son of Sir William, while at Oxford, pursuing his studies, hearing the distinguished *Thomas Loe*, a Quaker, preach, imbibed religious sentiments of the *Friends*; and seemed, for some time to care little about the promised grant which the King had made his father; he, therefore, did not urgently press his claims upon the crown; till at last finding that those, whose sentiments he had imbibed, and whose cause, in common with the cause of all the oppressed, he espoused, were harassed *every where* in England by spiritual courts, resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and remove to this country; of which he had obtained a grant from Charles II.

There were several acts passed about the middle of the seventeenth century that were oppressive to *non-conformists*. The Oxford act of 1655 banished non-conforming ministers five miles from any corporate town sending members to Parliament, and prohibited them from keeping or teaching schools. The *Test act* of the same year was still more severe. The dreadful consequences of this intolerant spirit was, that not less than from six to eight thousand died in prison in the reign of Charles II. It is said that Mr. Jeremiah White had carefully collected

a list of those who had suffered between Charles II. and the revolution, which amounted to sixty thousand—*De Laune's Plea*, &c.

The Province, or the lower part of it, had been called "*New Netherlands*," and was begun to be planted by some Dutchmen and others. It is called Pennsylvania in the original Patent, bearing date March 4th, 1681. It contained all that tract of land in America, with all the Islands belonging to it, from the beginning of the 40th to the 43d degree of north latitude, whose eastern bounds, from twelve miles above New Castle, otherwise Delaware town, run all along upon the side of the Delaware river—these bounds and extent were set down in the original grant; but Mr. Penn having afterwards obtained part of *Nova Belgia* from the Duke of York, it was added to the country given in the *first* grant, so that it extends now to the 38th degree and 55 minutes north latitude."*

Soon after Penn had obtained a charter, he made sales to adventurers, called *first settlers*, who embarked the same year, and arrived in America, at Upland, now Chester, December 11, 1681. Penn, with many of his oppressed friends, sailed next year, landed at New Castle, October 27, 1682.

Penn, who was wholly devoted to the best interests of his colony, did all that lay in his power to secure the continued friendship of the aborigines, or Indians, to whom, *of right*, belonged the soil—"the woods and the streams"—though, according to the custom of conquest, and in conformity to the practices of the whites of Europe, a contrary principle had generally, if not universally obtained; and, in conformity to that principle, and by virtue of his charter, Penn might legally have claimed an indisputable, or an undoubted right to the soil granted him by Charles II.; but he "was influenced by a purer morality, and sounder policy, than that *prevailing principle* which actuated the more sordid. His religious principles did not permit him to wrest the soil of Pennsylvania by force from the people to whom God and nature gave it, nor to establish his title in blood; but under the shade of the lofty trees of the forest, his right was fixed by treaties with the natives, and sanctified, as it were, by smoking from the calumet of peace."†

* See Emanuel Bowman's Geography, vol. 2, p. 655; printed at London, 1747—Bowman was Geographer to his Majesty, King of England.

† Smith's Laws of Pa., ii., 105.

The enlightened founder of Pennsylvania, was governed, in his intercourse with the Indians, "by immutable principles of justice, which every where, and for all purposes, must be regarded as fundamental, if human exertions are to be crowned with noble and permanent results." In the constitution of this colony it was provided, that "no man shall, by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong an Indian, but he shall incur the *same penalty* of the law as if he had committed it against his *fellow planter*, and if any Indian shall abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, he shall not be *his own judge upon the Indian*, but he shall make his complaint to the governor, or some inferior magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with thinking of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the injured planter. All differences between the planters and the *natives* shall be ended by *twelve men; that is, six planters and six natives*; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischiefs—the Indians shall have liberty to do all things relative to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of their planters shall enjoy."*

A principle had obtained in Europe, that a newly discovered country belonged to the nation, whose people first discovered it. Eugene IV. and Alexander VI., successively granted to Portugal and Spain all the countries possessed by infidels, which should be occupied by the industry of their subjects, and subdued by the force of their arms. The colonies, established in North America, were founded upon more equitable principles. In almost every instance, possession of the country was taken with the least possible injury to the aborigines. The land was purchased from the natives. Belknap says, "it was a common thing in New England to make fair and regular purchases;" many of their deeds are still preserved in the public records. Numerous instances, showing that purchases were made, might be quoted; a few must suffice.

Calvert, a Catholic, when he planted his colony, in the province of Maryland, commenced in 1634, with an act of justice—he purchased of the *wavage* proprietors, a right to the soil, before he took possession, for a compensation with which the Indians were satisfied. —*Haw's Contribution*, i. 23.

Roger Williams, a Baptist, on his expulsion from Massachusetts, in 1636, went to Seconk, where he procured a grant of land from *Osamaquin*, the chief *Sachem* of Pokanot. He honestly purchased their land, and a sufficiency of it, for his little colony; he was uniformly

* Proud's His. Pa., ii. Appen. 3, 4.

the Indian's friend, and neglected no opportunity of ameliorating their condition, and elevating their character.—*Holmes' Annals*, i. 233.

The Swedes, landing at Inlopen, 1637 or 1638, on the western shore of Delaware bay, proceeded up the river, opened communications with the Indians, and purchased from them the soil upon the west shore, from the capes of the falls at Sankikans, opposite to the present city of Trenton. Philip Carteret, appointed Governor (1665) of New Jersey, purchased from the Indians, their titles to all the lands which were occupied.—*Frost's U. S.* 130.

William Penn made repeated purchases from the Indians. His sons followed the same praiseworthy example.

Prior to Penn's arrival, he had instructed William Markham, the deputy Governor, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1681, to hold treaties with the Indians, to procure their lands peaceably. Markham, a short time previous to Penn's arrival, held such a treaty, July 15, 1682, for some lands on the Delaware river. Penn held similar treaties; and before his return to England, in 1684, adopted measures "to purchase the lands on the Susquehanna from the Five Nations, who pretended a right to them, having conquered the people formerly settled there." The Five Nations resided principally in New York; and Penn's time being too much engrossed to visit them personally, he engaged Thomas Dongan, Gov. of New York, to purchase from the Indians, "all that tract of land lying on both sides of the river Susquehanna, and the lakes adjacent in or near the province of Pennsylvania." Dongan effected a purchase, and conveyed the same to William Penn, January 13, 1696, "in consideration of one hundred pounds sterling."*

It was Penn's object to secure the river through the whole extent of the province; and subsequent transactions with the Indians show how careful he was to have this purchase well confirmed.

"September 13th, 1700; *Widagh* and *Andaggy-junk-quagh*, Kings or Sachems of the Susquehanna Indians, and of the river under that name, and lands lying on both sides thereof. Deed to W. Penn for all the said river *Susquehannagh*, and all the islands therein, and all the lands situate, lying and being upon both sides of the said river, and *next adjoining the same*, to the utmost confines of the lands *which are*, or formerly *were*, the right of the people or nation called the *Susquehannagh* Indians, or *by what name soever they were*

* *Smith's Laws, Pa.*, ii., 111.

called, as fully and amply as we or any of our ancestors, have, could, might or ought to have had, held or enjoyed, and also *confirm* the bargain and sale of the said lands, made unto Col. Thomas Dongan, now Earl of Limerick, and formerly Governor of New York, *whose deed of sale* to said Governor Penn we have seen.”*

The sale to William Penn from the Five Nations was thus well confirmed; the Conestoga Indians, however, would not recognize the validity of this sale, believing that the Five Nations had no proper authority to transfer their possessions, to secure the lands conveyed to him by Dongan. Penn entered into articles of agreement, shortly after his second visit to Pennsylvania, with the Susquehanna, Potomac and Conestoga Indians. The agreement is dated April 23, 1701. In this agreement the Indians ratified and confirmed Governor Dongan's deed of January, 1696, and the deed by *Widagh* and *Andaggy-junkquagh*, of September 13, 1700.†

Notwithstanding all these sales and transfers, the lands on the west side of the Susquehanna were still claimed by the Indians; for the words in the deed of Sept. 13, 1700, “*next adjoining the same*,” were considered inconsistent with an extensive western purchase; and the Indians of the Five Nations still continued to claim a right to the river and the adjoining lands. The sachems or chiefs, with all the others of the Five Nations, met in the summer of 1736, at a great council held in the country of the Onondagoes, in the State of New York; and as the old claims had not as yet been adjusted, they resolved, that an end should be put to all disputes connected with it. They accordingly appointed their sachems or chiefs with plenary powers to repair to Philadelphia, and there among other things, settle and adjust all demands and claims, connected with the Susquehanna and the adjoining lands. On their arrival at Philadelphia, they renewed old treaties of friendship, and on the 11th of October, 1736, made a deed to John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, their heirs, successors and assigns. The deed was signed by twenty-three Indian chiefs of the *Onondaga*, *Seneca*, *Oneida* and *Tuscarora* nations, granted the Penn's “all the said river Susquehanna, with the lands lying on both sides thereof, to extend eastward as far as the heads of the branches or springs which run into the said Sus-

* Book F, vol. viii., p. 242.

† Smith's Laws, Pa., ii., 112.

quehanna, and all the lands lying on the west side of the said river to the setting of the sun, and to extend from the mouth of the said river, northward, up the same to the hills or mountains, called in the language of said nations, *Tayamentasachta*, and by the Delaware Indians the *Kekachtannin* hills.”* Thus were the claims of the Indians upon the lands of this part of Pennsylvania relinquished to the proprietors; nevertheless surveys had been authorized to be made, and had actually been made west of the Susquehanna prior to 1736, by both the Governor of Maryland and the Governor of Pennsylvania.

The last recited deed comprised nearly (besides much more territory) all that lay within the limits of the counties, of which a history is here given, except that portion north of the Kittatinny, or Blue Mountain, constituting the northern part of Dauphin, and the whole of Perry & Bedford. That portion in Dauphin, north of the Kittatinny mountain was purchased, including a larger tract of country, in 1749; the deeds were executed on the 22d day of August, and may be found at large in Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania. That portion within Perry, and some contiguous counties west of the Susquehanna, and north of Perry, was purchased in 1754—the deed was executed at Albany, July 6th.

The deed of August 22d, 1749, is as follows:

We, *Canasatego*, *Sataganachly*, *Kanalshyiacayon* and *Canechwoadeeron*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called *Onontagers*, *Cayanoockea*, *Konatsany-Agash Tass*, *Caruchianachaqui*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the *Simickers*. Peter *Ontachsax* and *Christian Diaryhogan*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the *Mohocks*: *Saristagnoah*, *Watshatuhon* and *Anuchnaxqua*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the *Oneyders*. *Tawis-Tawis*, *Kachnoaraaseha*, and *Takachquontas*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called *Coyiukers*. *Tyierox*, *Balichwanonach-shy*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the *Tuscororow*, *Iachnechdorus*, *Sagogukhiathon*, and *Cach-naora-katack-ke*, sachems or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the *Shomokon* Indians. *Nutimus* and *Qualpaghach*, sachems

* Kittatinny, or Blue Mountain.

† That portion of country between the Blue Mountain and Peters' Mountain, was known, at an early period, by the name of *Saint Anthony's Wilderness*; it is so designated on a map in the *Book of Deeds*, p. 128, in the Secretary's office at Harrisburg—*Compiler*.

or chiefs of the Indian nation, called the Delawares; and *Bachsinosa*, sachem or chief of the Indian nation, called the *Shawanese*, in consideration of £500, grant, sell, &c., all that tract or parcel of land lying and being within the following limits and bounds, and thus described—

Beginning at the hills or mountains called in the language of the Five Nation Indians *Tyanuntasachta*, or *Endless Hills*, and by the Delaware Indians *Kekactany Hills*, on the east side of the river Susquehanna, being in the northwest line or boundary of the tract of land formerly purchased by the said proprietaries from the said Indian nations, by their deed of the 11th of October, 1736; and from thence running up the said river by the several courses thereof to the first of the nearest mountains to the north side or mouth of the creek called in the language of the said Five Nation Indians *Can-tagug*, and in the language of the Delaware Indians *Maghoniuy*, and from thence extending by a direct or straight line to be run from the said mountain on the north side of said creek to the main branch of Delaware river at the north side of the creek called *Lechawachsein*, and from thence across *Lechawachsein* creek aforesaid down the river Delaware by the several courses thereof to the *Kekachtany Hills* aforesaid, and from thence by the range of said hills to the place of beginning, as more fully appears by a map annexed; and also all the parts of the rivers Susquehanna and Delaware from shore to shore which are opposite said lands, and all the Islands in said rivers, &c.—Book H, vol. 2, p. 204; recorded May 6, 1752.

The deed executed at Albany, July 6, 1754, is as follows:

Henry Peters, Abraham Peters, Blandt, Johannes Satfyhowano, Johannes Kanadakayon, Abraham Sastagrhedohy, sachems or chiefs of the Mohawk nation. Aneeghnaxqua Taraghorus, Tohaghdagbquyserry, alias Kachneghdackon, sachems or chiefs of the Oneido nation. Otsinughyada, alias Blunt, in behalf of himself and all the sachems and chiefs of the Onondago nation. Scanuraty, Tannaghdorur, Tokaaiyon, Kaghradodon, sachems or chiefs of the Cayuga nation. Kahichdodon, alias Groote Younge, Takeghsatu, Tiyonenkokaraw, sachems or chiefs of the Seneca nation. Suntrughwakon, Sagochsidodagon, Tohashuwangarus Orontakayon, alias John Nixon, Tistoaghton, sachems or chiefs of the Tuscarora nation in consideration of £400 lawful money of N. Y., grant,

&c., to Thomas & Richard Penn," all the lands lying within the said province of Pennsylvania, bounded and limited as follows, namely, beginning at the Kittochtinny or Blue hills, on the west branch of the Susquehanna river, and thence by the said, a mile above the mouth of a certain creek called Kayarondin-hagh; thence northwest and by west as far as the province of Pennsylvania extends to its western lines or boundaries; thence along the said western line to the south line or boundary to the south side of the said Kittochtinny hills; thence by the south side of said hills, to the place of beginning—Recorded in Book H, vol. 5, p. 392, Feb. 3d, 1755.

The whites had, in several instances, encroached upon the rights of the Indians by settling on their lands before those were purchased, which occasioned much complaint on the part of the Indians. The intruders were, however, removed by force and arms, as will appear from the sequel. See Cumberland county, chap. xxv.

The course pursued by William Penn, by his deputy governors, and by his sons John, Thomas and Richard, did not fail to secure to the colonists the friendship of the Indians for half a century or more. It was a course that justice dictated; and had been pursued by Calvert, a Catholic, as stated before when he planted his colony in the province of Maryland in 1634—by Roger Williams, a Baptist, on his expulsion from Massachusetts, when he went to Seconk, where he purchased lands from Osamaquin, the sachem of Pokanot, in 1636—by Philip Carteret and others, prior to Penn's arrival in this country.*

So much was Penn concerned to have every cause settled that might give rise to disputes touching his own rights, and of his colonists, that after transacting some business in General Assembly, he hastened to Maryland, to see Lord Baltimore, who had set up claims, arising from *indistinctness of grant*, touching the boundary line between the province of Maryland and Pennsylvania. A failure, however, of adjusting the difficulties *at this time*, caused the border settlers much disquietude for a period of nearly eighty years. The final adjustment of the boundary, will be noticed in the sequel. See Adams county.

Penn, on his first arrival, remained only one year and ten

* See History of Lancaster county, pp. 16 and 19, and works referred to.

months in the Province; during that time he caused the city of Philadelphia to be laid out, and three counties, namely, Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, to be erected in Pennsylvania. The organization of these counties was completed by the appointment of sheriffs and other officers. Before Penn sailed for Europe, August 16, 1684, there had been about three thousand inhabitants in Pennsylvania.

• In 1699, William Penn and his family once more visited the province, and remained till November 1st, 1701, when he sailed for England, never to return again. In 1712 he was seized by apoplectic fits, which so afflicted his mind as to render him unfit for business for the last six years of his life. He died July 30, 1718, at Rushcomb, near Twyford, in Buckinghamshire, England, aged about seventy-four years.

From the time Penn first arrived, the influx of immigrants was constantly on the increase. English, Welsh, Germans, Irish, French, and others sought a home in the new province. Settlements were gradually extended north, northwest, and west from Philadelphia, towards the Susquehanna river—many settled in the midst of the Indians. Among others, as pioneer settlers, a considerable distance from Philadelphia, were Vincent Caldwell, Thomas Wickersham, Joel Bailey, Thomas Hope and Guyan Miller, Quakers, who settled in Kennet, Chester county, 1706 or 7. Prior to that, however, some adventurers had been among the Indians at Conestoga. Of this number was one Lewis Michelle, who had been sent out, in the year 1703 or 4, by individuals from the Canton of Bern, in Switzerland, to search for vacant lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina.* About the same time there were some Indian traders among the traders on the Susquehanna, viz: Joseph Jessop, James Le Tort, Peter Bazalion, Martin Chartier, Nicole Goden, and others—all Frenchmen. Le Tort afterwards (1720) fixed his cabin at Carlisle.

The first permanent and extensive settlement made near the Susquehanna, was commenced by some Swiss immigrants—they were persecuted Mennonites, who had fled from the Cantons of Zurich, Bern, Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, to Alsace, above Strasburg, where they had remained some time before they immigrated to America, in 1707 or 1708, and settled in the western part of Chester, now Lancaster county,

* For a fuller account of this adventure, see *Hist. Lan. co.*, pp. 53, 55.

near Pequea creek, within the present limits of West Lampeter township, where they purchased ten thousand acres of land. The principal individuals of this colony were John Rudolph Bundely, Martin Kendig, Jacob Miller, Hans Herr, Martin Oberholtz, Hans Funk, Michael Oberholtz, Wendel Bowman, Hans Meylin, Peter Yorde, Henry Funk, John Hauser, John Bachman. These settled in the midst of Mingo, Conestoga, Pequea and Shawanese Indians, from whom they had nothing to fear. They mingled with them in fishing and hunting.

In 1708 or 9, some French Huguenots sailed for America; arrived at New York in August, 1709—after spending a year or two at Esopus, in that State, some of them settled in 1712, on Pequea creek, near Paradise—these were the Ferees, LeFever's, Dubois and others. Shortly after these, settlements were made in various parts, within the present limits of Lancaster county, by English, Swiss, Germans, Scotch & Irish, principally immigrants—See Article German, and Irish, chap. 2 and 3.

Before 1720, settlements had been extended northward beyond the Chickasalonga creek. Donegal township, which was organized in 1722, had been principally settled by Irish, or Scotch immigrants—Among others were the following,—Patterson, Sempel, Mitchell, Hendricks, Speer, Galbraith, Anderson, Scott, Pedan, Porter, Kerr, Sterritt, Kern, Work, Little, Whitehill, Campbell, Lowrey, McClelland, Stevenson, Wilson, Fulton, Allison, Howard, Brown, Dinsmore, Hughs, Robinson, Chambers, McMahan, McDowell, Foster, Crocket, Gilson, Woods, Spear, Bailey, McCracken, Cunningham, Lyon, Bratchey, Mason, Jameson, Hutchison, Cook, Moore, Ramsay, McClure, McFarlane, Brenard, Craig, Thomson, Carson, Connelly, Patton, Gallaher, Stewart, Boggs, Kelly, Ramsay.

Settlements were now made northward, and along the Susquehanna river. John Harris,* a native of Yorkshire, England, had made an attempt, prior to 1725, to settle near the mouth of Conoy creek, not far from the present site of Bainbridge; but it seems he preferred to settle higher up the Susquehanna, near an Indian village called Peixtan, at or near the present site of Harrisburg. Harris was in a few years

* See Harrisburg.

followed by others, principally emigrants direct from the north of Ireland, and some from Donegal township, whose names will be given in the sequel. See Dauphin county.

At this time settlements were also made on the west side of the Susquehanna, within the present limits of York county, by Germans; and some English, intruders from Maryland, and some Irish on Marsh creek. Samuel Bluntson, agent for the proprietors, had received a commission dated January 11, 1733-4, by which he was authorized to grant licenses to settle and take up lands on the west side of the Susquehanna. The first license issued by him, was dated January 23, 1733-34.

The settlements having become considerably extended, and the population augmented by an influx of a mixed population—immigrants from abroad, and natives of the province, the inhabitants of the upper parts of Chester county deemed it necessary as early as 1728, to avoid inconveniences arising daily from the want of “justice at every man’s door,” to petition the proper authorities to erect, and establish a new county—a county out of the upper parts of Chester, was erected in 1729, in a separate county, called “Lancaster county.” Lancaster then, and till 1749, embraced York, Cumberland, part of Berks, and all the contiguous counties—Dauphin was a part of Lancaster county till March 4th, 1785.

The tide of immigration was still westward. Some Irish and Scotch adventurers crossed the Susquehanna at Peixtan, Peshtank, or Paxton, and commenced settlements about the years 1730-31, in the Kittochtinny Valley, or “North Valley,” west of the Susquehanna, at Falling Springs and other places, till they extended from the “Long, Crooked River”* to the Maryland Province, about the year 1736. Several hundred names of the first settlers in this valley will be given when speaking of Cumberland and Franklin counties. Passing, it might be remarked, that all the earliest settlements made in Lancaster, York and Cumberland, were commenced when the Indians were still numerous: when they, and the white settlers chased, in common, the deer, the bear, and other game, and angled in the same stream teeming with the finny race—when they greeted each other with the endearing

* According to Heckewelder, Susquehanna, is derived from the Indian word, Sa-os-que-ha-an-unk; meaning, “Long-crooked-River.”

appellation, "brothers." When the young Indian and white lad cheerily tried their skill as wrestlers and archers; each striving to gain the mastery, without any grudge toward each other.

Passing by numerous other cases, of the Indian's friendship towards the first settlers, one is only given. Madame Feree, her sons and a son-in-law, left Europe in 1708, arrived at New York 1709, came to Pennsylvania about 1711 or 1712, and commenced a settlement on the Pequea, Chester county, (now Lancaster). They were Huguenots—"It was on the evening of a summer's day when the Huguenots reached the verge of a hill commanding a view of the Valley of the Pequea; it was a woodland scene, a forest inhabited by wild beasts, for no indication of civilized man was very near; scattered along the Pequea, amidst the dark green hazel, could be discovered the Indian wigwams, the smoke issuing therefrom in its spiral form: no sound was heard but the songs of the birds: in silence they contemplated the beautiful prospect which nature presented to their view. Suddenly a number of Indians darted from the woods—the females shrieked—when an Indian advanced, and in broken English said to Madame Ferree, "Indian no harm white—white good to Indian—go to Beaver—our chief—come to Beaver." Few were the words of the Indian. They went with him to Beaver's cabin; and Beaver, with the humanity that distinguished the Indian of that period, gave up to the immigrants his wigwam. Next day he introduced them to Tawana, who lived on the great flats of Pequea."

Having thus briefly traced the early and progressive settlements of Pennsylvania, before entering upon the local history of the several counties, a succinct sketch of the first settlers, namely, German and Irish, will be given.

* Some Swiss Mennonites had commenced a settlement shortly before, six or eight miles below, on the same stream.—His. Lan. co., p. 74.

CHAPTER II.

General character of Germans—First immigrants and settlers—Germantown settled—Frankford land company—Immigrants of 1708 and 1709—Their sufferings in England—Dickinson's remarks concerning them—Settlements in Tulpehocken—Redemption servants—Numerous immigrants—Settlements on the west side of the Susquehanna—*Neulander* deceive many—Great sufferings experienced by many—C. Sauers's representation of their condition—Society formed to relieve German sufferers—Muhlenberg's letter, &c.—Political influence of the Germans—Number of Germans in Pennsylvania in 1755—Catholic Germans—Names of some of the first German settlers in Cumberland county, &c.

The Germans of Pennsylvania ever, as a people, hardy, frugal, and industrious, who have preserved, in a great measure, their manners and language, immigrated into this Province, for conscience sake, and to improve both their spiritual and temporal condition. Perhaps there is no people who were more frequently the subject of remark in the early history of Pennsylvania, and during the last century, than the Germans, whose numerous descendants are to be found not only in this State, but in nearly every western and southwestern State of the Union.

Though more than twenty-five thousand names of German immigrants are recorded in the Provincial Records from, and after 1725, few of those are recorded, who arrived in Pennsylvania prior to 1700.* Among the first whose name has been handed down, is that of Henry Fry, who arrived two years before William Penn; and one Platenbach, who came a few years later.

In 1682 some Germans arrived, and commenced a settlement called Germantown; among these were Pastorius, Hartsfelder, Schietz, Spehagel, Vandewalle, Uberfeld, Strauss, Lorentz, Tellner, Streppers, Lipman, Renkes, Arets, Isaacs. About the year 1684 or '85 a company, consisting at first of ten persons, was formed in Germany, called the Frankford

* Hallische Nachrichten, p. 664.

Land Company, on the Mayne; their articles were executed in that city on the 24th of November, 1686. They seem to have been men of note by the use of each, of his separate seal. Their names were G. Van Mastrick, Thomas V. Wylick, John Le Bran, F. Dan. Pastorius, John J. Schuetz, Daniel Behagel, Jacobus Van Dewaller, John W. Peterson, Johannes Kimber, Balthasar Jowest. They bought 25,000 acres of land from Penn. The Germantown patent for 5350, and the Manatauney patent for 22,377 acres. F. D. Pastorius was appointed the attorney for the company, and after his resignation, Dan. Faulkner was, in 1708, made attorney.

Those who left their *Vaterland* after 1700, endured many hardships on their way to their future, new home; some suffered much before, while others, after their arrival here. Passing over a period of twenty years, from 1680 to 1700, they suffered comparatively little more than was the common lot of all the colonists of that period; but from 1700 to 1720, the Palatines, so called, because they principally came from Palatinate, whither many had been forced to flee from their homes in other parts of Europe, endured many privations before they reached the western continent.

In 1708 and 1709 upwards of ten thousand, and many of them very poor, arrived in England, and were there for some time in a starving, miserable, sickly condition, lodged in warehouses; who had no subsistence but what they could get by their wives begging for them in the streets till some sort of provision was made for them by Queen Anne; and then some were shipped to Ireland, others to America. In the month of August, 1709, pursuant to an address to her Majesty, Queen Anne, from the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, desiring as many as her Majesty should think fit to send thither, three thousand were sent to Ireland; many of whom returned again to England, on account of the hard usage they received from the Commissary, who did not pay them their subsistence.* In the summer of 1710, several thousand Palatines, who had been maintained at the Queen's expense in England, and for some time afterwards in America, were shipped to New York; some of whom, afterwards, came to Pennsylvania.

While investigating the history of the Germans, especially enquiring into the sufferings of those who lived for some time upon the bounty of

* Journal, House of Commons, England, vol. xvi. 594-96.

Queen Anne, I find that the whole charge, occasioned by the Palatines, to the Queen, for a space of two years, is £135,775 and 18 shillings.—Finch's Report to the House of Commons, England, April 14, 1711.

Hundreds of those, transported and sustained for some time by Queen Anne, were gratuitously furnished with religious and useful books, before their departure, by the Rev. Anton Wilhelm Boehm, Court Chaplain of St. James. The principal book was "Arndt's Wahres Christenthum." Among these German emigrants were Mennonites, Dunkards, German Reformed, and Lutherans. Their number was so great, as to draw the remarks from James Logan, Secretary of the province of Pennsylvania, in 1717—"We have," said he, "of late, a great number of Palatines poured in upon us without any recommendation or notice, which gives the country some uneasiness, for foreigners do not so well among us as our own English people."

Those who arrived between 1700 and 1720, settled in the lower parts of Montgomery, Bucks, Berks and Lancaster county. Several German families settled within the present limits of the last named county, between 1708 and 1711—the number was considerable before 1718.

In 1719, Jonathan Dickinson remarks, "We are daily expecting ships from London which bring over Palatines, in number about six or seven thousand. We had a parcel who came out about five years ago, who purchased land about 60 miles west of Philadelphia, and prove quiet and industrious.* Some few came from Ireland lately, and more are expected thence.

From 1720 to 1730, several thousands landed at Philadelphia, and others came by land from the province of New York; the latter settled in Tulpehocken. These left New York, because they had been illy treated by the authorities of that province. The influx was so great as to cause some alarm. It was feared by some "that the numbers from Germany, at the rate they were coming in about 1725 and 1727, will soon, as Jonathan Dickinson expressed himself at the time, produce a German colony here, and perhaps such an one as Britain once received from Saxony in the fifth century. He even states as among the apprehended schemes of Sir William Keith, (who, it is said, favored the Germans for pur-

* Pequea settlement, Lancaster county.

poses of strengthening his political influence) the former Governor, that he, Harland and Gould, have had sinister projects of forming an independent province in the west, to the westward of the Germans, towards the Ohio—probably west of the mountains, and to be supplied by his friends among the Palatines, &c.”* To arrest in some degree the influx of Germans, the Assembly assessed a tax of twenty shillings a head on newly arrived servants; for as early as 1722 there were a number of Palatine servants or Redemptioners, who were sold to serve for a term of three or four years, at £10 each, to pay their freight.

English, Welsh, Scotch and Irish, who were unable to defray the expenses of crossing the Atlantic were sold as servants. In 1729 there arrived in New Castle government, says the Gazette, forty-five hundred persons, chiefly from Ireland; and at Philadelphia, in one year, two hundred and sixty-seven English and Welsh, forty-three Scotch—all servants.”

In 1727 six vessels arrived at Philadelphia with Germans; three in 1728; three in 1729 and three in 1730.

From 1730 to 1740 about sixty-five vessels, well filled with Germans, arrived at Philadelphia, bringing with them ministers of the gospel and schoolmasters, to instruct their children. A large number of these remained in Philadelphia, others went seventy to eighty miles from Philadelphia—some settled in the neighborhood of Lebanon, others west of the Susquehanna, in York county.

Some of the Germans who had settled on the west side of the Susquehanna were considerably annoyed by one Cressap, a Maryland intruder. In 1786, Cressap publicly declared, that in the winter next coming, when the ice was on the river, a great number of armed men would come up from Maryland, and be in the woods, near the German inhabitants, and that he, with ten armed men would go from house to house, and take the masters of the families prisoners, and when they had as many as they could manage, they would carry them to the armed forces in the woods, and return again till he had all taken who would not submit to Maryland. Several of the Germans were subsequently abducted, others were constantly harassed; in many instances driven from their farms.

From 1740 to 1755 upwards of one hundred vessels arrived with Germans; in some of them, though small, there were between five and six hundred passengers. In the sum-

* Watson's Annals, ii. 255.

mer and autumn of 1749, not less than twenty vessels, with German passengers, to the number of twelve thousand, arrived.

Omitting the names of the vessels, the arrivals are given from August 24th 1749, to November 9, Aug. 24th, 240 passengers; Aug. 30th, 500; Sept. 2d, 340; 9th 400; 11th 299; 14th 333; 15th 930; 19th 372; 25th 240; 26th 840; 27th 208; 28th 242; Oct. 2d 249; 7th 450; 10th 350; 17th 480; Nov. 9th 77.

Thousands of those who immigrated to Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1755, lamented bitterly that they had forsaken their *Vaterland*, for the new world. It was a sad exchange! There was within this period a certain class of Germans, who had resided some time in Pennsylvania, well known by the name of *Neulaender*, who lived at the expense, pains and sufferings of the more credulous abroad. They made it their business to go to Germany, and there, by misrepresentations and the grossest fraudulent practices, prevailed on their countrymen to dispose of, nay, in many instances to sacrifice their property, abandon their comfortable firesides, schools and churches, and come to the *New World*, which these *Neulaender* never failed to represent as a perfect paradise, where the mountains were solid masses of gold, and fountains gushed milk and honey. Thus they did not only prevail upon persons of wealth, but upon those in moderate circumstances; and those generally ran short of means after paying their debts before leaving, "to come over" to better their condition; in four instances out of five, their condition was rendered none the better, but made infinitely worse; for those who had not wherewith to pay their passage—and of this class there were not a few—were, on their arrival, sold for a series of years, as servants, to pay the expense of their passage. Those disposed of, were termed Redemptioners, or Palatine servants.

Christopher Sauers, of Germantown, who for many years printed a German paper, in which he spoke freely of the religious and civil liberty, and prosperity of the province of Pennsylvania; and, as he believed, many Germans had been thereby induced to come over; but seeing their miserable condition, felt constrained to address Gov. Denny to use his influence in their behalf. In a letter, dated Germantown, March 15, 1755, says, "It is thirty years since I came to

this Province, from a country where we had no liberty of conscience—when I came to this Province, I wrote largely to my friends and acquaintances of the civil and religious liberty, privileges, &c.; my letters were printed and reprinted, whereby thousands were provoked to come to this Province, and they desired their friends to come. Some years ago the price was five pistoles freight, and the merchants and captains crowded for passengers, finding the carrying of them more profitable than merchandise. But the love of gain caused that Stedman lodged the poor passengers like herrings, and as too many had not room between the decks, many were kept upon deck—sailing to the southward, and these unaccustomed to the climate; and for want of water and room, took sick and died very fast, so that in less than one year two thousand were buried in the seas and Philadelphia. Stedman, at that time, bought a license in Holland, that no captain or merchant could load any as long as he had not two thousand. This murdering trade made my heart ache, especially when I heard that there was more profit by their deaths than carrying them alive. I thought my provoking letters were partly the cause of so many deaths. I wrote a letter to the Magistrate at Amsterdam, and immediately the monopoly was taken from John Stedman. Our Legislature was also petitioned, and a law was passed, and good as it is, never was executed. Mr. Spaffort, an old, poor captain, was made overseer of the vessels loaded with passengers, whose salary amounted to \$2,300 a year, for concealing that the people had but twelve inches space, and not half bread nor water. Spaffort died—the Assembly chose Mr. Trotter, who let every ship slip, although a great many people had no room at all, except in the Long Boat, where every man perished. Among other grievances the poor Germans suffer, is one, viz: that when the ignorant Germans agree fairly with merchants at Holland for seven pistoles and a half, when they come to Philadelphia, the merchants make them pay whatever they please, and take at least nine pistoles. The poor people on board are prisoners; they must not go ashore or have their chests delivered except they pay what they owe not; and when they go into the country, they complain loudly there, that no justice is to be had for poor strangers—they show their agreements in which it is fairly mentioned, that they are to pay seven pistoles and a half to Isaac and Zachary Hope at Rot-

terdam, or their order at Philadelphia, &c.—and as this is much practiced, the country is wronged £2000 or £3000 a year. It was much desired that a law might be passed that a Commissioner might be appointed to inspect, on the arrival of vessels with passengers, their agreements, and judge if 7½ pistoles makes not *seven and a half*. Some asked, “Is there no remedy?” They were answered, “The law is, what is above forty shillings must be decided at Court; and each must make his own cause appear good and stand a trial. A poor comfort indeed! Two or three thousand wronged persons to depend upon the discretion of the merchants. They are anxious to come on shore to satisfy hunger—they pay what is demanded—some are sighing, some cursing; some believe their case differs little from such as fall into the hands of a highwayman, who presents a pistol and demands according to his own terms. They also complain that the captains often hurry them away without any agreement, or the agreement is not signed; or, if a fair agreement is written, signed and sealed, it will not be performed, and they must pay whatever is demanded. And when their chests are put into stores, and by the time they have procured money from their friends to pay for what they agreed, and more too, and demand their chests, they find them opened and plundered of their contents; or sometimes the chests are not to be found for which they had paid.”

In another letter to the Governor, dated Germantown, May 12, 1755, C. Sauers says, “The merchants and importers filled the vessels with passengers, and as much merchandise as they thought fit, and left the passengers’ chests behind—sometimes the loaded vessels with the Palatine’s chests only. The poor people depended upon their chests, in which they had some provisions, such as they were used to, viz: dried apples, pears, plums, mustard, medicines, vinegar, brandy, gammons, butter, also clothing, such as shirts and other necessary linens, and some of them had money and what they brought with them, and when their chests were left behind, or shipped in other vessels, they suffered for want of food—and when there was not a sufficiency of provision laid in for passengers, they famished and died—when they arrived alive, they had no money to buy bread, or any thing to sell of their spare clothes—neither had they clothes so as to change linens, &c., they were not able to keep themselves clean, and free of vermin.

If they were taken into houses, and trusting on their effects and money, when they come, these effects and moneys were either left behind, or their chests were either plundered by the sailors on the vessels, or if the vessels arrived before the sailors broke open the chests, they were searched by the merchants' boys, and their best effects, all taken—and there was no remedy for all this. And this last mentioned practice, that their chests were broken open and effects stolen, has not only been common these 25, 20, 10, 5 years, but it is a common custom, and the complaints are daily.

If I was ordered to print advertisements, at the request of those who lost their chests by leaving them behind them against their will, or were opened and plundered at sea when they were sent after them, in other vessels, or were broken open and plundered in the stores at Philadelphia. If these chests had been sold at half their value, it would amount to a large sum.—Your Honor would be astonished to hear the complaints of more than 2000 to 3000 people.”

The writer's paternal grandfather, Jonas Rupp, a native of Sinsheim, was among the number of those who were robbed: his chest broken open, all his effects stolen, and himself on his arrival, friendless and penniless, sold as a Redemption servant, for two years and six months to one Leonard Umberger, near Lebanon. Jonas Rupp arrived in the ship Phoenix, commanded by Captain Spurrier, September 25, 1751. Out of four hundred and twelve who embarked in the same vessel, only one hundred and eighty survived to land at Philadelphia; and of these many died soon after their arrival.

The Rev. Muhlenburg says, speaking of Redemptioners:

Denn wen die Teutschen von den Schiffen hier an kommen so müssen diegenigen, welche die Fracht nicht aus ihren eigenen Mitteln bezahlen können, sich mit ihren Familien gleichsam verkaufen, da sie denn so lange dienen müssen bis sie ihre Fracht obverdient haben; solche werden servants oder Knechte genannt. Wenn denn dieselbe ihre Fracht bezahlt und noch et was verdient haben, so ziehen sie nach und nach ins Landhinauf, und kaufen was eigenes—*Hallische Nachrichten*, p. 54. See Appendix A. Neulaender.

On another occasion he says:

Weil viele von den nach Pensylvanien eilenden Teutschen ihre Fracht zu bezahlen nicht im stande sind, so werden sie, zu deren Vergütung, auf einige Jahre an die reichsten Einwohner als leibeigern knecht verkauft. Es können solcher

zur Verlassung ihres Vaterlandes verfuhrten, und dadurch
 ofters in leibliches und geistliches Elend gesturzten Teut-
 schen Leute von zeit zu zeit noch immur sehr viele in Penn-
 sylvanien an Im Herbst 1749 sind 25 schiffe voll Teutschen
 neuen Cohnister nach und nach vor Philadelphia eingelaufen
 und ausser donen, du der Tod unterwegs aufgerieben, haben
 sich dorauf 7049 Personen befunden. Es ist leicht zu er-
 achten, da dir Begierd, das Vaterland mit der neuen Welt zu
 verwechseln, schor so viele Jahre her unter denen niemals
 weniger, als mit den gegenwartigen Unstanden, vergnugten
 Teutschen herschet, das Land bereits ubersflussy mit Leuten
 besetzt Ley. Und so ists. Es wunelt von Leuten, so dass
 auch du Lebers ollitter imes theueren werder. Eben duses
 aber ist Ursach, warun du nein rus Land komerde, nicht so
 veile Vortheib geneisen koner, als die ersten genossen haben.

To alleviate the sufferings of these strangers, a society was
 formed among the more wealthy and benevolent; but their
 means were not adequate to the wants of "suffering thous-
 ands."

Their sufferings were confined to the period mentioned, as
 may be seen from the following letter from Dr. Muehleng-
 berg—

"Januar 7ten, 1768.

"Im Vergangenen Spaetjahr, sind wieder funf bis sechs
 schiffe voll mit Teutschen Emigranten vor Philadelphia ange-
 kommen, davon noch ein grosser Theil auf dem Wasser lieg-
 en, weil nicht allein ihre Frachten sehr hoch gestiegen, son-
 dern auch ein allgemeiner Geldmangel vorwaltet, so dass sic
 nicht wie in vorigen Zeiten, verkauft werden konnen, und, so
 zersagen, in ihrem Abend umkomen muessen. Die die mit
 solchem Menschenhandel interessirte Herren wollen das Geld
 fuer ihre Frachthaben. Wenn aber keine Kaeuter sind, so
 behalten sic ihre Waare, und lassen sic lieber verderben, als
 dass sic solche verschenken solten. Es ist ein grosser Jammer,
 wenn man seine arme betrogene Mitge schoepfe so im Elend
 sichtet, und nicht helfen kann." p. 816.

The Palatine Redemption servants were sold for, from two
 to five years. Many of them often serving out their time
 faithfully, became, by frugality and industry, some of the most
 wealthy and influential citizens of the State.

"In later times, say about the year 1753 to 1756, the Germans having become numerous, and therefore powerful as make-weights in the political balance, were much noticed in the publications of the day. They were at that period of time, in general, very hearty co-operators with the Quakers or Friends, then in considerable rule in the Assembly. A MSS. pamphlet in the Franklin Library at Philadelphia, supposed to have been written by Samuel Wharton, in 1755, shows his ideas of the passing events, saying, that the party on the side of the Friends derived much of their influence over the Germans, through the aid of C. Sauers, who published a German paper in Germantown, from the time of 1729, and which, being much read by that people, influenced them to the side of the Friends, and hostile to the Governor and council. Through this means, says he, they have persuaded them that there was a design to enslave them; to enforce their young men, by a contemplated militia law, to become soldiers, and to load them down with taxes, &c. From such causes, he adds, have they come down in shoals to vote, (of course, many from Northampton,) and carrying all before them. To this I may, says Watson, add, that I have heard from the Norris family, that their ancestors in the Assembly were warmly patronized by the Germans in union with Friends. His alarms at this German influence at the polls, and his proposed remedies for the then dreaded evils, as they show the prevalent feelings of his associates in politics, may serve to amuse the present generation. He says the best effects of these successes of the Germans will probably be felt through many generations! Instead of a peaceable, industrious people, as before, they are now insolent, sullen, and turbulent; in some counties threatening even the lives of all those who opposed their views, because they are taught to regard government and slavery as one and the same thing. All who are not of their party, they call "Governor's men," and themselves, they deem strong enough to make the country their own! Indeed, they come in, in such force, say upwards of 5000 in the last year, I see not but they may soon be able to give us law and language too, or else, by joining the French, eject all the English. That this may be the case, is too much to be feared, for almost to a man they refused to bear arms in the time of the late war, and they say, it is all one to them which king gets the country, as their estates will be equally

secure. Indeed it is clear that the French have turned their hopes upon this great body of Germans. They hope to allure them by grants of Ohio lands. To this end, they send their Jesuitical emissaries among them over to persuade them over to the Popish religion. In concert with this, the French for so many years have encroached on our province, and are now so near their scheme as to be within two days' march of some of our black settlements"—alluding, of course to the state of the western wilds, overrun by French and Indians, just before the arrival of Braddock's forces in Virginia, in 1755.

"The writer (Wharton) imputes their wrong bias in general to their "stubborn genius and ignorance," which he proposes to soften by education—a scheme still suggested as necessary to give the general mass of the inland country Germans right views of public individual interests. To this end, he proposes that faithful Protestant ministers and schoolmasters should be supported among them. That their children should be taught the English tongue; the government in the mean time should suspend their right of voting for members of Assembly; and to incline them the sooner to become English in education and feeling, we should compel them to make all bonds and other legal writings in English, and no newspaper or almanack be circulated among them, also accompanied by the English thereof.

Finally, the writer concludes, that "without some such measure, I see nothing to prevent this Province falling into the hands of the French."* A scheme to educate the Germans, as alluded to, was started in 1755 and carried on for several years.†

The number of Germans about the year 1755, was not short of sixty or seventy thousand in Pennsylvania; nearly all of them Protestants; whereof, according to the Rev. Schlotter's statement, at the time, there were thirty thousand German Reformed—the Lutherans were more numerous. Besides these, there were other Germans, viz: Mennonites, German Baptists, (Dunkards,) Moravians, some few German Quakers, Seventh-day Baptists, Catholics, and Schwenkfelders.

"Herr Schlatter rechnet die Anzahl der Reformirten Teutschen in

* Watson's Annals, ii, 357.

† See Appendix, B.—Scheme to educate the Germans.

Pensylvanien auf 30,000—Herr Schlatter Reformirten glaubt, dass die Reformirten nur den dritten Theil der Deutschen in Pensylvanien ausmachen.—*Hal. Nach.* 512.

The number of German Catholics did not exceed (1755) 7 hundred. In the autumn of 1754, one hundred and fifty-eight Catholics arrived at Philadelphia.

The number of Catholics in 1757, beginning from twelve years of age, including German, English and Irish, about fourteen hundred, according to a statement by Mr. Warden, April 29, 1757. There were then in and about Philadelphia and in Chester county, under the care of the Rev. Robert Harding, 90 males and 100 females, all Irish and English. In Philadelphia city and county, Berks and Northampton, under the care of Theodore Schneider, 252 males and 248 females, all Germans; in Berks and Chester, 92, whereof 15 were Irish. In Lancaster, Berks, Chester and Cumberland, under the care of Ferdinand Farmer, 394, whereof 97 were Irish. In York county, under the care of Mathias Manners, 54 German males, 62 females; 35 Irish males, and 38 females.—*Prov. Rec.*

About nine-tenths of the first settlers of York, then including Adams county, were Germans, and some small proportion of Cumberland now within the limits of Franklin, was originally settled by them, and some part of Dauphin (then Lancaster.) Cumberland was exclusively settled by Scotch, and Scotch Irish, with the exception of a few English.* The Germans did not begin to immigrate into the lower part of Cumberland till about 1760 or '62. The great influx into Cumberland commenced about 1770. In the lower part of the county, were among the early German settlers, John German, Henry Longsdorff, John Leininger, Michael Bore, Michael Kunkle, Andrew Capp, Michael Dill, Michael Hack, Conrad Manasmith, Baltzer Schneider, Mathias Saylor, Christopher Wittmayer, Casper Weber, Simion Krauss, Elias Emminger, Leonard Fischer, Martin Herrman, Philip Jacobs, Christopher Mayer, Jonas Rupp, George Rupley, Casper Reider, John Scherer, John Wormley, Christopher Eichelberger, W. Buchhalter, Christian Fuchs, Jacob Herschberger, Simon Pretz, Henry Umberger, Adam Arris, Adam Kreutzer, Daniel Franks, Jacob Othenwalt, Joseph Baumann, Dewalt Erfurth, Jacob Forney, Henry Herschberger, Henry Humbarger, Philip Lang, Jacob Lebenstein, and some others who had all settled before 1775, in East Penn township.

The following are among Germans who had settled in Allen township before 1775, viz: Adam Kuhn, Christian

* See Article, "*The Irish.*"

Schwartz, Carolus Embhoff, Peter Albert, John Knauer, Christian Bollinger, Joseph Strack, Heinrich Tustus Weber, Michael Weiss, Jacob Weiss, George Wingler, Henry Yordee, John Schaever, Henry Tom, Jacob Yordee, Ludwig Braun, John Gerber, John Grieger, Abraham Heid, Jacob Knob, Jacob Miller, Samuel Neisly, Adam Barnhart, Ludwig Brandt, John Bielman, John Cocklin, Jacob Cocklin, Leonard Wolf, Samuel Baer, John Brindel, Martin Brandt, Jacob Bricker, Jacob Kreiser, Gideon Kober, Jacob Frey, Peter Herr, John Riehm.*

In the Conogochegue settlements, there were several German settlers at a very early period, about 1736-'45, among these were the Snivelys, Schneiders, Piscackers, Liepers, Ledermans, Haricks, Laws, Kolps, Gabriels, Ringers, Steiners, Senseny, Radebach, Reischer, Wolffs, Schniedt.

Within, or on the borders of the present limits of Dauphin county, were some German families settled prior to 1745; these were, Gabriel, Schultz, Musser or Moser, Rosebaum, Ricker, Boor, Schwar, Lichty, Roth, Schitz, Hailman, Brechtbill, Sies, and others.

* See History of Cumberland county, chapter xxiv.

CHAPTER III.

THE IRISH OR SCOTCH IRISH.*

Time of their first immigration—Settle first near the boundary line between Maryland and Pennsylvania—James Logan's statement concerning them—First settlers in Donegal—In Peshtank—Richard Peters' complains of them—They oppose a survey in Adams county—Settle west of the Susquehanna, in Cumberland county—Disagreement between the Irish and Germans, at Lancaster and York—Immigration of, to Cumberland county encouraged—Lord's prayer in Irish.

According to Mr. Watson's statement, Irish immigrants did not begin to come to Pennsylvania as soon as the Germans. It appears few, if any, arrived in the Province, prior to 1719. Those that did then arrive, came principally from the north of Ireland.

* *Irish or Scotch Irish.* This term is used to designate a numerous and honorable people, who immigrated to the Province of Pennsylvania at an early date. Whence this term is derived, the following historical notice, will serve to explain. During the reign of Charles I., in the year 1641, October 27, the massacre of the Irish Protestants occurred, in Ireland, where, in a few days, fifty thousand were inhumanly, without regard to sex, age or quality, butchered; and many fled to the North of Scotland, from which country the North of Ireland had been colonized by Protestants.

An act was passed by Parliament, (the act of uniformity) 1662, requiring all ministers and churches rigidly to conform to the rites of the established church, which occasioned two thousand ministers (called Non-conformists) to dissent and abandon their pulpits. This act affected Scotland with equal severity. In 1691, the Toleration act was passed, under which the dissenters enjoyed greater privileges; but, in the reign of Queen Ann, (1704—1714) the Schism Bill, which had actually obtained the royal assent, alarmed the dissenters much—the provisions of that bill were, that dissenters were not to be suffered to educate their own children, but required them to be put into the hands of Conformists, and which forbade all tutors and school masters being present at any conventicle or dissenting plan of worship.

These difficulties and the unsettled state of affairs in Europe drove many of the more quiet citizens from their native home, and of this number were those, and descendants of those who had fled from the north of Ireland to Scotland, as well as genuine Scotch.

Such as came first, generally settled near or about the disputed line between Maryland and Pennsylvania, if we except those who settled in Donegal township, Lancaster county, and those of *Craig's*, and *Martin's* settlements in Northampton county.

James Logan, writing of them to the Proprietaries, in 1724, says, they have generally taken up the southern lands, (meaning in Lancaster, towards the Maryland line,) and as they rarely approached him to propose to purchase, he calls them bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse, when challenged for titles, that we had solicited for colonists, and they had come accordingly. They were, however, understood to be a tolerated class, exempt from rents by an ordinance of 1720, in consideration of their being a frontier people, forming a kind of cordon of defence, if needful.— They were soon called bad neighbors by the Indians, treating them disdainfully, and finally were the same race who committed the outrages called *Paxtang Massacre*. The general ideas are found in the Logan MSS. collection. Some of the data are as follows :

"In 1725, James Logan states, that there are so many as one hundred thousand acres of land, possessed by persons, (including Germans,) who resolutely set down and improved it without any right to it, and he is much at a loss to determine how to dispossess them.

In New Castle government there arrived last year (1728) says the Gazette (of 1729) forty-five hundred persons, chiefly from Ireland.

"In 1729, Logan expresses himself glad to find that the Parliament is about to take measures to prevent the too free emigration to this country. In the meantime the Assembly had laid a restraining tax of twenty shillings a head for every servant arriving; but even this was evaded in the case of the arrival of a ship from Dublin, with one hundred catholics and convicts, by landing them at Burlington. It looks, says he, as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week, not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also. The common fear is, that if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province. It is strange, says he, that they thus crowd where they are not wanted. But besides these, convicts are impor-

ted hither.* The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarms of strangers, and we are afraid of a breach between them—for the Irish are very rough to them."

"In 1730, he writes and complains of the Scotch Irish, in an audacious and disorderly manner, possessing themselves of the whole of Conestoga manor, of fifteen thousand acres, being the best land in the country. In doing this by force, they alleged that it was against the laws of God and nature, that so much land should be idle, while so many Christians wanted it to labor on, and to raise their bread, &c. The Paxtang boys were great sticklers for religion and scripture quotations against "the heathen." They were, however, dispossessed by the Sheriff and his posse, and their cabins, to the number of thirty, were burnt. This necessary violence was, perhaps, remembered with indignation; for only twenty-five years afterwards, the Paxtang massacre began by killing the Christian unoffending Indians found in Conestoga. The Irish were generally settled at Donegal."

Among the first settlers in Donegal were the Semples, Pattersons, Scotts, Mitchells, Hendricks, Speers, Galbreaths, Andersons, Lowreys, Pedans, Porters, Sterrits, Kerrs, Works, Littles, Whitehills, Campbells, Moors, Smiths, M'Ewens, Ramsays, Gilstons, Cotters, M'Intyres, Cooks, Howards, Clarke, M'Clellans, Clennings, Brackans, Wilsons, Allison, Halls, Stuarts, Trintons, Hughes, Lynas, Browns, Collins, Andrews, Fosters, Banes, M'Coskeys, Carithers, Ramages, Marcheta, Pattons, Pous, Reas, Fultons, M'Collocks, Brus, Kellys, Walkers, many of whom had settled here prior to, or soon after the organization of Donegal township, which was in 1723.

From Donegal, the settlements by the Irish and Scotch were extended into Paxton, Derry, Londonderry and Hanover townships, Lancaster county, (now Dauphin, and part of Lebanon) Paxton (Peshtank) and Derry townships were organized prior to 1730. See Dauphin county.

Mr. Logan, says Watson, writes in another letter, "I must own, from my own experience in the Land Office, that the settlement of five families from Ireland gives me more trouble than fifty of any other people. Before we were broke in upon, ancient Friends and first settlers lived happily, but now the case is quite altered, by strangers and debauched morals, &c. All this seems like hard measure dealt upon those specimens of "the land of generous natures," but we may be

* Augustus Gun, of Cork, advertised in the Philadelphia papers, that he had power from the mayor of Cork, for many years, to procure servants for America—1741.

excused for letting him speak out, who was himself from the "Emerald Isle," where he had of course seen a better race.*

"Logan's successor, Richard Peters, Esq., as Secretary to the Proprietaries, falls into a similar dissatisfaction with them; for in his letter to the proprietaries, of 1743, he says, he went to Marsh creek (Adams county,—then Lancaster) to warn off and dispossess the squatters, and to measure the Manor land.

"On that occasion, the people there, to about the number of seventy, assembled and forbade them to proceed, and on their persisting, broke the chain and compelled them to retire. He had with him a sheriff and a magistrate. They were afterwards indicted—became subdued, and made their engagement for leases. In most cases the leases were so easy, that they were enabled to buy the lands ere they expired."

The breaking of the surveyor's chain happened on the 17th of June, 1743. The principal settlers on Marsh creek at that time, were William McLelan, Jos. Farris, Hugh McCain, Matthew Black, James McMichell, Robert McFarson, William Black, James Agnew, (cooper) Henry McDonath, John Alexander, Moses Jenkins, Richard Hall, Richard Fossett, Adam Hall, John Eddy, John Eddy, jr., Edward Hall, William Eddy, James Wilson, James Agnew, John Steene, John Johnson, John Hamilton, Hugh Vogan, Hugh Swainey, John McWharter, Titus Darley, Thomas Hosswick.

Settlements were commenced in Cumberland, (then Lancaster) by the descendants of Irish and Scotch immigrants, and some recently from the Emerald Isle, and Highlands of Scotia, and some few English, about 1730 and '31.† After 1736, when Pennsborough and Hopewell townships had been erected, the influx of emigrants from Europe, and from Lancaster county, into Kittochtinny valley, west of the Susquehanna, increased rapidly; for in 1748, the number of taxables in this valley (Cumberland and Franklin counties) was about eight hundred; of whom there were not fifty Germans—those few were in the Conocheague settlement.

Shortly after Cumberland county had been erected (1750) the proprietaries, "in consequence of the frequent disturban-

* Watson's Annals, ii. 109.

† Benjamin, Robert and James Chambers commenced settlements west of the Susquehanna, about or before 1730. See Article, Chambersburg, *infra*.

ces between the governor and Irish settlers, gave orders to their agents to sell no lands in either York and Lancaster counties to the Irish; and also to make advantageous offers of removal to the Irish settlers (as the mingling of the two nations in Lancaster and York had produced serious riots at elections) in Paxton and Swatara, and Donegal townships, to remove to Cumberland county, which offers being liberal were accepted by many.

As early as 1732, there was a violent contest between Andrew Galbraith and John Wright, both candidates for the Assembly. Wright was an English Quaker, Galbraith an Irishman; but in 1743, the Irish strove more effectually for ascendancy at the polls. This year an election was held to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Thomas Linsey. The Irish compelled the sheriff to receive such tickets as they approved, and make a return accordingly.*

The matter was afterwards investigated, and the following resolutions were adopted by the Assembly—

Resolved, That the sheriff having assumed upon himself the power of being sole judge at the late election, exclusive of the inspectors chosen by the farmers of the said county of Lancaster, is illegal, unwarrantable and an infringement of the liberties of the people of the Province; that it gave just cause for discontentment to the inhabitants of said county; that if any disturbances followed thereupon, it is justly imputed to his own misconduct.

Resolved, That the sheriff of Lancaster county be admonished by the speaker. The sheriff attended, and being admonished, promised he would take care and keep the law in future. He also altered the return, as Samuel Blunston was entitled to take his seat."†

In 1749, an election was held at York. There were two prominent candidates for sheriff, Hans Hamilton, from Marsh creek, (Adams county) the Irish candidate; Richard M'Alister, the favorite of the Dutch. The Germans, as they are wont, without much ado, worked well for their candidate, evidently gaining on their competitors; this vexed the irascible friends of Hamilton. Two or three stout, blustering Hibernians—boxers, as they were called—took possession of the

* History of Lancaster county, p. 288.

† Votes of Assembly.

place "where to poll;" determined that none but their candidates' friends should vote. A stout German, equally determined to enjoy what he considered his rights, without yielding any the least, stepped up to vote—tripped up the heels of one of the swaggering Irishmen, which eventuated in an affray. The standing saplings, near at hand, were soon torn down, and sticks cut which were used as defensive and offensive weapons. Blows were promiscuously dealt out—the Irish were routed—driven beyond Codorus creek; and at the risk of bloody heads, dared not to appear, all day, east of the Codorus. The Germans voted, and elected M'Allister, by an overwhelming majority. But, in this instance, Gov. James Hamilton disregarded the expressed will of the majority of voters, commissioned Hans Hamilton for one year. Illy considered policy, as the sequel proved.

At the second election held at York, Oct. 1750, for representatives, a large party of Germans drove the Irish from the polls. It was set forth in a petition to the Assembly touching this affray that, Hans Hamilton did not open the election till two o'clock in the afternoon, which caused not a little uneasiness among the people. That the Marsh creek people, gathered about the election house to give in their tickets and would not suffer the Dutch people and others to come near the house, but did all they could to keep them off with clubs, so that the Germans were obliged to do the best they could, or else go home without voting; and being the most in number they drove the people from the house, and when they had done so, they came in a peaceable manner to give in their votes; but when the sheriff saw his party was mastered, he locked up the box, and would not suffer the inspectors to take away more tickets, which made the Dutch people angry, and they strove to break into the house—and then the sober people desired the sheriff to continue the election; but he would not, and went away out of the back window, several of the inspectors going with him—and then the freeholders desired the coroner to carry on the election—which having done carefully and justly; and, afterwards, the sheriff was asked to come and see the votes read, and an account taken of them, but he refused, &c.

The whole matter was investigated—the sheriff was called

before the Assembly, publicly admonished by the speaker, and advised to preserve better order in future.*

Though the Germans occupy the greater portion of the farms, first settled by the Irish, in Dauphin and Cumberland counties, there are still a respectable number of the descendants of this generous and hospitable people, occupying the homesteads of their ancestors. Unlike the German, the descendants of the Irish, no longer speak the language of their valorous fathers.

The following is the Lord's prayer in Irish, copied from Gr. Daniel's edition of an Irish Bible, printed 1602:

Air nathir ataigh air nin. Nabz fat hanimti. Tighuh da riathiate. Deantur da hoilamhuoil Air nimh agis air thal-ambi. Air naran laidthnil tabhair dhuin a niomb. Agis math duin dairf hiacha ammnil. Agis mathum vid dar feuthuim. Agis na trilaie astoch sin anau sen. Ac sar sina ole.—Amen.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN MASSACRES, (1727 and 1744.)

Thomas Wright killed near Snaketown, 1727—Davenport's testimony

—John Armstrong, James Smith and Woodward Arnold killed by

Musemeelin in 1744—Alexander Armstrong's letter to Allumoppies—

Search made for the bodies of the deceased; found and buried them—

Provincial council held—Conrad Weiser makes a demand for the

murderer at Shamokin—Weiser's transactions, &c., at Shamokin—

Shickalemy's statement touching the murder of Armstrong.

The principal, of the numerous murders committed by the Indians upon the whites, within the limits then embraced by the upper part of Lancaster county, and of Cumberland, forms the subject of several chapters of this part of this compilation.

As settlements became somewhat extended, the white

* Votes of Assembly, iv. 152, 153.

people, especially Indian traders came in closer contact with the Indians; and despite of the efforts of the government serious conflicts ensued, and, in some instances, blood was shed. This was, however, owing as much to the imprudence of the whites as to the temerity of the Indians. Sometime in 1727, a person named Thomas Wright was killed by some Indians, at Snaketown, forty miles above Conestoga.

John Wright, Esq., of Chester, (now Lancaster county, Columbia) addressed a letter, carried by Jonas Davenport, to Secretary Logan, at Philadelphia, which was laid before the Council, September 27, 1727. It was set forth in the letter, that on the 11th of September, several Indians, together with one John Burt, an Indian trader, and Thomas Wright, were drinking near the house of Burt, who was singing and dancing with the Indians, and the said Wright.—Burt bade Wright knock down the Indian; whereupon Wright laid hold upon the Indian, but did not beat him;—that afterward Burt struck the Indian several blows with the fist; after which both Wright and Burt returned into the house, whither the Indians followed them, and broke open the door—that while Wright was endeavoring to pacify them Burt called out for his gun, and continued to provoke them more and more; that thereupon Wright fled to the hen-house to hide himself, whither the Indians pursued him—and next morning he was found dead.

In the report of inquest, it is set forth that the said Wright came to his death by several blows on the head, neck, and temples; which the jurors said they believed, was done by the Indians.

From the testimony of Jonas Davenport, before the Council, it appears that this quarrel, which ended in the death of Wright, arose from the too free use of rum, sold by Burt.—Davenport said, “That he was informed, by credible people living near the place, where the murder was committed, that John Burt sent for rum for the Indians, which they drank, and that he afterwards sent for some more, that a dispute arising between Burt and the Indians, the said Burt filled his hands with his own *excrement* and threw it among the Indians. This filthy act—some rumsellers are filthy dealers—provoked the Indians to a great degree. They were of the Munsooes Indians, who *then* lived on an eastern branch of the Susquehanna.

Sometime in the year 1744, John Armstrong, a Trader, among the Indians, west of the Susquehanna, with two of his servants or men, namely, James Smith and Woodworth Arnold, was murdered by an Indian of the Delaware tribe, named *Musemeelin*, on the Juniata river. Seven white men and five Indians went in search of the bodies of those murdered; after some search, found and buried them. The murderer was afterwards apprehended, and delivered up by his own nation, and imprisoned at Lancaster, whence he was removed to Philadelphia, lest he should escape, or his trial and execution produce an unfavorable impression on his countrymen about to assemble, for a conference with the whites at Lancaster. The Governor directed or required that the property of Armstrong should be returned to his family. He also invited a deputation to attend the trial of *Musemeelin*, and his execution, if found guilty.

Alexander Armstrong, of Lancaster county, a brother of the deceased, addressed a letter to Allumoppies, King of the Delawares, at Shamokin, touching the death of his brother, and some threats made by some Delaware Indians upon his life.

APRIL 25, 1744.

To Allumoppies, King of the Delawares: Great Sir, as a parcel of your men have murdered my brother, and two of his men, I wrote you, knowing you to be a king of justice, that you will send us in all the murderers and the men that were with them. As I looked for the corpse of my murdered brother; for that reason your men threaten my life; and I cannot live in my house. Now as we have no inclination or mind to go to war with you, our friends; as a friend, I desire that you will keep your men from doing me harm, and also to send the murderers and their companions.

I expect an answer; and am your much hurt friend and brother,

ALEXANDER ARMSTRONG.

A party of men had made search for, and found the bodies of the murdered, as appears from Armstrong's letter above, and the following deposition:

PAXTON, April 19, 1744.

The deposition of the subscribers testifieth and saith, that the subscribers having a suspicion that John Armstrong, trader, together with his men, James Smith and Woodward Arnold, were murdered by the Indians.—They met at the house of Joseph Chambers, in Paxton,* and there consulted to go to Shamokin, to consult with the Delaware King and *Shickellamy*, and there council what they should do concerning the

* Mr. McCallister's, or formerly Fort Hunter.

affair, whereupon the King and Council ordered eight of their men to go with the deponents to the house of James Berry in order to go in quest of the murdered persons, but that night they came to the said Berry's house, three of the eight Indians ran away, and the next morning these deponents, with the five Indians that remained, set out on their journey peaceably to the last supposed sleeping place of the deceased, and upon their arrival these deponents dispersed themselves in order to find out the corpse of the deceased, and one of the deponents, named James Berry, a small distance from the aforesaid sleeping place, came to a white oak tree, which had three notches on it, and close by said tree he found a shoulder bone, which the deponent does suppose to be John Armstrong's, and that he himself was eating by the Indians, which he carried to the aforesaid sleeping place and showed it to his companions, one of whom handed it to the said five Indians to know what bone it was, and they, after passing different sentiments upon it, handed it to a *Delaware Indian* who was suspected by the deponents, and they testify and say, that as soon as the Indian took the bone in his hand, his nose gushed out with blood, and directly handed it to another. From whence these deponents steered along a path about three or four miles to the Narrows of Juniata, where they suspected the murder to have been committed, and where the Allegheny road crosses the creek, these deponents sat down in order to consult on what measures to take in order to proceed on a discovery. Whereupon most of the white men, these deponents, crossed the creek again, and went down the creek, and crossed into an island, where these deponents had intelligence the corpse had been thrown; and there they met the rest of the white men and Indians, who were in company, and there consulted to go further down the creek in quest of the corpse, and these deponents further say, they ordered the Indians to go down the creek on the other side; but they all followed these deponents, at a small distance, except one Indian who crossed the creek again; and soon after, these deponents seeing some Bald eagles and other fowls, suspected the corpse to be thereabouts; and then lost sight of the Indians, and immediately found one of the corpse, which these deponents say, was the corpse of James Smith, one of said Armstrong's men; and directly upon finding the corpse these deponents heard three shots of guns, which they had great reason to think were the Indians, their companions, who had deserted from them; and in order to let them know that they had found the corpse, these deponents fired three guns, but to no purpose, for they never saw the Indians any more. And about a quarter of a mile further down the creek, they saw more Bald eagles, whereupon they made down towards the place, where they found another corpse (being the corpse of Woodworth Arnold, the other servant of said Armstrong) lying on a rock, and then went to the former sleeping place, where they had appointed to meet the Indians; but saw no Indians, only that the Indians had been there and cooked some victuals for themselves, and had gone off.

And that night, the deponents further say, they had great reason to suspect that the Indians were then thereabouts, and intended to do them some damage; for a dog these deponents had with them, barked that night, which was remarkable, for the said dog had not barked all the time they were out, till that night, nor ever since, which occasioned

these deponents to stand upon their guard behind the trees, with their guns cocked that night. Next morning these deponents went back to the corpses which they found to be barbarously and inhumanly murdered, by very gashed, deep cuts on their hands with a tomahawk or such like weapon, which had sunk into their skulls and brains; and in one of the corpses there appeared a hole in his skull near the cut, which was supposed to be with a tomahawk, which hole, these deponents do believe to be a bullet hole. And these deponents, after taking a particular view of the corpses, as their melancholy condition would admit, they buried them as decently as their circumstances would allow, and returned home to Paxton, the Allegheny road to John Harris'; thinking it dangerous to return the same way they went out—And further these deponents say not.

These same deponents being legally qualified, before me, James Armstrong, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Lancaster, have hereunto set their hands in testimony thereof.

JAMES ARMSTRONG.

Alexander Armstrong, Thomas M'Kee, Francis Ellis, John Florster, William Baskins, James Berry, John Watt, James Armstrong, David Denny.

The atrocity of this murder was so aggravating, that a Provincial Council was held, and it was resolved that Conrad Weiser, the Provincial Interpreter and Indian agent, should be sent to Shamokin, to make demands, in the name of the governor, for some others concerned in the murder. The following extracts give a detailed account of all the circumstances:

At a council April 25, 1744—"The Governor, George Thomas, laid before the Board a letter dated April 22, 1744, from Mr. Cookson, at Lancaster, purporting that John Armstrong, an Indian trader, with his two servants Woodworth Arnold and James Smith had been murdered at Juniata by three Delaware Indians, and that John Musemeelin and Johnson of Neshalleeny, two of the Indians concerned in the murder had been seized by the order of Shickelamy, and the other Indian chiefs at Shamokin, and sent under a guard of Indians to be delivered up to justice; that one was actually delivered up in jail at Lancaster; but the other had made his escape from the persons to whose care he was committed.

His honor then sent to the Chief Justice to consult him about the steps proper to be taken to bring the Indian to his trial, but as he was absent at a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Bucks county, it was the opinion of the Board that the Indian, Musemeelin, should be immediately removed to Philadelphia jail, and that Conrad Weiser should be immediately despatched to the chiefs of the Delaware Indians at Shamokin to make a peremptory demand in his honor's name of the other murderers concerned, and that Shickelamy and the other Indians there do order immediate search to be made for the goods of which the deceased was robbed, in order to their being put into the hands of his brother for the satisfaction of his creditors, or the support of his family. And at the same time to inform them that the chiefs of the Indians which shall meet at Lancaster on the treaty with our neighboring gov-

ernments, will be desired to depute some of their number to be present at the trial and at the execution of such as shall be found guilty.

Conrad Weiser was accordingly sent to Shamokin. He writes, in his Journal, Shamokin, May 2d, 1744: This day I delivered the Governor's message to Allumoppies the Delaware chief, and the rest of Delaware Indians in the presence of Shickcalamy and a few more of the Six Nations. The purport of which was, that I was sent express by the Governor and Council to demand those that had been concerned with Musemeelin in murdering John Armstrong, Woodworth Arnold and James Smith; that their bodies might be searched for, and decently buried; that the goods be likewise found and restored without fraud. It was delivered them by me in the Mohawk language, and interpreted into Delaware by Andrew, Madame Montour's son.

In the afternoon Allumoppies, in the presence of the aforesaid Indians, made the following answers:

Brother, the Governor: It is true that we, the Delaware Indians, by the investigation of the evil spirit, have murdered Jas. Armstrong and his men; we have transgressed, and we are ashamed to look up. We have taken the murderer and delivered him to the relations of the deceased, to be dealt with according to his works.

Brother, the Governor: Your demand for the guard is very just; we have gathered some of them; we will do the utmost of what we can to find them all. We do not doubt but we can find out the most part, and whatever is wanting, we will make up with skins, which is what the guard are sent for to the woods.

Brother, the Governor: The dead bodies are buried. It is certain that John Armstrong was buried by the murderer, and the other two by those that searched for them. Our hearts are in mourning, and we are in a dismal condition, and cannot say any thing at present.

Then Shickcalamy with the rest of the Indians of the Six Nations their present said: Brother the Governor—We have been all misinformed on both sides about the unhappy accident. Musemeelin has certainly murdered the three white men himself, and upon his bare accusation of Neshaleeny's son, which was nothing but spite, the said Neshaleeny's son was seized, and made a prisoner. Our cousins, the Delaware Indians, being then drunk, in particular Allumoppies, never examined things, but made an innocent person prisoner, which gave a great deal of disturbance amongst us. However the two prisoners were sent, and by the way in going down the river they stopped at the house of James Berry; James told the young man, "I am sorry to see you in such a condition, I have known you from a boy, and always loved you." Then the young man seemed to be very much struck to the heart, and said, "I have said nothing yet, but I will tell all, let all the Indians come up, and the white people also, they shall hear it." And then told Musemeelin in the presence of the people: Now I am going to die for your wickedness; you have killed all the three white men. I never did intend to kill any of them. The Musemeelin in anger said: It is true, I have killed them; I am a man, you are a coward; it is a great satisfaction to me to have killed them; I will die with joy for having killed a great rogue and his companions. Upon which the young man was set at liberty by the Indians.

We desire therefore our brother, the Governor, will not insist to have either of the two young men in prison or condemned to die: it is not

with Indians as with white people, to put people in prison on suspicion or trifles. Indians must first be found guilty of a crime, then judgment is given and immediately executed. We will give you faithfully all the particulars; and at the ensuing treaty entirely satisfy you; in the meantime, we desire that good friendship and harmony continue; and that we may live long together, is the hearty desire of your brethren, the Indians of the United Six Nations present at Shamokin.

The following is what Shickelamy declared to be the truth of the story concerning the murder of John Armstrong, Woodworth Arnold and James Smith from the beginning to the end, to wit:

That Musemeelin owing some skins to John Armstrong, the said Armstrong seized a horse of the said Musemeelin and a rifled gun; the gun was taken by James Smith, deceased. Some time last winter Musemeelin met Armstrong on the river Juniata, and paid all but twenty shillings, for which he offered a neck-belt in pawn to Armstrong and demanded his horse, and James Armstrong refused it, and would not deliver up the horse, but enlarged the debt, as his usual custom was, and after some quarrel, the Indian went away in great anger without his horse to his hunting cabin. Some time after this, Armstrong, with his two companions in their way to Ohio passed by the said Musemeelin's hunting cabin, his wife, only being at home, demanded the horse of Armstrong, because he was her proper goods, but did not get him. Armstrong had by this time sold or lent the horse to James Berry; after Musemeelin came from hunting, his wife told him that Armstrong was gone by, and that she had demanded the horse of him, but did not get him—and as is thought pressed him to pursue and take revenge of Armstrong. The third day in the morning after James Armstrong was gone by, Musemeelin said to the two young men that hunted with him, come let us go towards the Great Hills to hunt bears; accordingly they went all three in company; after they had gone a good way Musemeelin who was foremost was told by the two young men that they were out of their course. Come you along, said Musemeelin, and they accordingly followed him till they came to the path that leads to the Ohio. Then Musemeelin told them he had a good mind to go and fetch his horse back from Armstrong, and desired the two young men to come along; accordingly they went. It was then almost night, and they travelled till next morning. Musemeelin said, now they are not far off. We will make ourselves black, then they will be frightened and will deliver up the horse immediately, and I will tell Jack, that if he don't give me the horse, I will kill him, and when he said so, he laughed. The young men thought he joked, as he used to do. They did not blacken themselves, but he did. When the sun was above the trees, or about an hour high, they all came to the fire, where they found James Smith sitting, and they also sat down. Musemeelin asked where Jack was? Smith told him that he was gone to clear the road a little. Musemeelin said, he wanted to speak with him, and went that way, and after he had gone a little distance from the fire, he said something, and looked back laughing, but he having a thick throat, and his speech being very bad, and their talking with Smith, hindered them from understanding what he said; they did not mind it. They being hungry, Smith told them to kill some turtles, of which they were plenty, and we would make some bread, and by and by, they would all eat together. While they were talking, they heard a gun go off not far off, at which time

Woodworth Arnold was killed as they learned afterwards. Soon after Musemeelin came back and said, why did you not kill that white man according as I bid you, I have laid the other two down! At this they were surprised, and one of the young men, commonly called Jemmy, run away to the river side. Musemeelin said to the other, how will you do to kill Catawbaws, if you cannot kill white men? You cowards, I'll show you how you must do; and then taking up the English axe that lay there, he struck it 3 times into Smith's head before he died. Smith never stirred. Then he told the young Indian to call the other; but he was so terrified he could not call. Musemeelin then went and fetched him and said to him that two of the white men were killed, he must now go and kill the third; then each of them would have killed one. But neither of them dare venture to talk any thing about it. Then he pressed them to go along with him—he went foremost; then one of the young men told the other as they went along, my friend don't you kill any of the white people, let him do what he will; I have not killed Smith, he has done it himself, we have no need to do such a barbarous thing. Musemeelin being then a good way before them in a hurry, they soon saw John Armstrong sitting upon an old log. Musemeelin spoke to him and said, where is my horse? Armstrong made answer and said, he will come by and by; you shall have him. I want him now, said Musemeelin. Armstrong answered, you shall have him. Come let us go to that fire—which was at some distance from the place where Armstrong sat—and let us talk and smoke together. Go along then, said Musemeelin. I am coming, said Armstrong, do you go before; Musemeelin, do you go foremost. Armstrong looked then like a dead man, and went towards the fire and was immediately shot in his back by Musemeelin and fell. Musemeelin then took his hatchet and struck it into Armstrong's head, and said, give me my horse I tell you. By this time one of the young men had fled again that had gone away before, but he returned in a short time. Musemeelin then told the young men, they must not offer to discover or tell a word about what had been done for their lives, but they must help him to bury Jack, and the other two were to be thrown into the river. After that was done Musemeelin ordered them to load the horses and follow towards the hill, where they intended to hide the goods; accordingly they did, and as they were going, Musemeelin told them that as there were a great many Indians hunting about that place, if they should happen to meet with any, they must be killed to prevent betraying them. As they went along, Musemeelin going before, the two young men agreed to run away as soon as they could meet with any Indians, and not to hurt any body. They came to the desired place, the horses were unloaded, and Musemeelin opened the bundles, and offered the two young men each a parcel of goods. They told him that as they had already sold their skins, and every body knew they had nothing, they would certainly be charged with a black action, were they to bring any goods to the town, and therefore they would not accept of any; but promised nevertheless not to betray him. Now, says Musemeelin, I know what you were talking about when you staid so far behind.

The two young men being in great danger of losing their lives—of which they had been much afraid all that day—accepted of what he offered to them, and the rest of the goods they put in a heap and covered them from the rain, and then went to their hunting cabin. Muse-

meelin unexpectedly finding two or three more Indians there, laid down his goods, and said he had killed Jack Armstrong and taken pay for his horse, and should any of them discover it, that person he would likewise kill; but otherwise they might all take a part of the goods. The young man, called Jimmy, went away to Shamokin, after Musemeelin was gone to bury the goods with three more Indians, with whom he had prevailed; one of them was Neshaleeny's son, whom he had ordered to kill James Smith, but these Indians would not have any of the goods. Some time after the young Indian had been in Shamokin, it was whispered about that some of the Delaware Indians had killed Armstrong and his men. A drunken Indian came to one of the Tudolous houses at night and told the man of the house that he could tell him a piece of bad news. What is that? said the other. The drunken man said, some of our Delaware Indians have killed Armstrong and his men, which, if our chiefs should not resent, and take them up, I will kill them myself to prevent a disturbance between us and the white people, our brother. Next morning, Shickcalamy and some other Indians of the Delawares were called to assist Allumoppies in Council. When Shickcalamy and Allumoppies got one of the Tudolous Indians to write a letter to me to desire me to come to Shamokin in all haste; that the Indians were much dissatisfied in mind. This letter was brought to my house by four Delaware Indians sent express; but I was then in Philadelphia, and when I came home and found all particulars mentioned in this letter, and that none of the Indians of the Six Nations had been down, I did not care to meddle with Delaware Indian affairs, and staid at home till I received the governor's orders to go, which was about two weeks after, Allumoppies was advised by his council to employ a *conjurer*, or as they call it, to find out the murderer, accordingly he did, and the Indians met, the *Seer* being busy all night, told them in the morning to examine such and such an one, they were present when Armstrong was killed, naming the two young men; Musemeelin was present. Accordingly Allumoppies, Quithyyquent and Thomas Green, an Indian, went to him that had fled first and examined him; he told the whole story very freely; then they went to the other, but he would not say a word, but went away and left him. The three Indians returned to Shickcalamy and informed them of what discovery they had made. When it was agreed to secure the murderers, and deliver them up to the white people. Then a great noise arose among the Delaware Indians, and some were afraid of their lives and went into the woods; not one cared to meddle with Musemeelin, and the other that could not be prevailed on to discover any thing, because of the resentment of their families; but they being pressed by Shickcalamy's son to secure the murderers, otherwise they would be cut off from the chain of friendship; four or five of the Delawares made Musemeelin and the other young man prisoners and tied them both. They lay twenty-four hours and none would venture to conduct them down; because of the great division among the Delaware Indians, and Allumoppies in danger of being killed, fled to Shickcalamy and begged his protection. At last Shickcalamy's son, Jack, went to the Delawares, most of them being drunk, as they had been for several days, and told them to deliver the prisoners to Alexander Armstrong, and they were afraid to do it; they might separate their heads from their bodies, and lay them in the canoe, and carry them to Alexander to roast and eat them, that would sat-

isfy his revenge as he wants to eat Indians. They prevailed with the said Jack to assist them, and accordingly he and his brother and some of the Delawares went with two canoes and carried them off.

Conrad Weiser, in a letter to a friend, dated Heidelberg, 1746, adverts to an interesting incident which occurred at the conclusion of this interview at Shamokin. He says, "two years ago I was sent by the Governor to Shamokin, on account of the unhappy death of John Armstrong, the Indian trader, (1744.) After I had performed my errand, there was a feast prepared, to which the Governor's messengers were invited; there were about one hundred persons present, to whom, after we had in great silence, devoured a fat bear, the eldest of the chiefs made a speech, in which he said: "That, by a great misfortune, three of the brethren, the *white men*, had been killed by an Indian; that nevertheless the sun was not set, (meaning there was no war,) it had only been somewhat darkened by a small cloud, which was now done away; he that had done evil was like to be punished, and the land remain in peace; therefore he exhorted his people to thankfulness to God; and therefore he began to sing with an awful solemnity, but without expressing any words; the others accompanied him with great earnestness of fervor, spoke these words: "Thanks, thanks, be to thee, thou great Lord of the world, in that thou hast again caused the sun to shine, and hast dispersed the dark cloud—the Indians are thine."

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN MASSACRES—(1754).

Abductions in 1753; viz: of Evans, Devoy, Nicholson, Magenty, Burns, Hutchinson of Cumberland county—Frontier inhabitants fear the Indians, and petition Governor Hamilton, from Cumberland and Lancaster counties—Governor Hamilton urges the Assembly to afford the frontier settlers aid—The government solicitors to retain the friendship and aid of the Indians—Weiser sent to Aughwick—Israel, an Indian of the Six Nations, killed Joseph Cample in Cumberland (Franklin county)—Croghan's letter touching this murder, &c.

Though we find only occasionally a murder committed upon the whites by the Indians, before Braddock's defeat, nevertheless the number of abductions was considerable before that time. Among others, inhabitants of Cumberland county, that were taken captive, were John Evans, Henry Devoy, Owen Nicholson, Alexander Magenty, Patrick Burns,

and George Hutchison, all of whom returned again to Cumberland—these were captured in 1752, '53, and '54; and some of them endured great hardships.

A number of French Indians, headed by a Frenchman, took George Henry, John Evans, James Devoy and Owen Nicholson, prior to 1753. They were carried to Quebec, and from thence sent to Rochelle, in France, where they were released by the English ambassador, and by him sent to London; from there they got a passage to Philadelphia; and on presenting a petition to the Assembly, May 22, 1753; and the House having considered the petitioners unhappy case were granted them as much money as bore their expenses to Cumberland county, their place of residence. Sixteen pounds were allowed them.

While one Alexander Magenty was trading with the *Cattawa* Indians, who were in alliance with the crown of Great Britain, and on returning home, he was taken prisoner, January 26 1753, by a party of French Indians of the *Cagnawaga* Nation, near the river *Kantucqui*, a western branch of the Ohio. The Indians beat and abused Magenty in the most barbarous and cruel manner; then sent him to Montreal. From that place the prisoner wrote a letter to the Mayor of Albany, requesting him to obtain his release, which was ultimately effected, by paying a considerable sum of money to the Indians who had taken him. Magenty returned to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1753, destitute of clothes and other necessities; the Assembly granted him six pounds to bear his expenses to Cumberland county, the place of his residence.

In November 1755, the Assembly granted ten pounds to Patrick Burns and George Hutchinson, who had been taken prisoners by the Indians, and made their escape, to furnish them necessities in their distressed circumstances, to return from Philadelphia to Cumberland county, their place of residence. *Votes of Assembly*, vol. iv.

A strict amity had existed between the Indians and the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, with occasional *personal* or individual disputes, for a space of about seventy years; but now, 1753 and '54 a different spirit manifested itself in the conduct of some of the Indians, in the north-western parts of the State, and along the frontier settlements of the province—they joined with the French against the English, and made havoc of their former friends, the English; many of whom, at the instigation of their new allies, the French, they murdered most cruelly, as will be apparent from the following detailed accounts of massacres. A dark cloud obscured the hitherto existing friendly relations, and consternation seized hold of those, who seemed to have nothing to fear from the aborigines. A panic spread through the frontier settlers.

The inhabitants of Cumberland now began to fear greatly that the enemy, who had recently made incursions into Virginia would, before long, fall upon them too, and they peti-

tioned Governor Hamilton to aid them in their critical condition. The inhabitants of the upper part of Lancaster (now Dauphin) county, sent a similar petition to the Governor and council—(given below.)

The address of the subscribers of the county of Cumberland, sheweth that we are now in most imminent danger by a powerful army of cruel, merciless and inhumane enemies, by whom our lives, liberties, estates, and all that tends to promote our welfare, are in the utmost danger of dreadful destruction, and this lamentable truth is most evident from the late defeat of the Virginia forces, and now as we are under your Honor's protection, we would beg your immediate notice, we living upon the Frontiers of the Province and our enemies so close upon us, nothing doubting but these considerations will affect your Honor, and as you have our welfare at heart, that you will defer nothing that may tend to hasten our relief. And we have hereby appointed our most trusty friends, James Burd and Philip Davies, our commissioners, to deliver this our petition to your Honor, and in hopes of your due attention and regard thereto, we are your Honor's devoted servants, and as in duty bound shall ever pray :

CUMBERLAND, 15th July, 1754.

Benjamin Chambers Robert Chambers James Carnahan James McTeer Charles Morrow John Mitchell Joseph Armstrong John Miller Alexander Culbertson James Holiday Nathaniel Wilson Wm. McCord Jas. Jack John Smith Fran. West James Sharp John Ervin Matthew Arthur James McCormick Charles Magill George Finly John Dotter John Cesna Joseph Culbertson Samuel Culbertson John Thompson John Reynolds George Hamilton David Magaw James Chambers Hermanus Alrichs Robert Meek Archibald Machan Benjamin Blyth Joseph McKinney John Thompson Francis Campbell John Finly Isaac Miller John Machan John Miller John Blair James Blair James Moore John Finly William White William Buchanan John Montgomery Andrew McFarlane Jas. Brandon John Pattison John Creighead Wm. McClure Samuel Stevens William Brown Pat. McFarlan Stephen Foulk John Armstrong Stephen Foulk jr. William McCoskry Charles Pattison Wm Miller John Prentice Arthur Forster William Blyth Gideon Griffith Thomas Henderson Andrew McIntyre John McCuer Robert Guthrie George Davidson Robert Miller Thomas Willson Thomas Lockert Tobias Hendricks. The petition was read in Council, August 6, 1754.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the townships of Paxton, Derry and Hanover, Lancaster county, humble sheweth that your petitioners being settled on and near the river Susquehannah, apprehend themselves in great danger from the French and French Indians, as it is in their power several times in the year to transport themselves with ammunition, artillery and every necessary, down the said river—and their conduct of late to the neighboring Provinces increases our dread of a speedy visit from them, as we are as near and convenient as the Provinces already attacked, and are less capable of defending ourselves, as we are unprovided with arms and ammunition and unable to purchase them. A great number are warm and active in these parts for the defence of themselves and country, were they enabled so to do,

(although not such a number as would be able to withstand the enemy) we, your petitioners, therefore humbly pray that your Honor would take our distressed condition into consideration and make such provision for us as may prevent ourselves and families from being destroyed and ruined by such a cruel enemy; and your petitioners as in duty will ever pray.

Dated July 22, 1754.

Thos. Florster Jas. Armstrong John Harris Thos. Simpson Samuel Simson John Carson David Shields William McMullen John Cuoit William Armstrong James Armstrong Wm. Bell John Daugherty Jas. Atkin And. Cochran James Reed Thomas Rotherford T. McCarter Wm. Steel Samuel Hunter Thos. Mays Jas. Coler Henry Renicks Rich. McClare Thomas Dugan John Johnson Peter Fleming Thomas Sturgeon Mathew Taylor Jeremiah Sturgeon Thomas King Robert Smith Adam Reed, John Crawford Thomas Crawford John M'Clure Thomas Hume Thos. Stean John Hume John Crag Thos. McCleure Wm. McCleure John Rodgers James Peterson John Young Ez. Sankey John Florster Mitchell Graham James Toalen Jas. Galbreath James Campel Robert Boyd Jas. Chambers Robert Armstrong John Campel Hugh Black Thos. Black. This Pet. read in council 6th Aug. 1754.

Fear, ever of a contagious nature, seized hold of those more remotely settled from the frontier. The inhabitants of Donegal township, Lancaster county, also felt that they, as well as their fellow-inhabitants, were in great danger of being murdered by the savages and their French allies; in view of the impending dangers, joined in petitioning the Governor to take their distressed condition into consideration.

The humble petition of us, inhabitants of Donegal, humbly sheweth that your petitioners being duly sensible of the great dangers that ourselves are now in, by reason of such a cruel and merciless enemy as those we are engaged with, we therefore desire to join with our friends and neighbors, in requesting your honor to take our distressed condition into your consideration, and to put us in a condition that we may be able to defend ourselves, and we, on our part, will join with all that we can do for the safety of the Province, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray.

We empower our trusty friends, James Galbraith, Esq. and Thomas Foster, Esq., to present this to your Honor, in our behalf, July 26, 1754.

Ephraim Moor William Smith Wm. Allison Wm. Miller John McQueen John Semple Robert Semple An. McCewen Jas. Shaw Robert Ramsey Richard Gilston Thos. Cotter Jno. McIntyr David Cook John Mitchell David Bayers John Naulear Jos. Howard Sam. Smith Thomas Mitchell William Neley John Jamison Nicholas McClarland William McClelan Mark Clark Cul. Nicholson Thos. Clining James Clark Robert Brackan Thos. Wilson Jno. Allison James Allison, Wm. McCean William Miller Thos. Hall John Hall Rob. Karr Robert Stuart William Stuart William Trinton Wm. Staret Barney Hughes John Bayty James Bayty John McKracan James Anderson James Work Thos. Hutcheson

Jas. Lowry Robt. Shankland George Clark Hugh Lyan John Brown
 Jno. Collins Moses Andrews Jas. Hutchison James Foster Mordcaai
 Bane Joseph McCoskey Andrew Christy Abraham Scott Robert Car-
 uthers Robt. Nelson Patrick Winters Robt. Frier Robert McCleand Wm.
 Ramage John Moore Joseph Marchet James Stinson Jas. Cook John
 Galbreath David Craize John Willson Jos. Lyon Jno. Allison James
 Karr Thomas Harris Zach. Moor James Semple William Scott John
 Foster Robert Mordoch Thomas Patton William Spear Moses Potts
 Abraham Scott Robt. Allison John Rea James Fulton John McColloch
 Thomas Brees John Kelly Chas. Rowan Hugh Hall James Walker.
 Read in Council, Aug. 6, 1754.

The Governor, on maturely considering the condition of the frontier settlers, sent a message to the Assembly, then in session, urging in strong terms that immediate aid should be afforded the petitioners. In his message (August 1754) he says, "The people of Cumberland and the upper parts of Lancaster county, are so apprehensive of danger, at this critical juncture, from the nearness of French and savages under their influence, that the principal inhabitants have, in the most earnest manner, petitioned me to provide for their protection; representing withal, that a great number would be warm and active in defence of themselves and their country, were they enabled so to be, by being supplied with arms and ammunition, which many of them are unable to purchase at their own private expence. The substance of these several petitions, which I shall likewise order to be laid before you, appears to me, gentlemen, to be of the greatest importance, and well worthy of your most serious attention. You may be assured, that nothing which depends on me shall be wanting towards affording them the protection they desire; but you cannot at the same time but be sensible how little it is in my power to answer their expectations without the aid of your house. It becomes then my indispensable duty, and I cannot on any account whatever, excuse myself from pressing you to turn your thoughts on the defenceless state of the Province in general, as well as of our back inhabitants in particular; and to provide such means for the security of the whole, as shall be thought at once both reasonable and effectual to the ends proposed; in which, as in every other matter, consistent with my honor, and the trust reposed in me, I promise you my hearty concurrence.—*Votes of Assembly*, iv. 319, Aug. 1754.

These abductions were mere preludes of more sanguinary

sequences. Many of the Indians heretofore known as "friendly Indians" became disaffected, and favored the French interests in the west—ready to aid the French in their schemes. The government of the Province of Pennsylvania and Virginia, were anxious to not only have the continued friendship of those who still professed to be friendly, but, if possible, to regain the friendship of the disaffected; for that purpose Conrad Weiser was sent, in the month of September, 1754, to Aughwick, where George Croghan, the Indian agent, had quite a number of different tribes under his care. Notwithstanding that Mr. Weiser, as the agent of the government, did all in his power, aided by liberal donations of money, to secure the continued friendly assistance of the Indians, murders were committed by some unknown Indian. For a few days after Mr. Weiser had left Croghan's, an Indian of the Six Nations, named Israel, penetrated into the frontier settlements, and killed an Indian trader, Joseph Campble, at the house of Anthony Thompson, near Parnall's Knob, Cumberland county, (now Franklin,) as the following letter shows:

Aughwick, September the 27th, 1754.

May it please your Honor:

Since Mr. Weiser left this, an Indian of the Six Nations, named Israel, killed one Joseph Campble, an Indian Trader, at the house of one Anthony Thompson, at the foot of the Tuscarora Valley, near Parnall's Knob. As soon as I heard it, I went down to Thompson's and took several of the chiefs of the Indians with me, when I met William Maxwell, Esq. The Indian made his escape before I got there. I took the qualification of the persons who were present at the murder, and delivered them to Mr. Maxwell to be sent to your Honor, with the speech made by the chiefs of the Indians on that occasion, which, I suppose, your Honor has received.

I have heard many accounts from Ohio since Mr. Weiser left this, all of which agree that the French have received a re-inforcement of men and provision from Canada, to the fort. An Indian returned yesterday to this place, whom I had sent to the fort for intelligence; he confirms the above accounts, and further says, there were about sixty French Indians had come while he staid there, and that they expected better than two hundred more every day; he says that the French design to send those Indians with some French, in several parties, to annoy the back settlements, which the French say, will put a stop to any English forces marching out this fall to attack them. This Indian likewise says that the French will do their endeavor to have the Half-King Scarrayooday, Capt. Montour and myself, killed this fall. This Indian, I think is to be believed, if there can be any credit given to what an Indian says. He presses me strongly to leave this place, and not live in any of the back parts. The scheme of sending several parties to annoy the back settlements seems so much like French policy, that I can't help thinking it true.

I hear from Colonel Innes that there certainly have been some French Indians at the Camp at Will's creek, and fired on the sentry in the dead of the night. If the French prosecute this scheme, I don't know what will become of the back parts of Cumberland county, which is much exposed. The back parts of Virginia and Maryland are covered by the English Camp, so that most of the inhabitants are safe.

I would have written to your Honor before now, on this head, I only waited the return of this Indian messenger, whose account I really think is to be depended on. The Indians here seem very uneasy at their long stay, as they have heard nothing from the Governor of Virginia, nor of your Honor since Mr. Weiser went away; nor do they see the English making any preparations to attack the French, which seems to give them a great deal of concern. I believe several of the Indians will soon go to the Six Nation country; and then I suppose the rest will be obliged to fall in with the French. If this happens then all the back settlements will be left to the mercy of an outrageous enemy.

I beg your Honor's pardon for mentioning the consequences which most certainly attend the slow motion of the English government, as they are well known to your Honor; and that I am sensible your Honor had done all in your power for the security of those parts. I hope as soon as his Honor, Governor Morris, is arrived, I shall hear what is to be done with those Indians. I assure your Honor it will not be in my power to keep them together much longer.

I am your Honor's most humble and most ob't servant,

Geo. CROSWAN.

Aughwick, Old Town.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN MASSACRES—(1755).

Ardent hostilities between the French and English—Thirteen persons murdered near Will's creek—James Smith waylaid; his companion killed and scalped by the Indians—Forts and Block-houses erected along the Frontiers—A fort commenced at Shippensburg—Braddock's defeat encourages the French and their Indian allies—Frontier settlers again petition government for protection—Plans for defence of the Frontiers—Governor Morris's language in relation to Braddock's defeat—Twenty-five persons carried off at Penn's creek; buildings burnt; several persons killed and scalped, viz: Jacques Le Roy, or Jacob King and others—Four men killed by the Indians, who were returning from Shamokin to Harris's ferry—Extensive settlements deserted—Harris's letters touching the above massacre—Weiser's letters—Harris's letter—Anecdote from Heckewelder's narrative—Frontier settlers abandon their homes—Murders committed in the Great Cove—Chambers's letter; Potter's letter; Armstrong's letter; Burd's letter; Hoop's letter, touching the murder committed in Big Cove—Five persons killed near Tullyhoes gap—Murders committed in Shearman's valley—Weiser's letter alluding thereto.

Clouds of portentous indication were fast gathering, and excited general alarm; for actual hostilities between the French, aided by their Indian allies, and the English in America, had commenced. Reinforcements, by both parties, to strike the decisive blow most fatally, were effected. The crisis was an eventful one. The inhabitants of the frontiers were all in a panic—the Indians, true to their character, when enemies, struck whenever an opportunity presented itself—neither sex nor age was spared. Sometime in the latter part of June, 1755, they killed thirteen men, women and children, about four miles from Wills' creek, on the borders of Penn-

sylvania. The following extract of a letter is submitted in proof:—

SHIPPENSBURG, 30 June, 1755.

William Allen, Esq.

Dear Cousin :

[Mr. Shippen speaking of the recovery of his son Joseph, who had been dangerously ill]—adds—" But the reason of my sending this letter is to acquaint you that Mr. Joseph Simons is just come from the Little Meadows, and assures me that last Monday, the Indians killed six men, women and children ; and on Wednesday killed seven more. He saw one man who made his escape, who was shot in the mouth and thigh, and a boy was knocked down and thought to be dead, and scalped, and afterwards coming to himself and ran into the Potomack, and in a short time called aloud for assistance. The boy saw the Indian scalping his mother as he was coming to. [These were killed four miles from Wills' creek. I. D. N.]

The General (Braddock) it is supposed is by this time a few miles beyond the Great Meadows. He has but thirty days provisions with him : his dependance is upon having continental supplies from this Province ; but there is still a good quantity at Wills' creek ; but I doubt without a guard of a hundred men at least, they will be intercepted on the road.

Captain Hogg, with his company, is with the Road-cutters ; and while Mr. Burd was absent last week riding about Conococheague with me, last Monday, to get wagons to carry provisions to feed the men and the soldiers ; for those people had but a day and a half provision when he came away. I say, in his absence, there were fourteen of Hogg's men deserted, as Justice Allison, of Lancaster county says, and more were expected to go every day—a melancholy story, indeed.

I am exceedingly sorry that it has not been practicable to send two hundred fuses for the Road-cutters. John Potter, the sheriff, tells me that his son and a few more ought to set off to-morrow with forty head of cattle to support the Road-cutters and Captain Hogg's men ; but that the people are so alarmed about the Indians that he cannot think it safe to venture them out unless he can intercede with twenty or thirty of his neighbors to guard them. If money could be raised to pay a hundred men for three months, it would be a most extraordinary thing. A subscription might do a great deal towards it. It is important to keep the cutters in good spirits ; for if Capt. Hogg's men should incline to desert, I am apprehensive, that unless Mr. Burd's workmen can be put in a posture of defence, they will run away homewards. But I hope this can be prevented.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

The following letter from John Harris to Conrad Weiser, dated June 30, 1754, at Paxton, confirms the above, as to those murdered at Wills creek.

"I am sorry that I have occasion to inform you of such melancholy news. On Monday, the 23d inst. were killed and scalped three

persons by Indians, near our fort, at Wills creek. And within three days after, upwards of twenty of our inhabitants have been killed or taken, near Fort Cumberland. William Chesney is come home, who saw a little boy in our fort who was scalped last week, and likely to live. In short, there seems to be nothing but desolation on the Potomac. There was scarce an hour since the army marched, but news of alarm comes down the road, that it will probably be stopped by the enemy; one soldier was fired upon and killed. Our own Indians are strongly suspected, for several reasons: first, their deserting our army, all except about six men; and also, by English goods or arms found, on one Indian killed last week by one Williams, which articles were delivered but lately out of our forts to Indians then there. I think it is advisable that you should use endeavors to find out if our Indians are concerned, so that we might, with the least delay, lay some scheme for revenge before they find time to use us as they have done our fellow subjects and acquaintances. We need men to be directly raised for our defence, and to guard provisions, &c., to our camp and army."

In June, 1755, the Indians had waylaid James Smith and another man in company with him, in the northwestern part of Cumberland county, (now Bedford,) shot his partner, took him captive—carried him to Fort Duquesne—after ending many hardships for several years, he was exchanged with other prisoners—returned home in 1760.

Smith afterwards published an interesting narrative of his captivity, in which he notices the murder of his companion and his abduction, as follows:

"In May, 1755, the province of Pennsylvania, agreed to send out three hundred men, in order to cut a wagon road from Fort Loudon, to join Braddock's road, near the Turkey Foot, or three forks of Youghiogeny. My brother-in-law, William Smith, Esq., of Conococheague, was appointed commissioner, to have the oversight of these road-cutters.

Though I was at that time only eighteen years of age, I had fallen violently in love with a young lady, whom I apprehended was possessed of a large share of both beauty and virtue;—but being born between Venus and Mars, I concluded I must also leave my dear fair one, and go out with this company of road-cutters, to see the event of this campaign; but still expecting that some time in the course of this summer, I should again return to the arms of my beloved.

We went on with the road, without interruption, until near the Allegheny mountain; when I was sent back, in order to hurry up some provision wagons that were on the way after us. I proceeded down the road as far as the crossings of Juniata, where, finding the wagons were coming on as fast as

possible, I returned up the road again towards the Allegheny mountain, in company with one Arnold Vigoras. About four or five miles above Bedford, three Indians had made a blind of bushes, stuck in the ground, as though they grew naturally, where they concealed themselves, about fifteen yards from the road. When we came opposite to them, they fired upon us, at this short distance, and killed my fellow traveler, yet their bullets did not touch me; but my horse making a violent start, threw me, and the Indians immediately ran up, and took me prisoner. The one that laid hold on me was a Canasatauga, the other two were Delawares. One of them could speak English, and asked me if there were any more white men coming after? I told them not any near, that I knew of. Two of these Indians stood by me whilst the other scalped my comrade: they then set off and ran at a smart rate, through the woods, for about fifteen miles, and that night we slept on the Allegheny mountain, without fire."

To protect themselves against the incursions of the Indians and consequent destruction of the settlements, the inhabitants, encouraged by government, began to erect forts and block-houses in various parts along the frontiers—now within the limits of Bedford, Franklin, Cumberland and Dauphin counties. Some time in July, 1755, preparations were made to erect a fort in Shippensburg, which was completed in the fall of the same year.

Charles Swain wrote to Governor Morris, from Shippensburg, July 30th, 1755, and mentioned that a piece of ground had been pitched on to erect a fort upon.

"I have first to inform you that two Indians came here, one named *Chiregea*, and the other called the *Song*, to see if they could have any assistance and provision, is their message. They have left behind five Wyandots, and two others of the Five Nations, who did not choose to come along with these, who were to return to them in two days, to the place where they left them, fourteen or fifteen miles beyond the Hills of Tuscarora Path. I have given them entertainment, also a pass, and forwarded them to Conrad Weiser. I sent enclosed an affidavit from three persons come from the road. A defeat, I believe is beyond doubt. Mr. Burd is gone to Fort Cumberland. I suppose the people will now come fast into these parts; and shall use all expedition in forwarding a Fort. I have pitched on a piece of ground of Mr. Shippen's, and the timber about here is all his, therefore should be glad he was to write about it—if your Honor thought proper, that there may be no after-claps on his part."

Shortly after Gen. E. Braddock's defeat, July 9, 1755,

the French and their Indian allies, encouraged by their success, pushed their incursions into the interior parts of the frontier settlements—into York, Cumberland, Lancaster, Berks and Northampton counties. These counties were scenes of murder, burning of houses, &c., for a period of about ten years. The apprehensions of those who feared the direful consequences of Braddock's defeat were sadly realized.

The massacres which followed this defeat were horrible beyond description. *Shinges** and Captain *Jacobs* were supposed to have been the principal instigators of them, and a reward of seven hundred dollars was offered for their heads. It was at this period, that the dead bodies of some of the murdered and mangled were sent from the frontiers to Philadelphia, and hauled about the streets, to inflame the people against the Indians, and also against the Quakers, to whose mild forbearance was attributed a laxity in sending out troops. The mob surrounded the house of Assembly, having placed the dead bodies at its entrance, and demanded immediate succor. At this time the above reward was offered.—*Drake's Ind. His.* v. 22.

The inhabitants, as they had done the previous years, again renewed their petitions to government; and also united to resist, if possible, the French and their savage allies, as will appear from the following:

The humble petition of the subscribers, inhabitants of Lurgan township, in Cumberland county, amicably unite as a company, under the care and command of Mr. Alexander Culbertson:—Showeth, that inasmuch as we dwell upon the frontiers our case is lamentably dangerous, we being in such imminent peril of being inhumanly butchered by our savage neighbors, whose tender mercies are cruelty; and if they should come upon us now, we are naked and defenceless; being in a great measure destitute of arms and ammunition. What would be the event?

* *King Shingas*, as he was called by the whites, but whose proper name was *Shingask*, which is interpreted, *Bogmeadow*, was the greatest Delaware warrior at that time. Heckewelder, who knew him personally, says, Were his war exploits all on record, they would form an interesting document, though a shocking one. Conococheague, Bigboor, Shearman's valley and other settlements along the frontier, felt his strong arm sufficiently, that he was a *bloody warrior*,—cruel his treatment, relentless his fury. His person was small, but in point of courage and activity, savage prowess, he was said to have never been exceeded by any one. In 1753, when Washington was on his expedition to the French on the Ohio, (Allegheny)—*Shingas*—where Pittsburg now is, but in 1756—had his house at Kittanning. See Bedford country, article Fort Littleton, and Armstrong letter there inserted.

And now it is the only kind Providence of God that restrains them. And in these sad and lamentable circumstances, we betake ourselves to your Honor's compassion, as to a kind and lamentable Father of whose tender concern for us we are well assured.

May it therefore please your Honor, in your great wisdom and goodness, to commiserate our unhappy case, and strengthen our hands with such a quantity of arms and ammunition, and upon such terms as your Honor sees fit, and your dependant petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.—August 1, 1755.

Plans were now devised for the defence of the frontiers. The following was *one*, which the compiler copied from the original, found among some papers and letters in the Secretary's office at Harrisburg. The paper is without date. It is headed "*A plan for the defence of the Frontier of Cumberland county from Philip Davies' to Shippensburg.*"—(*Miscel. papers* 85.)

Let one company cover from Philip Davies to Thomas Waddel's. And as John McDowell's mill is at the most important pass, most exposed to danger, has a fort already made about it, and there provisions may be most easily had; for these reasons let the chief quarters be there. Let five men be constantly at Philip Davies's, William Marshall's and Thomas Waddle's, who shall be relieved every day by the patrolling guards. Let ten men be sent early every morning from the chief quarters to Thomas Waddle's, and ten return from thence in the evening. Likewise ten men sent from the chief quarters to the other extremity daily, to go by William Marshall's to Philip Davies's, and return the same way in the afternoon. By this plan the whole bounds will be patrolled twice every day,—a watch will be constantly kept at four most important places, and there will be every night forty-five men at the chief quarters ready for any exigency.

Another company may cover as much more of the Frontier, beginning where the first ends and reach towards, and back of Shippensburg, by fixing a chief quarter in some convenient place about the middle of said bounds, and from thence patrolling the ground twice a day, and keeping watches at the most proper places as above; one of which watches may be constantly at Mr. Armstrong's, and another at a proper place at the other extremity.

This plan supposes each of the companies to consist of sixty men in all, as fewer cannot so patrol, keep watch, and have any force together to answer such exigencies as may occur. These may be furnished by deducting seventeen out of each of the four Forts back of our frontier: this leaves sixty in each fort, and makes up a new company of sixty men, and eight to be added to Captain Potter's company.

Governor Robert Morris, in his message of July 24, 1755, to the Assembly, has the following language in relation to

* See Appendix C,—Article "Proposal for the defence of the Frontiers by Major Burd.

Braddock's defeat: "This unfortunate and unexpected change in our affairs deeply affect every one of his majesty's colonies, but none of them in so sensible a manner as this province, while having no militia, is thereby left exposed to the cruel incursion of the French and barbarous Indians, who delight in shedding human blood, and who make no distinction as to age or sex—as to those that are armed against them, or such as they can surprise in their peaceful habitations—all are alike the objects of their cruelty—slaughtering the tender infant, and frightened mother, with equal joy and fierceness. To such enemies, spurred by the native cruelty of their tempers, encouraged by their late success, and having now no army to fear, are the inhabitants of this province exposed; and by such must we now expect to be overrun, if we do not immediately prepare for our own defence; nor ought we to content ourselves with this, but resolve to drive to and confine the French to their own just limits."—*Votes of Assem.* iv. 416.

Scarcely three months after this disastrous defeat, we find the barbarous savages, engaged in murdering the whites and setting fire to their houses, on the west side of Susquehanna, in Cumberland county, now Union; for on the fifteenth of October, 1755, a party of Indians fell upon the inhabitants on *Mahahany* (or Penn's) creek, that runs into the river Susquehanna, about five miles lower than the Great Fork made by the juncture of the two main branches of the Susquehanna, killed and carried off about twenty-five persons, and burnt and destroyed their buildings and improvements, and the whole settlement was deserted."—*Pov. Recds.* N. 340.

The inhabitants on Penn's creek sent in the following petition to Governor Morris: "We, the subscribers, near the mouth of Penn's creek, on the west side of the Susquehanna, humbly show, that on or about the 16th October, 1755, the enemy came down upon said creek, killed, scalped and carried away all the men, women and children, amounting to twenty-five in number: and wounded 1 man, who fortunately made his escape, and brought us the news, whereupon the subscribers went out and buried the dead, whom we found most barbarously murdered and scalped.

We found but thirteen, who were men and elderly women. The children, we suppose to be carried away prisoners. The house where we suppose they finished their murder, we found burnt up; the man of it, named Jacob King, a Swisser, lying just by it. He lay on his back, barbarously burnt, and two tomahawks sticking in his forehead; one of those marked newly with W. D. We have sent them to your Honor.

The terror of which, has driven away almost all the back inhabitants, except the subscribers, with a few more who are willing to stay and defend the land; but as we are not at all able to defend it for the want of guns and ammunition, and few in numbers, so that without assistance, we must flee and leave the country to the mercy of the enemy.

We, therefore, desire it, that your Honor would take the same into consideration, and order some speedy relief for the safety of these back settlements, and be pleased to give us speedy orders what to do.

George Gliwell George Anchmudy John McCahon Abraham Souerkill Edmund Matthews Mark Curry William Doran Dennis Mucklehenry John Young John Simmons George Snabble George Aberheart Daniel Braugh George Lynn and Goufried Fryer.—*Prov. Rec. N.* p. 242-3.

Jacob King *alias* Jacob Le Roy, mentioned in the above petition, had only lately arrived in the country. At the time he was murdered, his daughter Anne Mary Le Roy and some others were made prisoners, and taken to Kittaning, where she was kept a captive for about four years. She arrived at Philadelphia, May 6th 1759. A narrative of her abduction and captivity, and that of Barbara Leininger was published by Peter Miller, in 1759.—*Sauer's Zeitung*.

On the 23d of October, 1755, forty-six of the inhabitants on Susquehanna, about Harris' Ferry, went to Shamokin, to enquire of the Indians there, who they were, that had so cruelly fallen upon and ruined the settlement on Mahahony creek; on their return from Shamokin, they were fired upon by some Indians who lay in ambush, and four were killed, four drowned, and the rest put to flight; on which all the settlements between Shamokin and Hunter's mill (formerly Chamber's) for the space of fifty miles, were deserted.—*Prov. Rec. N.* 340.

The following letters from John Harris, and other gentlemen, give all the particulars, touching the above :

Paxton, October 20, 1755.

May it please your Honor—

I was informed last night, by a person that came down our river, that there was a Dutch (German) woman, who made her escape to George Gabriel's, and informs us that last Friday evening, on her way home from this settlement, on Mahahony, or Penn's creek, where her family lived, she called at a neighbor's house, and saw two persons lying by the door of said house, murdered and scalped; and there were some Dutch (German) families that lived near their places, immediately left, not thinking it safe to stay any longer. It is the opinion of the people up the river, that the families on Penn's creek being scattered, that but few in number are killed or carried off, except the above said woman, the certainty of which will soon be known, as there are some men gone out to bury the dead.

By report, this evening, I was likewise informed by the belt of wampum, and these Indians here, there were seen, near Shamokin, about six days ago, two French Indians of the Canawago tribe. I, a little doubted the truth of the report at first; but the Indians have seemed so afraid, that they despatched messengers, immediately, to the mountains, above my house, to bring in some of their women that were gathering chestnuts, for fear of their being killed.

By a person just arrived down our river, brought information of two men being murdered within five miles of Geo. Gabriel's, four women carried off, and there is one man wounded in three places, who escaped to Gabriel's, and it is imagined that all the inhabitants on Penn's creek and Little Mahabony, are killed or carried off, as most of them live much higher up, where the first murder was discovered. The Indian warriors here send you these two strings of white wampum, and the women the black one, both requesting that you would lay by all your council pipes, immediately, and open all your eyes and ears and view your slain people in this land, and to put a stop to it immediately, and come to this place to our assistance without any delay; and the belt of wampum particularly mentions that the proprietors and your honor would immediately act in defence of their country, as the old chain of friendship now is broken by several nations of Indians, and it seems to be such as they never expected to see or hear of. Any delay on our acting vigorously now at this time, would be the loss of all Indian interest, and perhaps our ruin in these parts

I am your honor's

Most obedient servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

P. S. I shall endeavor to get a number of my neighbors to go out as far as the murder has been committed; and perhaps to Shamokin, to know the minds of the Indians, and their opinions of these times, and to get what intelligence I can from them, and to encourage some of their young men to scout about, back of the frontiers, to give us notice of the enemy's approach, if possible, at any time hereafter. I heartily wish your honor and the assembly, would please to agree on some method at this time towards protecting this province, as this part of it seems actually in danger now; for should but a company of Indians come and murder, but a few families hereabouts, which is daily expected, the situation we are in would oblige numbers to abandon their plantations, and our cattle and provisions, which we have a plenty of, must then fall a prey to the enemy.

Our Indians here seem much discouraged at the large number of families passing here, every day, on account of the late murders on the Pctomack, and will be much more so, if it should happen to be our case. There were two Indian women set out from here two days ago, for the Ohio, to bring some of their relations (as they say) down here; and should the French, or their Indians hear by them, as they will be enquiring for news, the effect that their late murders has had among our inhabitants, it will be a matter of encouragement to them.

I conclude, your honor's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

PAXTON, October 28, 1755.

May it please your Honor (Gov. Morris.)

This is to acquaint you, that on the 24th of October, I arrived at Shamokin, in order to protect our frontiers up that way, till they might make their escape from their cruel enemies; and learn the best intelligence I could.

The Indians on the west branch of the Susquehannah, certainly killed our inhabitants on Penn's creek; and there are a hatchet and two English scalps sent by them up the North branch, to desire them to strike with them, if they are men.

The Indians are all assembling themselves at Shamokin, to counsel; a large body of them was there four days ago. I cannot learn their intentions; but seems Andrew Montour and Mona-ca-too-tha are to bring down the news from them. There is not a sufficient number of them to oppose the enemy; and, perhaps, they will join the enemy against us. There is no dependance on Indians; and we are in imminent danger.

I got certain information from Andrew Montour and others, that there is a body of French with fifteen hundred Indians coming upon us, Picks, Ottaways, Orandox, Delawares, Shawanese, and a number of the Six Nations; and are now, not many days' march from this Province and Virginia, which are appointed to be attacked; at the same time, some of the Shamokin Indians seem friendly, and others appear like enemies.

Montour knew many days ago of the enemy being on their march against us, before he informed; for which I said as much to him, as I thought prudent, considering the place I was in.

On the 25th inst., on my return with about forty more, we were attacked by about twenty or thirty Indians—received their fire, and about fifteen of our men and myself took to the trees, attacked the villains, killed four of them on the spot, and lost but three more—retreating about half a mile through woods, and crossing the Susquehannah, one of whom was shot off an horse riding behind myself, through the river. My horse was wounded, and falling in the river, I was obliged to quit him and swim part of the way.

Four or five of our men were drowned crossing the river. I hope our journey, though with fatigue, and loss of our substance, and some of our lives, will be of service to our country, by discovering our enemy, who will be our ruin, if not timely prevented.

I just now received information that there was a French officer, supposed captain, with a party of Shawanese, Delawares, &c., within six miles of Shamokin, ten days ago; and no doubt intends to take possession of it, which will be a dreadful consequence to us, if suffered.—Therefore, I thought proper to despatch this message to inform your Honor. The Indians here I hope, your Honor, will be pleased to cause them to remove to some place, as I do like their company; and as the men of those here were not against us, yet did them no harm; or else I would have them all cut off. Belt (Indian so called) promised at Shamokin, to send out spies to view the enemy, and upon hearing of our skirmishes, Old Belt was in a rage—gathered up thirty Indians immediately and went in pursuit of the enemy, as I am this day informed.

I expect Montour and Mona-ca-thoo-tha down here this week, with

the determination of their Shamokin council. The inhabitants are abandoning their plantations, and we are in a dreadful situation.

I am &c.,

JOHN HARRIS.*

P. S. The night ensuing our attack, the Indians burnt all George Gabriel's houses—danced around them.

The Indians alluded to by Mr. Harris, had been at Harris' Ferry for some months, as is evident from the following letter addressed to Governor Morris :

HARRIS' FERRY, July 9th, at 11 o'clock, 1755.

Honored Sir: According to your order, I came to this place last Monday, and found the *Indian's writing for me*. Yesterday, I distributed about two hundred bushels of meal among them; after that was over, they required how things stood as to the war. I told them what had happened to some of the back inhabitants; and that the French Indians were like to do a great deal of mischief. They seemed to be very much concerned. There were about thirty of them, and of which number nine offered themselves to go with me, or my son Sammy, to Wills' creek, and serve as outscouts against the French and their Indians, and to protect the poor people settled about those parts; and I was agreed that they should meet me, or my son, at this place, in ten days hence; and that in the meantime, I was to obtain your Honor's leave, and a proper pass. This morning Captain Glazier's express from the east arrived at this place, with the agreeable news of the defeat of the French at Nova Scotia, and the taking of the French men-of-war, by Admiral Boscawen.

I read and explained the printed paper to the Indians, and they expressed a good deal of satisfaction and pleasure with the news. Capt. Glazier gave me to understand that he should be very glad if some of these Indians would accompany him to the English camp with the despatches he had for the general, in this dangerous time. I proposed it to the Indians; they approved of the thing, but having intelligence of your Honor's coming up, and that you would be in Lancaster this day, they would hear and receive your approbation; and they have accordingly desired me to stay with them at this place, till your Honor's arrival, which I have promised to do, and have sent the bearer here of express to let your Honor know of this and to receive further orders.

I am sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

CORRAD WEISER.

HEIDELBERG, July 21st, 1755.

Honored Sir:

I must inform you that on the same day you left John Harris's, about twenty-five Indian women and children arrived from *Achwick*, (Aughwick) only one old man with them. They say that it was agreed upon when their husbands and young men went to the English army, under General Braddeck, they should come down to the inhabited parts, where they should be provided for; and as they had nobody to hunt for

them, they could not live without being somehow assisted by their brethren, the English; and that a good many more were on their way coming down.

I bought 500 weight of flour and gave it to them; and gave orders to John Harris that when the rest arrived to give them some flour also, till the Governor's pleasure should be known, which I desire your honor will signify to me or John Harris, as soon as possible.

Jonathan and John Shickalamy* will stay among the inhabitants till they hear from your honor concerning the English army and Gen. Braddock.

Our people are very malicious against our Indians; they curse and damn them to their faces, and say, "Must we feed you, and your husbands fight in the meantime for the French?"

I am, your honor's
obedient and humble servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

In the month of August 1755, Conrad Weiser, at the request of Gov. Morris, went to Harris' Ferry, when he found that Scarroyady, and a good many more Indians had gone up the river to settle about Shamokin, or at least to hunt thereabouts during the winter of 1755 and '56.

Tohashwughtonie, commonly called "Belt" or "Old Belt," was at Harris' Ferry, with Seneca George, and five or six more elderly men, and others to the number of fifty or sixty including women and children. Weiser brought with him a wagon load of flour to supply the wants of the Indians.†

I, and Thomas Foster, Esq., Mrs. Harris, and Mr. McKee, with upwards of forty men, went up the 2d inst., (October 1755,) to Captain McKee, at New Providence, in order to bury the dead, lately murdered on Mahahany creek; but understanding the corpse were buried, we then determined to return immediately home. But being urged by John Sekalamy, and the Old Belt, to go up to see the Indians at Shamokin, and know their minds, we went on the 24th, and staid there all night—and in the night, I heard some Delawares talking—about twelve in number—to this purpose: "What are the English come here for?" Says another: "To kill us, I suppose; can we then send off some of our nimble young men to give our friends notice that can soon be here?" They soon after sang the war song, and four Indians went off, in two canoes, well armed—the one canoe went down the river, and the other across.

On the morning of the 25th, we took our leave of the Indians and set off homewards, and were advised to go down the east side of the river, but fearing that a snare might be laid on that side, we marched

* Shickalamy—this name is variously spelled; Shikellimus, the father of these sons died at Shamokin in 1749; and I find that Colden mentions him under the names of Shickalamy, Shicalamy, Shick Calamy.

† August 8th 1755, Prov. Rec. N. 213.

off peaceably, on the west side, having behaved in the most civil and friendly manner towards them while with them; and when we came to the mouth of the Mahahany creek, we were fired on by a good number of Indians that lay among the bushes; on which we were obliged to retreat, with the loss of several men; the particular number I cannot exactly mention; but I am positive that I saw four fall, and one man struck with a tomahawk, on the head, in his flight across the river. As I understand the Delaware tongue, I heard several of the Indians that were engaged against us, speak a good many words, in that tongue, during the action.

ADAM TERRANCE.

The above declaration was attested by the author's voluntary qualification, no magistrate being present; at Paxton, this 26th October, 1755, before us:

John Elder, Thomas McArthur, Michael Graham, Alex. McClure, Michael Tease, William Harris, Thomas Black, Samuel Lenes, Samuel Pearson, William McClure.

N. B. Of all our people that were in the action, there are but nine that are yet returned.

READING, October 22, 1755.

Honored Sir:

I take this opportunity to inform you, that I received news from Shamokin, and that six families have been murdered on John Penn's creek, on the west side of the Susquehannah; about four miles from the river, several people have been found scalped, and twenty-eight or more missing. The people are in great consternation, and are coming down, leaving their plantations and corn behind them. Two of my sons are gone up to help down one of their cousins with his family.

I hear of more that will defend themselves; but George Gabriel—the people down here seem to be for ourselves, and says: The Indians will never come this side the Susquehannah river; but I fear they will, since they meet with no opposition any where. I do not doubt, your Honor has heard of this melancholy affair before now, by the way of Lancaster, perhaps more particularly; yet, I thought it my duty to inform you of it; and when my sons come back, I will write again, if they bring any thing particular.

I have heard nothing of the Indians that have gone up to fight against the French on the Ohio; their going, I fear, has been occasion of this murder. I have nothing more to add, but am, Honored Sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

HEIDELBERG, October 26, at 11 o'clock, Sunday night, 1755.

Mr. James Read: Loving Friend:

About one hour ago, I received the news of the enemy having crossed the Susquehannah, and killed a great many people, from Thomas McKee's down to Hunter's mills.

Mr. Elder, the minister at Paxton, wrote to another Presbyterian minister, in the neighborhood of Adam Reed, Esq. The people were then

in a meeting, and immediately designed to get themselves in readiness, to oppose the enemy, and lend assistance to their neighbors.

Mr. Reed sent down to Tulpehocken—and two men, one that came from Mr. Reed's, are just now gone, who brought in the melancholy news. I have sent out to alarm the townships in this neighborhood, and to meet me early in the morning, at Peter Spicker's, to consult together what to do, and to make preparations, to stand the enemy, with the assistance of the Most High.

I wrote you this, that you may have time to consult with Mr. Seely, and other well-wishers of the people, in order to defend your lives and others. For God's sake let us stand together, and do what we can, and trust to the hand of Providence—perhaps, we must, in this neighborhood, come to Reading; but I will send armed men to Susquehanna, or as far as they can go for intelligence.

Pray let Sammy have a copy of this, or this draft for his Honor, the Governor. I have sent him, about three hours ago express to Philadelphia, and he lodges at my son Peter's. Despatch him as early as you can. I pray, beware of confusion, be calm, you and Mr. Seely, and act the part of fathers of the people. I know you are both able; but excuse me for giving you this caution—time requires it.*

I am dear sir, your very good friend and

Humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

PAXTON, October, 28, 1755.

To Richard Peters :

Sir: I received your letter, and shall observe the contents. There is melancholy news, concerning which, I have written to his Honor, the Governor. If there were encouragement for 1000 or 1500 men to meet the enemy and build a fort some place up Susquehanna, I imagine a number of men will go at their own expense to assist.

I am sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

* P. S. I shall endeavor to keep out a few Mohawks, that are here, as spies. The Belt promised to send out some; but it was our River Indians, and some scouts from the French army, attacked us at Mr. Penn's creek.

Yours,

J. H.

NOTE.—Heckewelder, in his Historical Account of the Indians, when speaking of the Indians' manner of surprising their enemies, relates a striking anecdote by way of exemplification of the Indians' sagacity, as well as veracity; the subject of which, has some relation to massacre, mentioned above.

"In the beginning, says he, of the summer of the year 1755, a most atrocious and shocking murder was unexpectedly committed by a party of Indians, on fourteen white settlers within five or six miles of Shamokin. The surviving whites, in their rage, determined to take their revenge by murdering a Delaware Indian who happened to be in those

* Provincial Records, N. p. 244-5.

parts, and was far from thinking himself in danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard, had received from them the name of *Luke Holland*, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nature was incapable of committing such a foul murder in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it, and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last, he offered that if they would give him a party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of the mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that ever a man had trodden on this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across those rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of the fraud.—The Indian true to his promise would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along the places through which he was leading them; here he would show them that the moss on the rock had been trodden down by the weight of a human foot, then that it had been torn and dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds by the foot hitting against them, that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place, an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there, so that they lay no more flat, as in other places; all which the Indian could perceive as he walked along, without ever stopping.—At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth; for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the Indians were seen encamped, some having already lain down to sleep, while others were drawing off their *leggings* for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hung up to dry. "See!" said Luke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not of any nation, but Mingoes, as I truly tell you. They are in our power; in less than half an hour they will all be fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up and tomahawk them. We are nearly two to one and need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will now have your full revenge!" But the whites, overcome with fear, did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived at home

late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them.

"This account, says Heckewelder, is faithfully given as I received it from Luke Holland himself, and took it down in writing at the time."—*Heckewelder's His. Acc. of Ind. Nations*; p. 168-70.

The near approach of the enemy threw all, in the outer settlements, into consternation. Their only safety was to flee and leave all to the enemy. They had in vain looked, for some time, for effectual relief from Government. Houses that had been occupied; barns that had been filled with the fruits of a rich and plenteous harvest; and newly sowed fields, and standing corn; and some cattle, were all abandoned, by the hardy and industrious frontier settlers, expecting as they did, daily the enemy upon them. They were constantly in fear of being cut off. Even John Harris and his family were threatened with death, as stated by Mr. Harris himself in the following letter:

PAXTON, October 29, 1755.

Edward Shippen, Esq.

Sir: We expect the enemy upon us every day, and the inhabitants are abandoning their plantations, being greatly discouraged at the approach of such a number of cruel savages, and no present sign of assistance. I had a certain account of fifteen hundred French and Indians being on their march against us and Virginia, and now close upon our borders; their scouts scalping our families on our frontiers daily. Andrew Montour and others at Shamokin, desired me to take care, that there was a party of forty Indians out many days, and intended to burn my house and destroy myself and family. I have this day cut loop holes in my house, and am determined to hold out to the last extremity if I can get some men to stand by me. But few can be had at present, as every one is in fear of his own family being cut off every hour.—Great part of the Susquehanna Indians are no doubt actually in the French interest, and I am informed that a French officer is expected at Shamokin this week with a party of Delawares and Shawanese, no doubt to take possession of our river. We should raise men immediately to build a fort up the river to take possession, and to induce some Indians to join us. We ought also to insist on the Indians to declare for or against us, and as soon as we are prepared for them, we should *bid up the scalps*, and keep our woods full of our people upon the scout, else they will ruin our province; for they are a dreadful enemy. I have sent out two Indian spies to Shamokin; they are Mqhawks.

Sir, yours &c.,

JOHN HARRIS.

In the latter part of October 1755, the enemy again appeared in the neighborhood of Shamokin; and in November

they committed several murders upon the whites under circumstances of cruelty and barbarity. Not only those on the immediate frontier settlers, but those residing towards the interior were kept in constant alarm, as will be seen from address or appeal to the inhabitants of the Province.

PATTON, Oct. 31, 1755. From John Harris' at 12, P. M.

To all his majesty's subjects in the Province of Pennsylvania, or elsewhere: Whereas, Andrew Montour, Belt of Wampum, two Mohawks, and other Indians came down this day from Shamokin,* who say the whole body of Indians or the greatest part of them in the French interest, is actually encamped on this side George Gabriel's,† near Susquehannah; and that we may expect an attack in three days at farthest; and a French fort to be begun at Shamokin in ten days hence. Tho' this be the Indian report; we the subscribers, do give it as our advice to repair immediately to the frontiers with all our forces to intercept their passage into our country, and to be prepared in the best manner possible for the worst event.

Witness our hands.

James Galbreath, John Allison, Barney Hughes, Robert Wallace, John Harris, James Pollock, James Anderson, William Work, Patrick Henry.

P. S. They positively affirm that the above named Indians discovered a party of the enemy at Thos. McKee's upper place on the 30th of October last.

Mona-ca-too-tha, the Belt, and other Indians, here insist upon Mr. Weiser's coming immediately to John Harris' with his men, and to council with the Indians.

Before me,

JAMES GALBREATH,‡

While some of the savage barbarians were murdering the whites on the Susquehanna, others fell upon the settlers in the Great or Big Cove, in the western part of Cumberland, now Bedford county, slew many of them, fired their houses and barns—whom they did not slaughter, they carried away captive, whose subsequent sufferings were almost intolerable.

The suffering of these unfortunate persons may be learned from the following—Governor Morris' message to the Assembly.

“Gentlemen:—This minute I received intelligence, that

* Shamokin is at the forks of Susquehanna, on the east side.

† George Gabriel's below the forks of Susquehanna, about 30 miles of Harris' Ferry, on the west side of the river.

‡ Prov. Rec. N. 259.

the settlements called the Great Cove, in the county of Cumberland (Bedford,) are destroyed, the houses burnt, and such inhabitants as would not make their escape, either slaughtered or made prisoners. This, and the other cruelties committed upon our frontiers, has so alarmed the remaining inhabitants, that they are quitting their habitations, and crowding into the more settled parts of the Province, which in their turn will become the frontier if some stop is not speedily put to the cruel ravages of their bloody invaders. In this melancholy situation of our affairs, any delay may be attended with the most fatal consequences; I must therefore again most earnestly press you upon this further intelligence, to strengthen my hands, and enable me speedily to draw forth the forces of this Province against his Majesty's enemies, and to afford the necessary and timely assistance to the back inhabitants.—*Phila. Nov. 5, 1755, Votes iv. 495.*

The following letters written by distinguished gentlemen at the time, give all the particulars of the murders committed in the Big Cove, &c.

FALLING SPRINGS, Sabbath morning, Nov. 2, 1775.

To the inhabitants of the lower part of the county of Cumberland:
Gentlemen—

If you intend to go to the assistance of your neighbors, you need wait no longer for the certainty of the news. The Great Cove is destroyed. James Campbell left his company last night and went to the fort at Mr. Steel's meeting house, and there saw some of the inhabitants of the Great Cove who gave this account, that as they came over the Hill they saw their houses in flames. The messenger says that there are but one hundred, and that they are divided into two parts; the one part to go against the Cove and the other against the Conollaways, and that there are two French among them. They are Delawares and Shawnese. The part that came against the Cove are under the command of Shingas, the Delaware King. The people of the Cove that came off saw several men lying dead; they heard the murder shout and the firing of guns, and saw the Indians going into their houses that they had come out of before they left sight of the Cove. I have sent express to Marsh creek at the same time I send this; so I expect there will be a good company there this day, and as there are but one hundred of the enemy, I think it is in our power, if God permit, to put them to flight, if you turn out well from your parts. I understand that the West settlement is designed to go if they can get any assistance to repel them.

All in haste, from

Your humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHAMBERS.

CONOCOCHWAS'S, NOV. 2, 1755.

Mr. Peters:

Sir—This comes to bring you the melancholy news of the ruin of the Great Cove, which is reduced to ashes, and numbers of the inhabitants murdered and taken captives. On Saturday last about three of the clock in the afternoon, I received intelligence in conjunction with Adam Hoops, and sent immediately and appointed our neighbors to meet at McDowell's. On Sunday morning I was not there six minutes till we observed about a mile and a half distant one Mathew Patton's house and barn in flames; on which we sat off with about forty men, though there were at least one hundred and sixty there; our old officers hid themselves, for aught I knew, to save their scalps, until afternoon when danger was over. We went to Patton's with a seeming resolution and courage, but found no Indians there, on which we advanced to a rising ground, where we immediately discovered another house and barn on fire belonging to Mesach James, about one mile up the creek from Thomas Bars. We set off directly for that place; but they had gone up the creek to another plantation, left by one widow Jordon the day before; but she had unhappily gone back that morning with a young woman, daughter to one William Clark, for some milk for her children, and were both taken captives; but neither house nor barn hurt. I have heard of no more burnt in that valley, which makes me believe they have gone off for some time; but I much fear they will return before we are prepared for them; for it was three o'clock in the afternoon before a recruit came of about sixty men; then we held council whether to pursue up the valley all night or return to McDowell's; the former of which I and Mr. Hoops, and some others plead for, but could not obtain it without putting it to vote, which done, we were out-voted by a considerable number; upon which I and company was left by them, (that night I came home) for I will not guard a man that will not fight when called in so imminent manner; for there were not six of these men that would consent to go in pursuit of the Indians. I am much afraid that Juniata, Tuscarora, and Sheerman's valley hath suffered; there are two-thirds of the inhabitants of this valley who have already fled, leaving their plantations; and without speedy succour be granted, I am of opinion this county will be laid desolate and be without inhabitants. Last night I had a family of upwards of an hundred women and children, who fled for succour. You can form no just idea of the distress and distracted condition of our inhabitants, unless you saw and heard their cries. I am of opinion that it is not in the power of our representatives to meet in Assembly at this time. If our Assembly will give us any additional supply of arms and ammunition, the latter of which is most wanted. I would wish it were put into the hands of such persons as would go out upon scouts after the Indians, rather than for the supply of forts.

I am sir your most obedient,
very humble servant.

JOHN POTTER,*
Sheriff of Cumberland county.

* Prov. Rec. N, 262-3.

CARLISLE, Nov. 2, 1775.

Governor Morris :

Honored Sir—

At four, this afternoon, by express from Conococheague, we are informed that yesterday about one hundred Indians were seen in the Great Cove, among whom was Shingas, the Delaware King; that immediately after discovery, as many as had notice fled, and looking back upon a high hill beheld their houses on fire; heard several guns fired, and the last shrieks of their dying neighbors. It is said the enemy divided and one part moved toward the Conolloways. Mr. Hamilton was here with sixty men from York county, when the express came, and is to march early to-morrow to the upper part of the country. We have sent our expresses every where, and intend to collect the forces of this lower part; expecting the enemy at Sheerman's valley, if not nearer at hand.

I am of the opinion that no other means than a chain of blockhouses along or near the south side of the Kittatinny mountain, from Susquehanna to the temporary line, can secure the lives and properties even of the old inhabitants of this county; the new settlements being all fled, except those of Sheerman's valley whom, if God do not preserve, we fear, will suffer very soon.

I am your honor's
disconsolate humble servant,
JOHN ARMSTRONG.*

SHIPPENSBURG, 2d November, 1755.

To Hon. Edward Shippen, Esq., at Lancaster :

Dear and Honored Sir :

We are in great confusion here at present—We have received express last night that the Indians and French are in a large body in the Cove, a little way from William Maxwell, Esq.; and that they immediately intend to fall down up this county. We, for these two days past, have been working at our Fort here, and believe shall work this day (Sunday). This town is full of people, they being all moving in with their families—five or six families in a house. We are in great want of arms and ammunition; but with what we have we are determined to give the enemy as warm a reception as we can. Some of our people had been taken prisoners by this party, and have made their escape from them, and came in to us this morning.

As our Fort goes on here with great vigor, and expect it to be finished in fifteen days, in which we intend to place all the women and children; it would be greatly encouraging, could we have reason to expect assistance from Philadelphia by private donation of Swivels, a few great guns, small arms and ammunition, we would send our own wagons for them; and we do not doubt that upon proper application but something of this kind will be done for us from Philadelphia.

We have one hundred men working at Fort Morris with heart and hand every day.

Dear Sir, yours &c..

JAMES BURD.

* Prov. Rec. N, 264.

CONOCOCHEAGUE, Nov. 3d, 1755.

To the Hon. R. H. Morris, Esq., Gov. of Province of Pennsylvania.

Sir:—I am sorry I have to trouble you with this melancholy and disagreeable news; for on Saturday an express came from Peters' township that the inhabitants of the Great Cove were all murdered or taken captive, and their houses and barns all in flames—some few fled, upon notice brought them by a certain Patrick Burns, a captive, who had made his escape that very morning before this sad tragedy was done. Upon information, as aforesaid, John Potter and myself sent expresses through our neighborhood, which induced many of them to meet with us, at John McDowell's mill, where I, with many others, had the unhappy prospect to see the smoke of two houses which had been set on fire by the Indians; viz: Mathew Patton's and Mesech James' houses, where their cattle were shot down, and horses standing bleeding, with *Indian arrows in them*: but the Indians had fled.

The Revd. Mr. Steel, Esq., and several others with us, to the number of about one hundred, went in quest of the Indians, with all the expedition imaginable, but without success. These Indians have likewise taken two women captives, belonging to said township. I very much fear Path Valley has undergone the same fate.

George Croghan was at Aughwick, where he had a small fort and about thirty-five men; but whether he has been molested or not, we cannot, as yet say. We, to be sure, are in as bad circumstances as ever any poor christians were ever in. For the cries of widowers, widows, fatherless and motherless children, with many others for their relations, are enough to pierce the hardest of hearts. It is likewise a very sorrowful spectacle to see those that escaped with their lives, have not a mouthful to eat or bed to lie on, or clothes to cover their nakedness, or keep them warm; but all they had, consumed into ashes.—These deplorable circumstances cry aloud for your Honor's most wise consideration; and that your Honor would take cognizance of, and grant what shall seem most meet. How shocking it is for the husband to see the wife of his bosom, have her head cut off, and the childrens' blood drunk like water by these bloody and cruel savages; as we are informed it has been the fate of many.

While writing, I have received intelligence by some that fled from the Cove, that chiefly those in the upper part of it were killed, and taken. One Galloway's son escaped after he saw his grand-mother shot down, and other relations taken prisoners.

From some news I have had, I am apprehensive that George Croghan is in distress; though just now Mr. Burd, with about forty men, left my house, and we intend to join him to-morrow at Mr. McDowell's mill, with all the force we can raise, in order to see what damages have been done, and for his relief.

As we have no magazines at present to supply the guards, or scouts, the whole weight of their maintenance lies chiefly upon a few persons. I pray your Honor to excuse what blunders there are by reason of haste.

I am with due regard, your Honor's

Most obedient and humble servant,

ADAM HOORS.

CONOCOCHEAGUE, Nov. 6, 1755.

May it please your Honor :

I have sent enclosed two qualifications, one of which is Patrick Burns', the bearer, and a tomahawk which was found sticking in the breast of one David McClellan.

The people of Path Valley are all gathered in a small fort, and according to the last account, were safe. The Great Cove and Canalloways are all buried to ashes, and about fifty persons killed or taken.—Numbers of the inhabitants of this county have moved their families, some to York county, some to Maryland.

Hance Hamilton, Esq. is now at John McDowell's mill, with upwards of two hundred men (from York county) and two hundred from this county ; in all about four hundred. To-morrow we intend to go to the Cove and Path Valley, in order to bring what cattle and horses the Indians let live. We are informed by a Delaware Indian who lives amongst us, that on the same day the murder was committed, he saw four hundred Indians in the Cove ; and we have some reason to believe they are about there yet.

The people of Shearman's creek and Juniata have all come away, and left their horses ; and there are now about thirty miles of this county laid waste. I am afraid there will soon be more.

I am your Honor's most

Humble servant,

ADAM HOOPS.

P. S. I have just received the account of one George McSwane, who was taken captive about 14 days ago, and has made his escape, and brought two scalps and a tomahawk with him.

Shortly after the Indians had made hostile incursions into the Great Cove and commenced their devastation, Sheriff Potter was in Philadelphia, as appears from the following extract, under date of Nov. 14, 1755.—*Prov. Rec. N. 289.*

Mr. Potter, the sheriff of Cumberland being in town was sent for, and desired to give an account of the upper part of that county in which the Indians had committed their late ravages ; and he said that twenty-seven plantations were burnt and a great quantity of cattle killed ; that a woman 93 years of age was found lying killed with her breast torn off and a stake run through her body. That of 93 families which were settled in the two Coves and the Conolloways, 47 were either killed or taken, and the rest deserted.

The names of those murdered and abducted, besides those already mentioned, are given in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Nov. 13, 1755, and are as follows :

Elizabeth Gallway, Henry Gilson, Robert Peer, William Berryhill, and David McClelland were murdered. The missing are John Martin's wife and five children ; William Gallway's wife and two children, and a young woman ; Charles

Stewart's wife and two children; David McClelland's wife and two children. William Fleming and wife were taken prisoners. Fleming's son, and one Hicks, were killed and scalped.

PAXTON, 9th November, 1755.

Mr. Peters, Esq.

I have just now received an express, informing me that out of a small party on guard last night in Tullyhoe's gap of the mountain, five were killed and two wounded. Such shockings accounts we frequently receive, and though we are careful to transmit them to Philadelphia, and remonstrate and petition from time to time, yet to no purpose, so that we seem to be given up into the hands of a merciless enemy.

There are within these few weeks upwards of forty of his majesty's subjects massacred on the frontiers of this and Cumberland counties, besides a great many carried into captivity, and yet nothing but unseasonable debates between the two parties of our legislature, instead of uniting on some probable scheme for the protection of the province. What may be the end of these things, God only knows; but I really fear that unless vigorous methods are speedily used, we in these back settlements will unavoidably fall a sacrifice, and this part of the province be lost.

If I have expressed my sentiments with too much warmth, you will be kind enough to pardon me, as it proceeds from a hearty regard to the public good.

Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN ELDER.

Towards the close of December 1755, the Indians committed some murders in Shearman's valley. The following is an extract from the narrative of Robert Robison, as contained in Loudon's Narratives, pages 171-72.

"The next I remember of was in 1755, the Woolcomber's family on Shearman's creek; the whole of the inhabitants of the valley was gathered at Robison's, but the Woolcomber would not leave home, he said it was the Irish who were killing one another, these peaceable people, the Indians, would not hurt any person. Being at home and at dinner, the Indians came in, and the Quaker asked them to come and eat dinner; an Indian announced that he did not come to eat, but for scalps; the son, a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age, when he heard the Indian say so, repaired to a back door, and as he went out he looked back, and saw the Indian strike the tomahawk into his father's head. The boy then ran over the creek, which was near to the house, and

heard the screams of his mother, sisters and brother. The boy came to our fort and gave us the alarm; about forty went to where the murder was done and buried the dead."

In the year 1755, says Loudon, Peter Shaver, John Savage and two other men were killed at the mouth of Shaver's creek, or Juniata, by the Indians.

CHAPTER .VII.

INDIAN MASSACRES—(1756).

Murderers committed in Tuscarora valley—At the Canalaways, murders committed and dwellings burnt—Widow Coxe's house burnt near McDowell's mill; John and Richard Coxe, and John Craig abducted—Several persons killed in Cumberland (Perry) county—Sheridan and family killed—Indians appear in Little Cove—Indians pursued in Peters' township; skirmage, several persons killed—Indians appear at Lycan's—Bell's adventures—McCord's forts in Conococheague burnt—Engagement with the Indians at Sidling Hill (Bedford county;) a number of persons killed; names of killed and wounded—Hance Hamilton's letter, &c.—Captain Steel's letter, touching the same; Shippen's letter, &c.—Coves attacked, &c.—Indians surprise settlers in Conococheague—Indians murder in Peters' township—Indians appear again in Shearman's valley, and commit murders—Fort Granville taken, and several persons killed—Copy of the original of a paper put up at Fort Granville—Translation of—Hamilton's letter, &c.—Armstrong's letter, &c.—A family of seven persons murdered in Shearman's valley—Remaining inhabitants of Cumberland petition government—Inhabitants of East Pennsborough, petition—Farmers abandon their improvements—Murders committed by the savages on the west and east side of the Susquehanna—Galbreath's letter—Reed's letters, &c.

Regardless of the inclemencies of the winter, the Indians still continued committing the most shocking murders imaginable, all along an unprotected frontier from the Delaware river to the Potomac. Towards the close of January 1756, they perpetrated murders on the Juniata river, within a few miles of Fort Patterson, at the mouth of Tuscarora valley, opposite Mexico.

On the 28th of January the Indians murdered a number of persons at the Canallaways, in Cumberland county (now Bedford). According to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of February 12, 1756, "they killed and scalped James Leaton,

Catharine Stillwell, and one of her children were killed and scalped, and two others carried off; one about eight, the other three years old. Her husband, Richard Stillwell was at a neighbor's house when *his* wife was attacked, and from thence got into Coom's fort. Elias Stillwell had seven horses and a mare carried off, one cow killed and one burnt. John McKenny's house was burnt, with all his household goods and clothing; and what remained of three beeves and seven fat hogs; he had likewise three cows killed; and three calves burnt in Samuel Eaton's barn. Samuel Hicks had eleven cattle and a valuable mare killed. Richard Malone's house and barn were burnt, and two of his cattle killed. And a house was burnt that belonged to one Hicks, who had been murdered some time ago. The tracks of seven Indians and of a child, supposed to be Mr. Stillwell's, with those of the horses they carried off, were seen in a corn field, and they seemed to be going towards Aughwick."

A few days after the murder had been committed and damages done in the Conallaways, the Indians burnt the house of Widow Coxe, near McDowell's mill, in Cumberland county (Franklin), and carried off her two sons and another person. John Coxe, son of widow Coxe, stated in presence of the Provincial Council, September 6th, 1756, that himself, his brother Richard, and John Craig, were taken, by nine Delaware Indians, in February 1756, from a plantation two miles from McDowell's mill, and carried to Kittanning town on the Ohio (Alleghany river,) that on his way thither, he met *Shingas* with a party of thirty men, and afterwards with Captain Jacobs and fifteen, who were going on a design to destroy the settlements in Conegochege, that when he arrived at Kittanning, he saw there about one hundred fighting men of the Delaware tribe with their families and about fifty English prisoners consisting of men, women and children, that during his stay there *Shingas*' and Jacobs' parties returned, the one with nine scalps and ten prisoners; the other with several scalps and five prisoners; and that another company of eighteen came from Diahoga with seventeen scalps fixed on a pole and carried them to Fort Du Quesne to obtain their reward—That the warriors held a council, which, with their war dances, continued a week, after which, Captain Jacobs went with a party of forty-eight men intending (as he was told) to fall upon the inhabitants of Paxton; that the

Indians frequently said they resolved to kill all the white folks except a few, with whom they would afterwards make a peace; that they made an example of one Paul Broadly, whom they, agreeable to their usual cruelty, beat for half an hour with clubs and tomahawks, and afterwards fastening him to a post, cropt his ears close to his head; and chopped his fingers—that they called together all the prisoners to witness the scene of their inhuman barbarity.

He further said, that about the beginning of March, he was taken by three Indians to Diahoga, where he found about fifty warriors belonging to the Delaware, Mohiccon and Munsey tribes, and about twenty German prisoners; that while he was there, the Indians frequently went in parties of twelve, to destroy the inhabitants, and as often returned with their scalps, but no prisoners; that their whole conversation was continually filled with expressions of vengeance against the English, and resolutions to kill them, and lay waste their country. That in May all the Indians moved from Diahoga about twenty miles higher up the river to plant corn, where most of them have since lived.

That they, with the prisoners, during the whole summer have been in a starving condition, having very little venison and corn, and reduced to the necessity of living upon dog flesh and the few roots and berries they could collect in the woods; that several of the prisoners had died for the want of food.

That on the 9th of August he left Diahoga and came down the river in a canoe with Makomsey to Gnahay, to get some corn that was left under ground, and that in the morning after he arrived there, the Indians having gone out to hunt, he made his escape on the 14th of August (last) and came to Fort Augusta at six o'clock in the evening.

It is stated, in the Provincial Records, "the poor boy was extremely reduced, had dangerous swellings on his body, and was in a sickly condition; the goveruor therefore ordered him lodging and the attendance of a doctor."

On the 20th Feb. 1756, says Gordon, Captain Patterson with a scouting party, fell in with some Indians at Middle creek, in Cumberland county (now Union), *one of whom they scalped,** and put the others to flight, having one of his own

* The Indian whom they scalped was probably Shecalemy's sister's son, as will appear from the following letter from Thomas McKee, da-

men wounded. He reported the woods, from the Juniata to Shamokin, to be filled with Indians, seeking plunder and scalps, and burning all the houses, and destroying the grain in that vicinity.

"February 1756, a party of Indians from Shamokin came to Juniata. They first came to Hugh Mitcheltrees, being on the river, who had gone to Carlisle, and had got a young man, named Edward Nicholass to stay with his wife until he would return—the Indians killed them both. The same party of Indians went up the river where the Luken's now live—William Wilcox lived on the opposite side of the river, whose wife and eldest son had come over the river on some business—the Indians came while they were there and killed Eold dward Nicholass and his wife, and took Joseph, Thomas and Catharine Nicholass, John Wilcox, James Armstrong's wife and two children prisoners.

"An Indian named Cotties, who wished to be Captain of *this* party, when they did not choose him, he would not go with them. He and a boy went to Shearman's creek, and killed William Sheridan and his family, thirteen in number.—They then went down the creek to where three old persons lived, two men and a womap, called French, whom they killed; of which they often boasted afterwards, that he and the boy took more scalps than the whole party.

"On Sunday, February 29, 1756, two boys, at a small distance from David David's, in the Little Cove, Cumberland county, were fired upon by some Indians. One of them es-

ted "Fort at Hunter's mill, (six or seven miles above Harrisburg,) April 5, 1756," and addressed to Ed. Shippen, Esq., at Lancaster.

I desire to let you know that John Shecalemy, Indian, is come here in the afternoon, and gives me an account that there is great confusion amongst the Indians up the North Branch of Susquehanna; the Delawares are moving all from thence to Ohio, and want to persuade the Shanoies along with them, but they decline going with them that course as they still incline to join with us. The Shanoies are going up to the town called Teaoga (Diahoga) where there is a body of the Six Nations, and there they intend to remain. He has brought two more men, some women and some children along with him, and says that he intends to live and die with us, and insist upon my conducting him down to where his sister and children are at Canestogo, and I am loath to leave my post as his Honor was offended at the last time I did, but can't help it. He desires me to acquaint you that his sister's son was killed at Penn's creek in the scrimmage with Capt. Patterson. This with due respect from yours, &c.

caped and alarmed the fort. The Indians to the number of twenty, immediately came up and took possession of the barn, and fired repeatedly on the fort, in which there were eight or ten men. The fire was briskly and effectively returned.—Failing in this attempt, the enemy divided their force into two parties, and proceeded to the commission of the usual ravages. But the inhabitants of Peters' township collected in small parties, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, marched to the fort, and on the next morning set out in pursuit of the savages. They came in sight of six on horseback, who, being closely pursued, abandoned their horses and fled into the woods, leaving behind them a woman they had taken the day before, near the Potomac.

“Another party under Mr. Potter, discovered the trail of two companions of the enemy, whom they followed, until baffled in the pursuit by the falling snow. These companions belonged to Shingas and Jacobs. In this affray they killed four whites, and made prisoners of a like-number.

“In the evening of the same day, a party of Indians was discovered by one Alexander, near the house of Thomas Barr, in Peters' township. Alexander was pursued, but escaped, and alarmed the fort at McDowell's mill; and notice of the presence of the enemy was speedily given to the township. Early on Monday morning, a party, composed of fourteen men of Capt. Croghan's company, who were at the mill, and about twelve other young men, set off to watch the motions of the enemy. Within a quarter of a mile of Barr's they fell in with fifty, and sent back for a re-inforcement from the fort. The young lads proceeded by a circuit to take the enemy in the rear, whilst the soldiers should attack them in front. But the impetuosity of the soldiers defeated their plan. For getting within gun shot, they immediately engaged the Indians, who were standing around the fire, and slew several of them at the first discharge. The Indians briskly returned the fire, killing one of the soldiers, and compelled the rest to retreat. The party of young men, hearing the report of fire arms, hastened up, and finding the Indians on the ground which the soldiers had occupied, delivered their fire with effect, but, concluding that the soldiers had fled, or were slain, they also retreated. One of their number, Barr's son, was wounded, and would have fallen by the tomahawk of an Indian, had not the savage been killed

by a shot from one Armstrong, who saw him running upon the lad. Soon after, the soldiers and young men being joined by a re-inforcement from the mill, again sought the enemy, who, eluding their pursuit, crossed the creek near William Clark's, and attempted to surprise the fort; but their design was discovered by two Dutch lads, coming from foddering their master's cattle. One of the lads was slain, but the other reached the fort, which was immediately surrounded by the Indians, who, from a thicket fired many shots at the men in the garrison, who appeared above the wall, and returned the fire as often as they obtained sight of the enemy. At this time, two men crossing to the mill fell into the middle of the assailants, but made their escape into the fort, though fired at three times. The party at Barr's now came up, and drove the Indians through the thicket; in their retreat they met five men from Mr. Hoops', riding to the mill; they killed one of these, and wounded another severely. The sergeant at the fort, having lost two of his men, declined to follow the enemy, until his commander, Mr. Crawford, who was at Hoops' should return, and, the snow falling thick, they had time to burn Barr's house, and in it they consumed their dead. In the morning of the second of March, M. Crawford, with fifty men, went in quest of the enemy, but was unsuccessful in his search.—*Gordon's His. Pa.* 616, '17.

Every where along the frontier did the Indians commit the most horrid murders. Their implacable cruelty was stimulated by the promise of reward for scalps on the part of the French; beside the promise of restoring them their lands.

In a letter dated March 8, 1756, Hanover township, Lancaster (now Dauphin) county, it is said that the morning before, namely, the 7th of March, Andrew Lycan, who lived over the mountain, had been attacked by the Indians.

He had with him a son, John Lycan, a negro man, and a boy and two of his neighbors, John Revolt and Ludwig Shut. That Andrew Lycan and John Revolt went out early that morning to fodder their creatures, when two guns were fired at them, but did not hurt them: upon which they ran into the house and prepared themselves for an engagement. That then the Indians got under cover of a hog-house near the dwelling house, John Lycan, Revolt, and Shut, crept out of the house, in order to get a shot at them, but were fired at by the Indians, and all wounded, and Shut in the abdomen. That An-

drew Lycan saw one of the Indians over the hog-house, and got a little distance from it; and also saw two white men run out of the hog-house and get a little distance from it. That upon this, our people endeavored to escape, but were pursued by the Indians to the number of sixteen or upwards, and John Lycan and Revolt being badly wounded, were able to do nothing, and so went off with the negro, and left Andrew Lycan, Shut and the boy, engaged with the Indians. That the enemy pursued so closely, that one of them came up to the boy and was going to strike his tomahawk into him, when Shut turned and shot him dead, and Lycan shot another, and he is positive that he killed him—saw a third fall, and thinks they wounded some more of them. That they being now both ill wounded, and almost spent, they sat down on a log to rest themselves, and the Indians stood a little way off looking at them.

That one of the said Indians killed was Bill Davis, and two others they knew to be Tom Hickman and Tom Hayes, all Delawares, and well known in these parts. That all our men got into Hanover township, and under the care of a doctor, and are likely to do well, but have lost all they are worth. And that the people of that township were raising a number of men to go after the enemy. The above people lived twenty-five miles below Shamokin, at or near Wiskinisco creek.

There were many singular and dangerous encounters between the English and Indians, which seem to startle the reader. But among the many achievements, says Loudon, against the Indians in our wars with them, few exceed that performed by Samuel Bell, formerly owner of the noted farm on the Stony Ridge, five miles below Carlisle, which was as follows:

Some time after General Braddock's defeat, he and his brother, James Bell, agreed to go into Shearman's valley to hunt for deer, and were to meet at Croghan's, now Sterret's Gap, on the Blue Mountain, by some means or other they did not meet, and Samuel slept all night in a cabin belonging to Mr. Patton on Shearman's creek: in the morning he had not travelled far before he spied three Indians, who at the same time saw him, they all fired at each other; he wounded one of the Indians, but received no damage, except through his clothes by the balls; several shots were fired on both sides, for each took a tree; he took out his tomahawk and stuck it

into the tree behind which he stood, so that should they approach he might be prepared ; the tree was grazed with the Indian's balls, and he had thoughts of making his escape by flight, but on reflection had doubts of his being able to out-run them. After some time the two Indians took the wounded one and put him over a fence, and one took one course and the other another, taking a compass so that Bell could no longer secure himself by the tree, but by trying to ensnare him they had to expose themselves, by which means he had the good fortune to shoot one of them dead, the other ran and took the dead Indian on his back, one leg over each shoulder : by this time Bell's gun was again loaded ; he then ran after the Indian until he came within about four yards from him, fired, and shot through the dead Indian, and lodged his ball in the other, who dropped the dead man and ran off ; on his return, coming past the fence where the wounded Indian was, he despatched him, but did not know he had killed the third Indian until his bones were found afterwards.

About the 4th April, 1756, McCord's fort in Conococheague, was burned by the Indians, and twenty-seven persons were killed or captured ; the Indians escaped the pursuit of two parties of inhabitants of the vicinity, who had divided themselves into three parties to seek them. Several other forts along the frontier line were watched by outlying parties of savages, and every straggler was made a prisoner or shot down. The third party came up with the enemy at Sidling hill, with whom they had a smart engagement for two hours, during which they fired twenty-four rounds, but were overpowered by numbers, the Indians having been succeeded by a force under Shingas. Each side sustained a loss of about twenty killed and as many wounded.

In a letter dated, at Shippensburg, April 12, 1756, a list of the killed and wounded, in the above named engagement with the Indians, is given.

KILLED of the company under the command of Captain Culbertson : Alexander Culbertson, captain ; John Reynolds, ensign of Capt. Chambers' company ; William Kerr, James Blair, John Layson, William Denny, Francis Scott, William Boyd, Jacob Paynter, Jacob Jones, Robert Kerr and William Chambers.

WOUNDED, Abraham Jones, Francis Campbell, William Reynolds, John Barnet, Benjamin Blyth, John McDonald and Isaac Miller.

KILLED of Captain Hamilton's men under the command of Ensign Jamieson, Daniel McCoy, James Robinson, James Peace, John Blair, Henry Jones, John McCarty and John Kelly.

Wounded, Ensign Jamieson, James Robinson, William Hunter, Matthias Ganshorn, Wm. Swailes, and James Lowder (since dead).

[Letter from Hance Hamilton to Capt. Potter.]

Fort Littleton, April 4, 1756, 8 o'clock, P. M.

Sir—These come to inform you of the melancholy news of what occurred between the Indians that have taken many captives from McCord's Fort, and a party of men under the command of Capt. Alexander Culbertson, and nineteen of our men, the whole amounting to about fifty with the captives, and had a sore engagement, many of both parties killed and many wounded; the number unknown; those wounded want a surgeon, and those killed require your assistance as soon as possible to bury them. We have sent an express to Fort Shirley for Doctor Mercer, supposing Dr. Jamison is killed, or mortally wounded in the expedition, he being not returned; therefore desire you will send an express immediately for Dr. Prentice to Carlisle, we imagining Dr. Mercer cannot leave the Fort under the circumstances the Fort is under. Our Indian Isaac has brought in Capt. Jacob's Scalp (!) [Not quite certain.]

Sir, please to exert yourself in this affair,

I am sir, &c.

HANCE HAMILTON.

PETERS' TOWNSHIP, in Cumberland county,
April 11th, 1756.

May it please your Honor, (Gov. Morris,)

Upon my return to Cumberland county, I applied immediately to Captain Burd and Captain Patterson, for the draughts out of their companies, according to your Honor's instructions; but the time for which most of their men was enlisted, is expired, they could not fulfil your Honor's orders. Most of the Forts had not received their full complement of guns. But we are in a great measure supplied by the arms the young men had brought with them. Capt. Patterson had received but thirty-three fire arms; Capt. Mercer has not so many, but is supplied by Mr. Croghan's arms; and Capt. Hamilton has lost a considerable number of his at the late skirmish beyond Sideling Hill.

As I can neither have the men, arms, nor blankets, I am obliged to apply to your honor for them; the necessity of our circumstances has obliged me to muster before two magistrates the one-half of my company whom I enlisted, and am obliged to borrow yours. I pray that with all possible expedition, fifty-four fire arms, and as many blankets, and a quantity of flints may be sent me; for since McCord's Fort has been taken, and the men defeated that pursued, our country is in the utmost confusion.

Great numbers have left the county, and many are preparing to follow. May it please your Honor to allow me an Ensign, for I find that a sergeant's pay will not prevail with men to enlist in whom much confidence is to be reposed. I beg leave to recommend Archibald Erwin to your honor for this purpose. As Mr. Hoops can give your honor a particular account of the late incursions of the enemy, I need not trouble your honor with any account of mine.

I am your Honor's
most obliged, humble servant,
JOHN STEEL.

Lancaster, 24th of April, 1756.

To Hon. R. H. Morris, Gov.

Honored Sir :

The enclosed is a copy of a paper which Mr. George Sanderson of this town brought here yesterday from Carlisle, said to have been found in Mr. McDowell's pocket who was lately killed at the head of a party of Indians from Fort Du Quesne, by the Virginia militia on Potowmack.

I see by the newspapers, it was supposed that Captain Culbertson's men, who went in pursuit of the Indians that took McCord's Fort, had killed fifteen of the enemy, among whom they were confident Capt. Jacobs is one (?). If Mr. Francis Campbell, of Shippensburg, wrote that account, as he was one of the party, I suppose it was readily believed, he being known by some gentlemen in Philadelphia to be a person of credit and sense; but his relation of that transaction differs widely from the following story, as to the number of Indians killed, which was told to me two days ago by Mr. Benjamin Blythe, living near Shippensburg, who was also in the battle; he says our men gave the first fire, but without any success; that then the Indians ran from their fire places with their arms and ammunition, and in less than ten minutes our men found themselves surrounded, which they did not discover before the Indians fired upon them, that notwithstanding our men were so exposed to the enemy's fire and dropping every now and then, they fought about two hours and a half by his watch, and then perceiving a reinforcement from Shingas' party, they unanimously agreed to endeavor to break the enemies circle, as he called it, in order to make them retreat, in which they luckily succeeded. He says they killed but three of the Indians, to the best of his knowledge, and that he doubts whether Capt. Jacobs was one of them; he rather thinks the man taken to be him, was a great warrior in his company. This Blythe is an intelligent, sensible man, of good reputation; he had the misfortune to be shot through the arm. He says that where they broke the circle, three stout Indians, who had just discharged their pieces, rose off the ground from behind a thicket of grubs and ran off; that he drew his trigger at them, but his gun only burnt priming.

The Indians make use of rifled guns for the most part, and there is such a difference between these sort of guns, and smooth bored, that if I was in an engagement with the savages, I would sooner stand my chance with one of the former sort, which might require a minute to clean load and discharge, than be possessed with a smooth, broad gun, which could discharge three times in the same space; for at 150 yards distance with the one, I can seldom or ever hit the board of two feet wide and six feet long.

I cannot say I have been pleased with the sight of any of the guns which have been carried through this borough for the service of the Province. I don't mention this as a reflection on the Commissioners, who have done for the best in that respect, but still it is unfortunate for us. Yet, I beg your Honor not inform them of this remark.

I am, your Honor's, &c.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

"In the year 1756, captain Jacobs, an Indian chief and

forty warriors, came upon the Coves, in Cumberland county, burned and destroyed that little settlement, killed many and took a number of prisoners. One Hugh McSwine was abroad at the time, when he came home, he followed after, and overtook them at Tussey's Narrows; Jacobs took him for a spy and made him prisoner; there was with this party of Indians, one Jackson a white man, who had joined the Indians, and was more industrious and revengeful than the native Indians; next morning captain Jacobs sent McSwine and another prisoner, under the care of Jackson and one warrior, by whom he also sent his horse and a silver mounted gun, while they went in quest of some more of the poor unhappy inhabitants; the Indian and Jackson, with the two prisoners, travelled until night came on, when they took up their lodging in a waste cabin, and sent McSwine to cut rails to make a fire, but when he got the axe, he began to think how he could manage to kill both Indian and white man, and immediately put his plan into execution; he went in with his axe, split down the Indian, but before he had time to strike another blow, Jackson was on his feet, and they instantly got in grips with each other; they were both very strong men, and after a long time, McSwine began to fail, and was still calling on the other man to assist him, but he stood trembling, and could do nothing; at length McSwine had the good fortune to get one of the guns in his hand, knocked down his antagonist, and so put an end to him; he scalped both the Indian and Jackson; and next evening arrived at fort Cumberland,* with captain Jacob's horse and gun, Col. Washington sent him to Winchester, (Virginia,) where he got paid for the scalps, horse and gun, and received a lieutenant's commission.

"About this time there was a party of Cherokees, seventy in number, who came to the assistance of the people of Pennsylvania; they went in pursuit of a party of Indians as far as the west side of sidehng hill, when they despaired of coming up with them and returned. There was some white men along with these Cherokees, among whom was Hugh Mc-

* We have been informed, that the reason of McSwine's going so quickly to fort Cumberland was, Capt. Jacobs with his party, intended to attack the fort the day after McSwine arrived there, but by his giving information to Col. Washington, he was prepared for them, and they were disappointed in their plans, the fort was not taken.—A. Louden, Editor.

Swine; this party in their return fell in with another party of Indians coming into the settlements to murder, and a skirmish ensued, but by some means McSwine was parted from his company, and pursued by these Indians, his gun being loaded, he turned round and shot the one nearest to him, and then ran on, and charging again, shot another, upon which the third gave a yell and turned back; the Cherokees shortly after brought in four scalps and two prisoners of the enemy, one of which was a squaw, who had been twelve times at war. About this time some Cherokees and white men went to reconnoitre fort Duquesne, and in returning home the white men was not able to keep up with the Indians, and so were left behind in the wilderness, and some of them got home in a very distressing condition. Hugh McSwine, after many dangerous enterprises, and much toil and fatigue, many battles and skirmishes with the Indians, in defence of his country, fell by them in a battle near Ligonier.

"William Mitchel, an inhabitant of Conococheague, had collected a number of reapers to cut down his grain; having gone out to the field, the reapers all laid down their guns at the fence, and set in to reap, the Indians suffered them to reap on for some time till they got out into the open field, they then secured their guns, killed and captured them every man.

"At another time there came a party of Indians into Conococheague and took a number of scalps and prisoners, for at that time the inhabitants were never secure, no sooner had one party finished their work of destruction and retreated, than another commenced their deprivations; however a large company of men was quickly collected and pursued those Indians, overtook them at Sidling hill and surprised them in their camp; upon which the Indians ran off with the greatest precipitation and left their guns behind, but the white men neglected to secure them, the Indians taking a circuitous course, procured their guns, came upon them and defeated them; but whether the prisoners were released or not, we do not remember of hearing."*

The Indians persevered in their depredations and works of destruction. On Wednesday, the 26th May, 1756, they came to the plantation of John Wasson, in Peters' township,

* London's Narrative, Vol. ii., p. 180—'92.

Cumberland county, (now Franklin,) whom they killed and mangled in so horrid and cruel a manner, that a regard to decency forbids describing it; and afterwards burnt his house, and carried off his wife. A party of Peters' and Steel's men went out after the enemy, but to no purpose.

Some time in June, Fort Bigham, in Tuscarora valley, about twelve miles from Mifflin, was destroyed by the Indians. A number were carried off and some killed. George Woods, Nathaniel Bigham, Robert Taylor, his wife and one child, and John McDonnell were missing. Some of these, it was supposed, were burnt, as a number of bones were found. Susan Giles was found dead and scalped; Alexander McAllister and his wife, James Adams, Jane Cochran, and two children were missed. McAllister's house had been burnt, and a number of cattle and horses had been driven off. The enemy was supposed to be numerous, as they did eat and carry off a great deal of the beef they had killed—*Pa. Gazette*.

George Woods was the father-in-law of James Ross, who ran for Governor, and raised some fifteen years ago in Bradford.

Hance, or John Gray, afterwards joined a volunteer company, and went against the Indians in Kittaning, with the hopes of finding his wife and child. Shortly after the Kittaning expedition, he died in Bucks county.

Francis Innis remained a prisoner or captive, till the Indian treaty.
Har. Reg. 192.

July 26th, 1756, they killed Joseph Martin, and took captive John McCullough and James McCullough, in the Conococheague settlement.* August 27th there was a great slaughter or massacre, wherein the Indians killed thirty-nine persons. This happened on the Salisbury plain, near the mouth of Conococheague creek, as a number of men, women and children were attending a funeral, they were fired on by the Indians, who killed and scalped fifteen persons, and wounded many of the others. The same day six men went from Isaac Baker's upon the scout; one returned wounded; four were killed, and the other was captured. And six others, going to one Erwin's, to haul grain were attacked; one wounded in the hand, who, together with a companion, escaped; the rest were killed. Four more, who went from Shirley's fort, were also massacred or made prisoners. On the same day, two families

* See Appendix, D, McCullough's Narrative.

on Salisbury plain, consisting of nine persons, were most inhumanly butchered and mangled.

Upon the following day, as Captain Emmet and a scouting party were crossing the South mountain, they were fired on, and three of their number killed and two wounded. A few days after this, one William Morrison went to his place in Conococheague settlement, where he was discovered by five Indians, and, finding he could not escape by running, he put himself in an active position, beckoning and making signs, first to one side, then to the other, as if a party of his friends were at hand, trying to surround the Indians, which they perceiving, retreated into the woods, and he got off safe.*

August 28, 1756, Betty Ramsey, her son and the cropper killed, and her daughter taken captive.

Some time in the month of July, 1756, the Indians appeared again in Shearman's valley, and abducted Hugh Robinson.

I was, says Robinson, taken captive by the Indians, from Robin's fort in Shearman's valley, in July, 1756, at which time my mother was killed; I was taken back to their towns, where I suffered much from hunger and abuse; many times they beat me most severely, and once they sent me to gather wood to burn myself, but I cannot tell whether they intended to do it or to frighten me; however, I did not remain long before I was adopted into an Indian family, and then I lived as they did, though the living was very poor. I was then about fourteen years of age: my Indian father's name was Busqueetam; he was lame in consequence of a wound received by his knife in skinning a deer, and being unable to walk, he ordered me to drive forks in the ground and cover it with bark to make a lodge for him to lie in, but the forks not being secure they gave way, and the bark fell down upon him and hurt him very much, which put him in a great rage, and calling for his knife, ordered us to carry him upon a blanket into the hut, and I must be one that helps to carry him in; while we were carrying him I saw him hunting for the knife, but my Indian mother had taken care to convey it away, and when we had got him again fixed in his bed, my mother ordered me to conceal myself, which I did; I afterwards heard him reproving her for putting away the knife; for by this time I had learned to understand a little of their language.

* Gordon's His. Pa. 620.

However his passion wore off and we did very well for the future.

Some time after this all the prisoners in the neighborhood were collected to be spectators of the cruel death of a poor, unhappy woman, a prisoner, amongst which number I was. The particulars is as follows: When Col. Armstrong destroyed the Kittaning this woman fled to the white men, but by some means lost them and fell into the hands of the Indians, who stripping her naked, bound her to a post, and applying hot irons to her whilst the skin stuck to the iron at every touch, she screaming in the most pitiful manner, and crying for mercy, but these ruthless barbarians were deaf to her agonizing shrieks and prayers; and continued their cruelty till death released her from the torture of those hellish fiends. Of this shocking scene at which human nature shudders, the prisoners were all brought to be spectators.

I shall omit giving any particular account of our encamping and decamping, and our moving from place to place, as every one knows this is the constant employment of Indians. I had now become pretty well acquainted with their manners and customs, had learned their language, and was become a tolerable good hunter—was admitted to their dances, to their sacrifices, and religious ceremonies. Some of them have a tolerable good idea of the Supreme Being; and I have heard some of them very devoutly thanking their Maker, that they had seen another spring, and had seen the flowers upon the earth. I observed that their prayers and praises, was for temporal things. They have one bad custom amongst them; that if one man kill another, the friends of the deceased, if they cannot get the murderer, they will kill the nearest akin. I once saw an instance of this; two of them quarrelled, and the one killed the other, upon which the friends of the deceased rose in pursuit of the murderer, but he having made his escape, his friends were all hiding themselves; but the pursuers happened to find a brother of the murderers, a boy, concealed under a log, they immediately pulled him out from his concealment, he plead strongly that it was not him that killed the man; this had no weight with the avengers of blood, they instantly sunk their tomahawks into his body and despatched him. But they have some rules and regulations among them that is good; their ordinary way of living is miserable and poor, often without food. They are amazing dirty in their cookery,

sometimes they catch a number of frogs, and hang them up to dry, when a deer is killed they will split up the guts and give them a plunge or two in the water, and then dry them, and when they run out of provisions, they will take some of the dried frogs, and some of the deers guts and boil them, till the flesh of the frogs is dissolved, then they sup the broth.

Having now been with them a considerable time, a favorable opportunity offered for me to regain my liberty, my old father Busquetum, lost a horse and he sent me to hunt for him, after searching some time I came home and told him that I had discovered his tracks at some considerable distance, and that I thought I could find him, that I would take my gun and provision, and would hunt for three or four days and if I could kill a bear or deer I would pack home the meat on the horse; accordingly I packed up some provision, and started towards the white settlements, not fearing pursuit for some days, and by that time I would be out of the reach of the pursuers. But before I was aware, I was almost at a large camp of Indians, by a creek side; this was in the evening and I had to conceal myself in a thicket till it was dark, and then passed the camp, and crossed the creek in one of their canoes; I was much afraid that their dogs would give the alarm, but happily got safe past. I travelled on for several days, and on my way I spied a bear, shot at and wounded him, so that he could not run; but being too hasty ran up to him with my tomahawk, before I could give a blow, he gave me a severe stroke on the leg, which pained me very much, and retarded my journey much longer than it otherwise would have been; however I travelled on as well as I could till I got to the Alleghany river, where I collected some poles, with which I made a raft, and bound it together with elm bark and grape-vines, by which means I got over the river, but in crossing which I lost my gun. I arrived at fort Pitt in fourteen days from the time of my start, after a captivity of five years and four months.—*Loudon's Narrative* vol. ii. 190-'94.

In July the savages murdered some persons in Shearman's valley. The Indians, says Robert Robison, way-laid the fort in harvest time and kept quiet until the reapers were gone; James Wilson remaining some time behind the rest, and I not being gone to my business, which was hunting deer, for the use of the company, Wilson standing at the fort gate, I

desired liberty to shoot his gun at a mark, upon which he gave me the gun, and I shot; the Indian on the upper side of the fort, thinking they were discovered, rushed on a daughter of Robert Miller, and instantly killed her, and shot at John Simmeson, they then made the best of it that they could, and killed the wife of Jmaes Wilson,* and the widow Gibson, and took Hugh Gibson and Betsey Henry prisoners; the reapers being forty in number returned to the fort and the Indians made off.

Some time after Braddock's² defeat, Fort Granville was erected at a place called *Old Town*, on the bank of the Juniata, some distance from the present site of Lewistown, then Cumberland, now Mifflin county, where a company of enlisted soldiers were kept, under the command of Lieutenant Armstrong. The position of the fort was not the most favorable. The Indians who had been lurking about there for some time and knowing that Armstrong's men were few in number, sixty of them appeared, July 22, before the fort, and challenged the garrison to combat; but this was declined by the commander, in consequence of the weakness of his force. The Indians fired at and wounded one man belonging to the fort, who had been a short way from it—yet, he got in safe; after which they divided themselves into small parties, one of which attacked the plantation of one Baskins, near Juniata, *whom* they murdered, burnt his house and carried off his wife and children; and another made Hugh Carroll and his family prisoners.

On the 30th of July, Captain Ward left the fort with all his men, except twenty-four under the command of Lieut. Armstrong, to guard some reapers in Shearman's valley.—Soon after the Captain's departure, the fort was attacked by about one hundred Indians and French, who having assailed it in vain during the afternoon and night of that day, took to the Juniata creek, and, protected by its bank, attained a deep ravine, by which they were enabled to approach, without fear of injury, to within ten or twelve yards of the fort, to which they succeeded in setting it on fire. Through a hole thus made they killed the Lieutenant and private, and wounded three others while endeavoring to extinguish the fire.—

* While the Indian was scalping Mrs. Wilson, the relator shot at and wounded him but he made his escape.—A. LEVISON, EDITOR.

The enemy then offering quarters to the besieged, if they would surrender, one *Turner* immediately opened the gate to them. They took prisoners, twenty-two soldiers, three women, and seven children, whom they loaded with burdens and drove them off. The fort was burnt by Captain Jacobs, pursuant to the order of the French commander. When the Indians reached Kittaning, they put Turner to death with the most horrid tortures. They tied him to a post, danced around him, made a great fire, and having heated gun-barrels red-hot, ran them through his body. Having tormented him for three hours, they scalped him alive, and at last held up a boy with a hatchet in his hand, to give him the finishing stroke.—*Gordon's His. Pa. p. 619.*

Before leaving Fort Granville, they posted up a paper, which was afterwards found there, and was sent to the Governor and council; and has since been carefully kept among other papers and letters in the Secretary's office. The following is a *literal transcript* of the original, copied by the writer in December, 1844.

The paper appears to be a mere fragment of a letter. It is incoherent—has many omissions, which are not easily supplied, without knowing the particular circumstances under which it was written.

Il nece poin duxe peu ne pase pas que Jamay je nous Regarde de bon Coeur Et nesperce jamay auqueune grase de mapare Car jene auqueune an vie de vous voyr apre le Chagrien que vous mave Causez ain si Char Cher allteur pour moy nefaitte poin defou non plus sur un in Conseten qui ne panse Cason ple sir Croye moy Char Che fore tune allieurs pour moy je ri ne panse arien moy Case la il nez rien qui puise me De tou ne de nest santi man adie bon soir el nes par je par de mein vous mouve toujours dixetros vous il nes pa Convenable que vous Restier isci Cela ne vous Convenien pas Cinon je prandre plu vous prandre des Mesure pour y me ditour ner plu je serai rustique ne panse pa que serve devous percequitte vous panserie malle Car je sivous voulle netre poin tenu retire v.us demoy Car je ne sour-
ois re sis ter

Vostre Servette

Pinella Ciere.

The following is also copied from the same paper of the original. It is an interlineal, *rothographical* correction of the original "*spelling*:"

August the 18th, 1756.

To Hance Hamilton :

Sir—

I have sent express to you with the French letter, and one from Lieutenant Thompson, and a copy of that I have sent per Captain Hamilton and Ensign Scott, and the remainder I will send by Potter and Steel's men. Lieutenant Holiday sent to me last night for blankets, and says that his men are all going to leave him for want of the same, as the inhabitants have all left the fort. Capt. Potter has forty-seven men; and how many Captain Steel has I cannot tell; I believe about thirty or upwards.

If you have any blankets send them by the bearer. I believe I will make up near twenty strays, and the remainder I sent by Potter and Steel's men, which I hope you will receive at your arrival there.

I have nothing more, that I remember, but my compliments to Mrs. Armstrong, and my earnest desire of your welfare and success.

I am, with much esteem,
your most humble servant,

ADAM HOOPS.

N. B. I have got 39 pair of horse shoes, and 15 pair which are put on the horses.

Since I wrote, the Courier (carrier) has come to me to let me know that near John Lindsay's, five or six Indians were seen, and that one was shot down at the Grindstone Hill; and he says that they cannot carry out the flour which they had agreed for with them: there are not five families in all those parts, but what are now fled; the settlement is full of Indians, and are seen in many places.

A. H.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 5 o'clock, August 19, 1756.

Dear Sir—

I have last night received a letter by express from my Lieutenant which I have enclosed, with the original of the French letter, left at Fort Granville (near Lewistown, Mifflin county). We are all scarce of powder and lead at our forts. I am obliged to get a little from Mr. Hoops, and to give my receipt as for the expedition.

There is a party of Captain Mercer's company here; and on our receiving this letter we marched directly, taking with us twelve beef cattle, and the packhorses which belong to the two forts. The rest are to be brought up by Captain Potter's and Steel's men.

Sir, there were five of my men who were free, about the 7th of July, and they continued in the service, until they heard of Fort Granville being taken (and not being qualified they went off) as it is reported for want of ammunition; and we being so scarce, they openly refused to serve longer under such circumstances.

Sir, I am your affectionate,
humble servant,
HANCE HAMILTON.

To Col. John Armstrong,
at Carlisle.

Shortly after Fort Granville had been destroyed, Colonel

Armstrong entered upon what is well known as the Kittaning expedition. He advanced with three hundred men, till he reached the Beaver Dams, near Fronkstown, where he was joined by an advanced party, on Sept. 2d. On the 7th in the evening he reached Kittaning, and routed the enemy. (Particulars of the expedition will be noticed in the sequel.)

Letter from Col. Armstrong to the Hon. R. H. Morris, Esq. late Governor.

CARLISLE, 20th August, 1756.

May it please your Honor—

To-morrow, God willing, the men march from McDowell's for Fort Shirley, and this afternoon some part of my own company, with the provisions here, set out for Shearman's valley, there to halt till the residue come up. This night I expected to have been at Fort Shirley, but am much disappointed in getting in of the strays, for collecting whereof we shall not wait longer than this day. Hunter has got about half a score, and commissary Hoops about a dozen. The commissioners (for which your Honor will please to make them my sincere compliments) have sent every thing necessary except the canteens wrote for by Mr. Buchanan, which I am persuaded they have forgot, and which we must supply by tin quarts. They were probably right in keeping back the tents, as they might have proven an incumbrance, and there is not one shilling laid out on this occasion that does not give me sensible uneasiness. but through the want of experience, and fewness of our numbers, the good end proposed should fail of being obtained.

I am not yet determined whether to wait twenty-four hours longer on the answer of a letter sent to Colonel Clapham for the intelligence of John Cox, who has been some time with, and now made his escape from the Indians, which I think would be very material, and which, if waited for until to-morrow, or Sunday night, will make it Tuesday before we can reach Fort Shirley. I dare not venture any thing of consequence now with a single messenger, so many Indians being in the woods.

The harvest season, with the two attacks on Fort Granville (Lewistown) has left us bare of ammunition, that I shall be obliged to apply to the stores here for some quantity, for the expedition. The Captains, Hamilton and Mercer, having broken open the part I sent to McDowell's for Fort Shirley, and given them receipts as for the expedition, though I know it for the particular defence of those two posts: nor will it be in my power to prevail with double the number of men, and a double quantity of ammunition to keep a Fort, that would have done it before the taking of Fort Granville. I hope the first opportunity of conveying ammunition to this town will be taken. For farther proofs of the numbers of Indians among us and waste of this country, I shall enclose your Honor some letters lately received.

Since the escape of the Dutchman, whose deposition I sent your Honor, is also escaped a certain Peter Walker taken from Granville, and saith, that of the enemy not less than one hundred and twenty returned

all in health, except one Frenchman shot through the shoulder by Lieutenant Armstrong a little before his death, as the Frenchman was erecting his body out of the hollow to see through the pine knots on the fire made against the Fort; and of this number there were about a dozen of French, who had for their interpreter one McDowell, a Scotchman. This McDowell told Walker they designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley, with four hundred men. Captain Jacobs said he could take any Fort that would catch fire, and would make peace with the English when they had learned him to make gunpowder. McDowell told Walker they had two Indians killed in the engagement, but the Captains, Armstrong and Ward, whom I ordered on their march to Fort Shirley to examine every thing at Granville, and send a list of whom remained among the ruins, assure me they found some parts of eight of the enemy burnt in two different places, the joints of them being scarcely separated, and parts of their shirts found, through which there were bullet holes. To secrete these from our prisoners was doubtless the reason why the French officer marched our people some distance from the Fort before they gave orders to burn the barracks, &c. Walker says that some of the Germans flagged very much on the second day, and that the Lieutenant behaved with the greatest bravery to the last, despising all the terrors and threats of the enemy, whereby they often urged him to surrender, though he had been near two days without water, but a little ammunition left, the fort on fire, and the enemy situated within twelve or fourteen yards of the fort, under the natural bank, he was as far from yielding as when at first attacked; a Frenchman in our service fearful of being, as leave of the Lieutenant to treat with his countrymen, in the French language; the Lieutenant answered, "The first word of French you speak in this engagement, I'll blow your brains out," telling his men to hold out bravely, for the flame was falling and he would soon have it extinguished, but soon after received the fatal ball.

The French officer refused the soldiers the liberty of interring his corpse, though it was to be done in an instant when they raised the clay to quench the fire.

One Brandon, a soldier who had been shot through the knee, on the approach of the enemy, called out, "I am a Roman Catholic, and will go with you," but the Indians regardless of his faith, observing he could not march, soon despatched him with tomahawk.

As Fort Shirley is not easily defended, and their water may be taken possession of by the enemy, it running at the foot of a high bank eastward of the fort, and no well dug, I am of opinion, from its remote situation, that it cannot serve the country in the present circumstances, and if attacked, I doubt will be taken if not strongly garrisoned, but (extremities excepted) I cannot evacuate this without your Honor's orders.

Lyttleton, Shippensburg and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only forts now built that will, in my opinion, be serviceable to the public. McDowell's, or thereabouts, is a necessary post, but the present fort not defensible. The duties of the harvest have not admitted me to finish Carlisle Fort with the soldiers, it should be done, and a barracks erected within the fort, otherwise the soldiers cannot be so well govern-

ed, and may be absent or without the gates, at a time of the greatest necessity.

I am honored sir,
your Honor's most obedient
and humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

[Prov. Rec. P. p. 10-12].

The Indians at one of their inroads murdered a family of seven persons on Shearman's creek, from there they passed over the mountain at Croghan's, now Sterret's gap, and wounded a man, killed a horse, and captured Mrs. Boyde, her two sons and a daughter, upon Conodoguinet creek.

Another time they came down upon the frontiers of Lancaster, now Dauphin county; the first assault was upon a wagon belonging to a German in which he was endeavoring to move off, but being killed a small distance behind the wagon, those with the wagon fled to a fort not far distant: the men in the fort being alarmed at the report of the Indian guns, came to see the occasion of it, and met a woman running towards them crying; they proceeded to where the wagon stood, and at some distance behind the man lay, tomahawked and scalped, and the brains issuing from the wounds, although he was still breathing. The wagon being left standing in the same place, it was pillaged and destroyed in the night.

The next day twelve men were sent to acquaint the men at the next fort about eight miles distant of what had happened, who were fired upon from an ambuscade, and were killed and wounded all but two, who were pursued, but escaped.

Mrs. Boggs, of the same neighborhood, while riding to a neighbor's house, was fired upon by the Indians, her horse killed, and she with a young child taken prisoner, whom they treated in the most barbarous and cruel manner, not suffering the child to suck, sometimes throwing it in the road, and kicking it before them; after three days' marching in this manner, they carried the child into the woods, where they murdered and scalped it, with savage cruelty.

The savages still continued their "work of blood and butchery," during and after harvest, in Cumberland county, and in the upper part of Lancaster, so that the inhabitants were obliged in order to gather their harvest, to be under the

protection of armed men, and even then many were surprised and massacred by the enemy. The following extracts from letters written at the time, give the reader some idea of the deplorable condition of the frontier settlers:

“CARLISLE, den 22^{sten} July, 1756.

Am Samstag giengen zwei Soldaten mit die Schnitter zu beschuetzen bey McDaniels Muehl, und da sie nur ein wenig auf die Seite gingen, wurde der eine von den Indianern gescolpt und der andere gefangen mit genommen. Ein anderer Soldat wollte zwei Maedgen begleiten die Wasser holten, der wurde gefangen und die Maedgen sprangen davon.

Gestern sind zehen Meilen von hier bey McClure's Gap etliche Indianer zu Jacob Peeple's Haus kommen, und haben sein Weib getoedet und zwei Kinder mit genommen; der Knabe war 12 Jahr alt und das Maedgen 2 Jahr alt. Ein alter Mann, Namens Solomon ein Schuhmacher mangelt—

Es ist nicht ausszusprechen wie heftig die Leute flichen mit ihren besten Zachen in die Festung.—*Sauer's Zeitung*, July, 1756.

The distress of the frontier settlers had nearly reached its acme. An attempt to depict their sufferings, alarms, and fears, would prove a failure. In the fall of 1755, the country west of the Susquehanna possessed *three thousand men* fit to bear arms; and in August 1756, exclusive of the Provincial forces, there were not one hundred; fear having driven the greater part from their homes into the interior of the province.—*Gordon's Pa.* 430.

Governor Morris, in his message to the Assembly, August 16, 1756, says, “The people to the west of the Susquehanna, distressed by the frequent incursions of the enemy, and weakened by their great losses, are moving into the interior parts of the Province, and I am fearful that the whole county will be evacuated, if timely and vigorous measures are not taken to prevent it.”—*Votes of Assembly*, iv. p. 504.

The few who had not fled petitioned the Governor, Council and Assembly, for aid to protect them against the ravages of a restless, barbarous and merciless enemy. Their several petitions are given below.

To the Honorable Robert Hunter Morris, Esq., Lieut. Gov. of Province of Pennsylvania.

The address of part of the remaining inhabitants of Cumberland county, most humbly sheweth, that the French and their *savage* allies have from time to time made several incursions into this county, have in the most inhuman and barbarous manner murdered great numbers of our people and carried others into captivity, and being greatly em-

boldened by a series of success, not only attempted, but also took *Fort Granville* on the 30th July last, then commanded by the late Lieutenant Edward Armstrong, and carried off the greatest part of the garrison, prisoners, from whom doubtless the enemy will be informed of the weakness of this frontier, and how incapable we are of defending ourselves against their incursions, which will be a great inducement for them to redouble their attacks, and in all probability force the remaining inhabitants of this county to evacuate it. Great numbers of the inhabitants are already fled, and others preparing to go off; finding that it is not in the power of the troops in pay of the government (were we certain of their being continued) to prevent the ravages of our restless, barbarous and merciless enemy. It is therefore greatly to be doubted that (without a further protection) the inhabitants of this county will shortly endeavor to save themselves and their effects, by flight, which must consequently be productive of considerable inconveniences to his Majesty's interest in general, and to the welfare of the people of this Province in particular.

Your petitioners being fully convinced of your Honor's concern for a strict attachment to his Majesty's interest, have presumed to request that your Honor would be pleased to take our case into consideration, and, if agreeable to your Honor's judgment, to make application to his Excellency, General Loudon, that part of the troops now raising for his Excellency's regiment may be sent to, and for some time, continued in some of the most important and advantageous posts in this county, by whose assistance we may be enabled to continue a frontier if possible, and thereby induce the remaining inhabitants, to secure, at least, a part of the immense quantity of grain which now lies exposed to the enemy and subject to be destroyed or taken away by them; and also enable the Provincial troops to make incursions into the enemy's country, which would contribute greatly to the safety and satisfaction of your Honor's petitioners—And your petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

Francis West, John Welsh, James Dickson, Robert Erwin, Samuel Smith, Wm. Buchanan, Daniel Williams, John Montgomery, Thos. Barker, John Lindsay, Jas. Lindsay, Thos. Urie, Jas. Buchanan, Wm. Spear, Jas. Pollock, And. McIntyre, Robert Gibson, Garret McDaniel, Arthur Foster, Jas. Brandon, John Houston, Patrick McCollom, James Reed, Thos. Lockertt, And. Dalton, John Irwin, Wm. Blyth, Robt. Miller, Wm. Miller, Jas. Young, Jno. Davis, John Mitchell, John Pattison, Samuel Stevens, John Fox, Chas. Pattison, John Foster, Wm. McCaskry, And. Calhoun, Jas. Stackpole, Wm. Sebbe, Jas. Robb, Samuel Anderson, Robert Robb, Samuel Hunter, A. Forster, Nath. Smyth. &c.

Read in council August 21, 1756.

August 24, 1756.

The humble supplication of the remaining part of the inhabitants of East Pennsborough township, in Cumberland county, letting your worship know some part of our melancholy state; we are at present, by reason of the savage Indians, who have not only killed our christian neighbors, but are coming nearer to us in their late slaughter; and almost every day, numbers of our frontiers are leaving their places and travelling further down among the inhabitants, and we are

made quite incapable of holding our frontiers good any longer, unless your worship can prevail with our Honorable Governor and Assembly to be pleased to send us speedy relief. May it please all to whom this shall come, to consider what an evil case we will be exposed to, in leaving our places, grain and cattle; for we are not able to buy provisions for our families, much less for our cattle. And to live here we cannot, we are so weak handed, and those not removed are not provided with guns and ammunition; and we have agreed with a guard of fourteen men in number, and if it were in our power to pay for a guard, we should be satisfied; but we are not able to pay them.

Begging for God's sake, you may take pity upon our families, and that their necessities may be considered by all gentlemen that have charge of us.

By the humble request of those who remain of the inhabitants of our township, to the Revd. Richard Peters, Secretary in Philadelphia.— Begging God to command a blessing on your endeavors.

William Chesnut, John Sample, Francis McQuire, James McMullen, Samuel McCormick, Tobias Hendrix, John McCormick, Rodger Walton, Robert McWhinney, James Silver.

Read in council August 28.

From the following extracts, from the Provincial Records and Votes of Assembly, it is abundantly confirmed that the distress and alarm of the inhabitants, all along the frontier settlements, was very great indeed.

September 6, 1756, a petition was presented and read from the Rev. John Steel, captain of a company at Conococheague, in the pay of the Province, representing the most miserable condition to which the upper part of Cumberland (now Franklin) county, bordering on Maryland was reduced to, by the ravages of the Indians, and the numbers killed and taken into captivity.

Another petition from a number of inhabitants of Lurgan and Hope-well townships, (the former now in Franklin, the latter in Cumberland county) setting forth their extreme distress, and praying for relief.

Another petition from the inhabitants of Shippensburg and adjacent townships, setting forth *their* miserable condition, and offering to finish a fort already begun by the late governor, if they shall be allowed men and ammunition to defend it.

Mr. Joseph Armstrong, member of Assembly, and Adam Hoops, commissary of provisions for the supply of the forces in Cumberland county, attending with a young man, who was taken prisoner by the Indians and had made his escape: they were examined as to the truth of the several matters mentioned in the petitions, and they confirmed the same, saying further, that a year ago there were three thousand men fit to bear arms, lives in that county, and now, exclusive of the Provincial forces, they were certain they did not amount to one hundred— that there never was, in the memory of man, a more abundant harvest, than after the burning of fort Granville by the Indians, which was done whilst the country people, guarded by detachments of the forces, were employed in reaping. The farmers abandoned their plantations, and left what corn was not then stacked or carried into barns,

to perish on the ground, and that it was their opinion, if more force was not sent into those frontiers, or if Colonel Armstrong should miscarry, the west side of Susquehanna would be entirely abandoned.—*Provin. Rec. P. p. 20.*

CARLEIL, August, 1756.

“Wir hoeren das am 5ten August zwei Soldaten seyen getoedet und einer verwundet, zwei Meilen von McDowell's Fort. Und am 7ten ward einer getoedet mit Namen Dinwidie, und einer gefangen, der aber wieder eschapirt. Am aten sey Casper Walter getoedet, aber nicht gescalpt; und vier von seinen Kindern und John Mecky seine Tochter haben sie mit genommen. Es waren nur vier Indianer gusehen. Alle Einwohner in der ganzen Jegend sind sehr bestuertzt und in Unordnung. An der Juniata und in Sherman's Thal sind alle Leute weggeflohen, und die Plaetze sind leer.”

In the early part of November, some Indians were in the upper part of Cumberland (Franklin) county, only a few miles from McDowell's mill, where they barbarously murdered and mangled a number of inhabitants. They killed, and also carried off, the following named soldiers; James McDonald, William McDonald, Bartholomew McCafferty, and Anthony McQuoid; soldiers missing, James Corkem and William Cornwall. The following inhabitants were killed; John Culbertson, Samuel Perry, Hugh Kerrell, John Woods, with his wife and mother-in-law, and Elizabeth Archer; inhabitants missing, four children belonging to John Archer, Samuel Neely, a boy, and James McQuoid, a child.

A German writer notices the same incidents as follows:

CARLEIL den 8ten Novem. 1756.

Bei vergangene Woche ist ein Parthei Indianer in dem obern Theil dieser County gewesen etliche Meilen von McDowell's Muehl, da haben sie viele Menschen barbarisch gemordert, und Kinder mit genommen.

Vier Soldaten sind todt gefunden und zwei mangeln. Sieben Einwohner sind todt. Sechs Kinder und Samuel Neely mangeln. Samuel Perry wolte sein Pferd ins Feld thun, und da er larg ausblieb, gingen 14 Maun ihn zu suchen, und fanden ihn gescalp aned mit Laub zugedeckt; als sie zurueck kamen, lagen bey 30 Indianern im Busch; als sie die Indianer erblickt, schossen sie auf sie; aber die Indianer schossen vier

Soldaten todt, und zwei mangeln noch."—*Sauer's Zeitung*.

READING TOWNSHIP, (Adams co.) Aug. 21, 1756.

Honored Sir:

I send your Honor the enclosed petition, at the solicitation of a great number of people. The complicated distresses of these poor creatures are beyond expression. What few inhabitants remained in Cumberland are daily flying from thence; so that in three or four days it will be totally relinquished.

Marsh creek is now the frontier, and such a panic has seized the hearts of people in general, that unless we have soon some favorable turn in our affairs, I am afraid the enemy need not long be at the pains to dispute a claim to these two counties.

I hope your Honor will pardon this freedom, and do me the justice to believe that I am, with gratitude and truth.

Your Honor's most obedient
and humble servant,

THO. BARTON.

Richard Peters, Esq.

Not only was the country west of the Susquehanna left nearly desolate and deserted, but also on the east side of the river, numerous murders were committed, and plantations abandoned. When imagination fails to conceive the peril and distress of the settlers of Paxton, Hanover, Derry, and other townships, then in Lancaster (now Dauphin and Lebanon counties) vain would it be to attempt to portray the scenes of horror. Some idea, however, may be formed of their condition from the subjoined letters:

DERRY TOWNSHIP, 9th Aug. 1756.

Dear Sir:

There is nothing but bad news every day. Last week there were two soldiers killed and one wounded about two miles from Manady fort; and two of the guards that escorted the batteaux were killed; and we may expect nothing else daily, if no stop be put to these savages. We shall all be broken in upon in these parts—the people are going off daily, leaving almost their all behind them; and as for my part, I think a little time will lay the country waste by flight, so that the enemy will have nothing to do but take what we have worked for.

Sir, your most

Humble servant,

JAMES GALBREATH.

Ed. Shippen, Esq.

DERRY TOWNSHIP, 10th Aug. 1756.

Honored Sir:

There is nothing here almost every day but murder committed by

the Indians in some part or other. About five miles above me, at Manady gap, there were two of the Province soldiers killed, one wounded. There were but three Indians, and they came in among ten of our men and committed the murder, and went off safe. The name or sight of an Indian makes almost all, in these parts, tremble—their barbarity is so cruel where they are masters; for by all appearances, the *devil* communicates, God permits, and the French pay, and by that the back parts, by all appearances, will be laid waste by sight with those who are gone and going, more especially Cumberland county.

Pardon my freedom in this, wherein I have done amiss.

Sir, your most

Humble servant,

JAMES GALBREATH.

P. S. I am in want of the pistols.

The above is fully corroborated by the following :

HANOVER, Aug. 7, 1756.

To Edward Shippen, Esq.

Sir : Yesterday, Jacob Ellis, a soldier of Capt. Smith's, at Brown's about two miles and a half over the first mountain, just within the gap, having some wheat growing at that place, prevailed with his officers for some of the men, to help him to cut some of the grain; accordingly ten of them went, set guards, and fell to work; at about ten o'clock, they had reapt down, and went to the head to begin again, and before they had all well begun, three Indians having crept up to the fence just behind them, fired upon them and killed the corporal, and another who was standing with a gun in one hand and a bottle in the other was wounded—his left arm is broken in two places; so that his gun fell, he being a little more down the field than the rest; those who were reaping had their fire arms about half way down the field, standing at a large tree; as soon as the Indians had fired and without loading their guns, leaped over the fence right in amongst the reapers—one of them had left his gun behind on the out side of the field—they all ran promiscuously, while the Indians were making a terrible halloo, and looked more like the devil than Indians. The soldiers made for their fire arms, and as three of them stood behind the tree with their arms, the Indian that came wanting his gun, came within a few yards of them, and took up the wounded soldier's gun, and would have killed another, had not one who perceived him, fired at him, so that he dropped the gun. The Indians fled, and in going off, two soldiers standing about a rod apart, an Indian ran through between them, they both fired at him, yet he escaped; when the Indians were over the fence, a soldier fired at one of them; upon which he stooped a little—the three Indians escaped. Immediately after leaving the field, they fired one gun, and gave a halloo. The soldiers hid the one that was killed, went home to the fort, found James Brown, who lives in the fort, and one of the soldiers, missing.

The Lieutenant, accompanied by some more, went out and brought in the dead man; but still Brown was missing. Notice was given on that night, I went up next morning with some hands—Captain Smith had sent up more men from the other fort; these went out next morning, against I got there word was come in that they had found James

Brown, killed and scalped, I went over with them to bring him home; he was killed with the last shot, about twenty rods from the field—his gun, his shoes and jacket carried off. The soldiers who found him, said that they tracked the three Indians to the second mountain, and they found one of the Indian's guns a short distance from Brown's corpse, as it had been not worth much. They showed me the place where the Indians fired through the fence; and it was just eleven yards from the place where the dead man lay. The rising ground, above the field, was clear of standing timber and the grubs low, so that they had kept a look out.

The above account, you may depend upon. We have almost lost all hopes of every thing, but to move off and lose our crops that we have cut with so much difficulty.

I am your

Honor's servant,

ADAM REED.

Some time in the latter part of October, the Indians again returned into Hanover township, where they murdered, under circumstances of much cruelty, several families, among whom was one Andrew Berryhill. On the 22d October, they killed John Craig and his wife, scalped them both, burnt several houses, and carried off a lad, about thirteen years old. The next day they scalped a German, whose name has not been given.

Many of the settlers had fled, and not a few were killed. The writer examined the tax collector's duplicate of several townships, for 1756, and found, from entries made in these, by the collectors, that in East Hanover township, the following had fled from their houses:

Andrew Karsnits, John Gilliland, John McColloch, Walter McFarland, Robert Kirkwood, William Robison, Valentine Stoffolbeim, Andrew Cleaman, Rudolph Fry, Peter Walmer, John McCulloch, James Rafter, Moses Vance, John Brower, Frederick Noah, Jacob Moser, Philip Mauerer, Barnhart Beshore, Jacob Beshore, Matthias Beshore, William McCullough, Philip Calp, Casper Yost, Conrad Cleck, Christian Albert, Daniel Moser, John McClure, John Anderson, Thomas Shirley, James Graham, Barnet McNett, Andrew Brown, William Brown, Andrew McMahon, Thomas Hume, Thomas Strean, John Hume, Peter Wolf, Henry Kuntz, William Watson, John Stuart, John Porterfield, David Strean, John Strean, Andrew McCrath, James McCurry, Conrad Rice, Alexander Swan, John Grean.

Andrew Berrihill, killed; Samuel Ainsworth's son was ta-

ken; John Craig, killed, and a boy taken captive. The whole tax duplicate contains about a hundred names.

In West Hanover the following persons had fled, viz:

John Gordon, Richard Johnson, Alexander Barnett, James McCaver, Robert Porterfield, Philip Robison, John Hill, Thomas Bell, Thomas Maguire, William McCord, Robert Huston, Benjamin Wallace, William Bennett, Bartholomew Harris, John Swan, James Bannon, William McClure, Thomas McClure, John Henry, James Riddle, Widow Cooper, David Ferguson, Widow de Armand, James Wilson, Samuel Barnetts, James Brown, Widow McGowin, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hill, Jane Johnston was killed.*

The following letter from the pen of Adam Reed, Esq., dated at Hanover, October 14, 1756, may cast some additional light on this gloomy subject. The letter is addressed to Edward Shippen, Esq., and others:

“Friends and Fellow Subjects:

I send you in a few lines, the melancholy condition of the frontiers of this county. Last Tuesday, the 12th inst. ten Indians came on Noah Frederick, while ploughing, killed and scalped him, and carried away three of his children that were with him—the eldest but nine years old—and plundered his house and carried away every thing that suited their purpose; such as clothes, bread, butter, a saddle, and a good rifle gun, &c.—it being but two short miles to Captain Smith's fort, at Swatara gap, and a little better than two miles from my house.

Last Saturday evening, an Indian came to the house of Philip Robeson, carrying a green bush before him—said Robeson's son being on the corner of his Fort, watching others that were dressing flesh by him—the Indian perceiving that he was observed, fled; the watchman fired, but missed him. This being about three-fourths of a mile from Manady Fort; and yesterday morning, two miles from Smith's Fort, at Swatara, in Bethel township, as Jacob Farnwal was going from the house of Jacob Meylin to his own, was fired upon by the two Indians, and wounded, but escaped with his life; and a little after, in said township, as Frederick Henly and Peter Sample were carrying away their goods in wagons, were met by a parcel of Indians, and all killed, lying dead in one place, and one man at a little distance. But what more has been done, has not come to my ears—only that the Indians were continuing their murders!

The frontiers are employed in nothing but carrying off their effects; so that some miles are now waste! We are willing, but not able, without help—you are able, if you be willing, (that is including the lower parts of the county) to give such assistance as will enable us to recover our waste land. You may depend upon it, that without assistance, we, in a few days, will be on the *wrong side* of you; for I am now

* Tax Duplicate for 1756, at Lancaster.

on the frontier, and I fear that by to-morrow night, I will be left two miles.

Gentlemen, *consider what you will do, and don't be long about it*; and let not the world say, that we died as fools died! Our hands are not tied, but let us exert ourselves, and do something for the honor of our country, and the preservation of our fellow subjects. I hope you will communicate our grievances to the lower parts of our country; for surely they will send us help, if they understood our grievances.

I would have gone down myself, but dare not, my family is in such danger. I expect an answer by the bearer, if possible.*

I am, gentlemen,

Your very humble servant,

ADAM REED.

P. S. Before sending this away, I would mention, I have just received information, that there are seven killed and five children scalped alive, but have not the account of their names.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIAN MASSACRES—(1757-62).

Negotiations of peace, &c.—Frontier settlers are still in constant alarm—Indians murder and abduct persons at Rocky Springs—McKinney, Patterson, and others killed—List of killed in various parts in 1757—A number of persons killed in Cisne's and in Steen's fields—Several men supposed to be killed near Hendrick's (now Bowman's)—Indians commit murders in Lancaster (now Dauphin) county—Long's son, Mrs. Williams, Smelley, Mr. Maurer, Beaty, Mackey, Barnet and others killed—Murders committed in Hanover township—William Martin killed near Hunter's fort; Busse's letter touching it—Watt and McKennet, and others killed and scalped—Indians surprise Bard's house in York (Adams) county; Bard and family abducted; Potter killed—Gallady, Dunwiddie, Crawford and others massacred.

Stimulated, and abetted by the French, both Shawanese and Delaware Indians kept up their hostilities till 1757, when negotiations for peace commenced with *Teedyuscung*, the

*Prov. Rec. P. p. 69.

chief of the Delaware and Shawanese tribes, on the Susquehanna, when their fury abated somewhat. But the French and Western Indians still roamed in small parties over the country, committing many sanguinary murders, and taking captives all whom they could surprise. The frontier settlers were kept in continual alarm.

"March 29, 1757, the Indians made a breach at Rocky Springs, where one woman was killed and eleven taken prisoners.

"April 2, William McKinley and his son were killed. McKinley had sought shelter with his family at Chambers' fort—ventured out one day in company with his son to visit his dwelling and plantation, where the Hallowell paper mill is, on the creek below Chambersburg. They were discovered however by the Indians, and both killed and scalped, and their dead bodies brought to the fort and buried."

We hear, says the Pa. Gazette, April 7, 1757, from Conococheague, Cumberland county, (Franklin) that on last week three families were cut off there by the Indians; the people most barbarously used. The names of two of the families, are Campbell and Patterson.

April 17, 1757, Jeremiah Jack, near Potomac, was taken captive, and two of his sons killed, and one man and one woman drowned in Potomac endeavoring to make their escape.

April 23, 1757, John Martin and William Blair were killed, and Patrick McClelland wounded in the shoulder, who afterwards died of his wound, near Maxwell fort, Conococheague.

May 14, 1757, Major Campbell and one Tussey, was killed or taken captive with fourteen others, near Potomac.

May 12, 1757, John Martin and Andrew Paul, both old men, taken from Conococheague.

May 13, 1757, William Walker and another man were killed near McCormick's fort, at Conodoguinet.

May 16, 1757, eleven persons killed at Paxton by the Indians.

June 6, two men killed and five taken near Shippensburg.

June 9, James Holiday and fourteen men killed and taken; James Long's son and another man killed in a quarry at fort Frederick; nineteen men killed in a mill at Quetapahely, and four men killed in Shearman's valley, all in one week.

Fort Morris, 10th June, 1757.

At one o'clock this morning I received an express from Fort Loudon, with intelligence of Lieut. Hollyday's having set out with seventy-five men, to reconnoiter the woods; and at the deserted house of one McClellan, in a place called the Great Cove, part of the men with the Lieut. went into the said house, whilst the residue were at some distance drinking water from the spring, and were unhappily surprised, and surrounded by a party of Indians, said to be one hundred in number. Ten of our party got into London before the express set out; their

account is so imperfect that little dependance can be laid on it. They saw one of the soldiers fall and another was taken captive.—Provia. Rec. P. 310.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Col. Stanwix.

June 17, one man killed at Cuthbertson's fort; four men shot at the Indian while scalping the man.

June 24, 1757, Alexander Miller killed and two of his daughters taken from Conococheague; John Kenedy badly wounded, and Gerhart Pendergras's daughter killed at fort Littleton.

July 2, one woman and four children taken from Trent's gap; same day one Springson killed near Logan's mill, Conococheague.

July 8, 1757, two boys taken from Cross's fort, Conococheague.

July 9, 1757, Trooper Wilson's son killed at Antictum creek. I presume this to be the man that I mentioned Ben. Dickson shot and shook his scalp at his father, when he was creeping up to shoot a deer.

July 18, six men killed or taken from near Shippensburg. These were reaping in Mr. John Cisney's field. Those killed were John Kirkpatrick, Dennis Oneidon; missing, John Cisney and three little boys, two of them his grand-sons, the other John Kirkpatrick's.

July 19, some men killed and taken, reaping near Shippensburg. These were reaping in Mr. Joseph Steenson's field. Those killed were Joseph Mitchell, James Mitchell, William Mitchell, John Finlay, Robert Steenson, Andrew Enslow, John Wiley, Allen Henderson and William Gibson. Those missing or carried off, were Jane McCommon, Mary Minor, Janet Harper, and a son of John Finlay. Only one Indian was killed.*

July, 1757, four men killed near Baker's, driving wagon to fort Frederick.

July 10, 1757, ten soldiers killed at Clapham's fort.

* The Indian killed in Mr. Steenson's field, was perhaps the same whose scalp is mentioned in the following letter:

Dated at Shippensburg, October 25, 1757.

To Richard Peters, Esq.

Sir—

I was some time ago in Philadelphia in expectation of receiving a reward from the Commissioners, for an Indian scalp, but was quite disappointed. It ill suited me at the time to take so fatiguing and expensive a journey. One might think common humanity might induce the gentlemen to allow some small matter, on that occasion, as I lost my husband and son, which has so sensibly affected me in every respect, that I am rendered unable of providing the common necessities of life. Your Honor gave me some hope when in town, that you would use your interest in endeavoring to prevail with the Commissioners to consider me, which I doubt not you will do, as it is part of your character to relieve the distressed. Your endeavors to this purpose, I hope will not only heap blessings upon yourself, but, in a great measure relieve the pinching of one, who is

Your most humble servant,

MARGARET MITCHELL.

July 27, 1757, one McKisson wounded, and his son taken from the South mountain.

August 15, 1757, William Manson and his son killed near Cross's fort, Conococheague.

August 17, 1757, William Waugh's barn was burnt in the Tract, York county, by Indians.

August 19, 1757, fourteen people killed and taken from Mr. Cinky's congregation; and one man killed near Harris' ferry.

Sept. 1, 1757, James Watson and James Mullen went out on their farms, and on Saturday following Watson was found scalped; the other supposed to be carried off.

September 2, 1757, one man killed near Bigger's gap, and one Indian killed.

Sept. 8. Two men went out to hunt horses near Tobias Hendricks, (Bowman's, i. e., Pennsboro' township, Cumberland county) and are supposed to be killed or carried off, as they have not been heard of since.

September 9, 1757, one boy and a girl taken from Donegal.

September 26, 1757, Robert Rush and John McCracken, with five others killed and taken captive near Chambersburg.

November 9, 1757, John Woods, his wife and mother-in-law, and John Archer's wife were killed, four children taken, and nine men killed near McDowell's fort.

Extract from a letter, dated Hanover, Lancaster county, Aug. 11, 1757.

Last Thursday, John Andrew's wife, going to a neighbor's house, was surprised by six Indians, had her horse shot under her, and she and her child were carried off. On Saturday, in Bethel township, as John Winkleblech's two sons, and Joseph Fischbach, (a soldier in the pay of the Province,) went out about sunrise, to bring in the cows, they were fired upon by about fifteen Indians; the two lads were killed; one of them was scalped; the other got into the house before he died, and the soldier was wounded in the hand.

The same morning, about seven o'clock, two miles below Manaday gap, as Thomas McQuire's son was bringing in some cows out of a field, a little way from the house, he was pursued by two Indians, and narrowly escaped. The same day, in the middle of this township, four miles from the mountain, as Leonard Long's son was ploughing, was killed and scalped: on the other side of the fence, Leonard Miller's son was ploughing, he was made prisoner.

John Graham, who lives near the gap of the Indian town creek, had a steer killed, about sunrise, or before, and John Brown had two cows killed; all except the first mischief done in one day; so that last Saturday there must have been, at least, four parties of Indians in this township.

Having notice of this on Sunday morning, I set out with four men, and we ranged till after midnight. Monday morning I set out again, with forty men, intending to go over the mountain. We ranged the first day in the forest, and had intended to lie out on the mountain all night, but a heavy rain falling, we took to a house. On Tuesday morning we set out over the mountain to find tracks, if possible; but we found not the least appearance of any, or Indians, over the moun-

tain, or in any of the waste houses; so we returned on Tuesday night Monday, 8th. Many tracks were seen among the inhabitants, and in the waste houses, where the Indians lodged. In one of the houses they left a scalping knife, and had killed and scalped a man. Wednesday, we intended to rest, but at about 12 o'clock had another alarm.

Near Benjamin Clarke's house, four miles from the mill, two Indians surprised Isaac Williams's wife, and the widow Williams, alias Smelley, killed and scalped the former, in sight of the house, she having run a little way, after three balls had been shot through her body; the latter they carried away captive.

About the same time, as George Maurer was cutting oats in George Scheffer's field, he was killed and scalped, two miles from the hill, so that it was not all done by one party.

There is now such a severe sickness in these parts—the like has not been known—that many families can neither fight nor run away, which occasions great distress on the frontiers. Had it not been for forty men, which the province has in pay, in this township, little of the harvest could have been saved, and as the time for which they have been engaged is nearly elapsed, the inhabitants hope the government will continue them in the service, else the consequences must be dreadful.*

We hear from a gentleman that six persons were taken away by the Indians from Lancaster county, 17th August.†

Since our last, we learn from Lancaster, that there was nothing but murdering and capturing among them by the Indians. That on the 17th August, one Beatty was killed in Paxton—that the next day, James Mackey was murdered in Hanover, and William and Joseph Barnet, wounded. That on the same day were taken prisoners, a son of James Mackey, a son of Joseph Barnet, Elizabeth Dickey and her child, and the wife of Samuel Young and her child; and that ninety-four men, women, and children, were seen flying from their places, in one body, and a great many more in smaller parties, so that it was feared the settlements would be entirely forsaken.

We hear from Berks county, that several Indians have lately been seen near Fort Lebanon; and that on Sunday, the 21st August, the house and barn of Peter Semelcke were burnt, and three of his children carried off; himself, wife and one child, being from home at the time. This was done within two miles of the fort.‡

Our accounts, in general, from the frontiers, are most dismal; all agreeing that some of the inhabitants are killed or carried off; houses burnt and cattle destroyed daily—and that at the same time they are afflicted with severe sickness and die fast, so that in many places, they are neither able to defend themselves, when attacked, nor to run away.§

We hear from Lebanon township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) county, that on last Friday, four children were carried off by the Indians.—From Reading, Berks county, that on Thursday and Friday last, some people were murdered in Bern township, by the Indians, and others carried off.

* Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 1757.

† Ibid, Aug. 11.

‡ Pennsylvania Gazette, September 1, 1757.

§ Ibid, September 8.

A letter from Hanover township, Lancaster county, dated October 1st 1757, says that the children mentioned of having been carried off from Lebanon township, belonging to Peter Wampler, that they were going to the meadow for a load of hay; and that the Indians took from the house what they thought most valuable, and destroyed what they could not take away, to a considerable value.

In the same letter it is said, that the frontiers are almost without inhabitants, and on that day, and on the day before, several creatures were killed by the enemy in Hanover township, and that on Thursday before, four persons were killed in Berks county, and four made prisoners, near the Northkill, by a party of Indians, supposed to be about fifty.*

On the 25th of November, Thomas Robinson, and a son of Thomas Bell, were killed and scalped by the Indians, in Hanover township; but that the Indians immediately went off after committing the murder.†

To W. Denny, Esq., Gov. & Com. Pa.

HUNTER'S FORT, the 3d Oct. 1757.

May it please your Honor:

In my coming back from ranging the Frontiers on Saturday, the 3d inst. I heard that the day before, twelve Indians were seen not far from here: as it was late and not knowing their further strength, I thought to go at daybreak next morning, with as many soldiers and batteaux men as I could get; but, in a short time, heard a gun fired off, and running directly to the spot, found the dead body of one William Martin who went into the woods to pick up chestnuts, where the Indians were lying in ambush. I ordered all the men to run into the woods, and we ranged till it got dark. The continual rain we have had hindered me from following them. A number of the inhabitants had come here to assist in pursuing the Indians, but the weather prevented them. There were only three Indians seen by some persons who were sitting before Mr. Hunter's door; and they say all was done in less than four minutes. That same night I cautioned the inhabitants to be on their guard; and in the morning I ranged on this side of the mountain; but, the next day, my men being few in number, by reason of fourteen of them being sick, I could not be long from the garrison; and it seems to me that there is a great number of the enemy on this side of the river.

The townships of Paxton and Derry have agreed to keep a guard sometime in the frontier houses, from Manady to Susquehanna; and expect that your Honor will be pleased to reinforce this detachment.

If these townships should break up the communication between fort Augusta and the inhabitants, they would be greatly endangered.

I am,

with great respect, &c.,

CHRISTIAN BUSSER.

We have advices, says Pa. Gazette, Oct. 27, 1757, from Paxton, that on the 17th inst. as four of the inhabitants, near

* Pennsylvania Gazette, October 6 and 13. † Ibid, Sept. 8, 1757.

Hunter's Fort were pulling their Indian corn, when two of them, Alexander Watt and John McKennet were killed and scalped, their heads cut off; the other two scalped. That Captain Work of the Augusta regiment, coming down with some men from Fort Halifax, met the savages on Peters' mountain, about twenty of them; when they fired upon him, at about forty yards distance, upon which his party returned the fire, and put the enemy to flight, leaving behind them five horses, with what plunder they had got; and that one of the Indians was supposed to be wounded, by the blood that was seen in their tracks. None of Capt. Works' men were hurt.

The following letters from Colonel Stanwix, Colonel Armstrong and others, are here introduced, giving some additional facts, as to the hostile incursions of the enemy, during the summer and autumn of 1757.

In June 28, 1757, Stanwix writes from Carlisle, "I march a Captain's piquet two or three times a week as scouting parties: I am throwing up some works round our camp, and if it may have no other use, it keeps our soldiers properly employed." A few days before (June 19) he wrote Governor Denny, "By this express I am to let you know that I only wait for wagons to march to Shippensburg; but when I shall be able to set out it is impossible for me to say, as in two days notice I have yet been able to get but two wagons, and those my quartermaster stopped himself; however, the magistrates give me to hope I shall be supplied in a day or two. The reason of my moving is the hearing of intelligence from Capt. Daworthy, who commands at Fort Cumberland."—Prov. Rec. P. p. 338.

CARLISLE, 11th July, 1757.

Honored Sir:

Your favor of the 7th inst. is come to hand, 'tis very satisfactory to me, that the disposition of these western troops when threatened with the approach of a large body of the enemy, has been agreeable to your Honor.

Our people are returned from Raystown without making any other discovery than the tracks of very small parties at a considerable distance, though our spies were thirty miles on all hands from the Camp, so that I take the party from Duquesne only to have patrolled a certain distance and returned, or to have marched up the river towards Venango. Capt. Dagworthy's spies from Fort Cumberland have also returned without making any discovery.

I have received a letter from Mr. Peters, advising of your Honor's 2d paragraph, in regard of giving every officer half a pistole, for each recruit enlisted after the 29th of June. I understand that to be given to defray recruiting expenses, and not as bounty money to the soldier; having already received orders to give a pistole bounty for three years

or during war, but will wait your Honor's further advice on that subject, lest my conception of the use of the half pistol be wrong.

I will observe your Honor's orders with regard to returns of ammunition, and how used, as frequently as the distant situation of those garrisons will admit. We frequently shoot at mark, but have not been able to perform some other parts of Indian exercise which I have in view, as it would have wasted more powder than we had to spare, and partly on account of the extraordinary fatigue we have had for these six weeks past, in pursuing small parties of the enemy, from whom we received alarms and some mischief almost every day. This moment I am informed that four people are killed near Tobias Hendricks;* one at fort Frederick, and two boys captivated in the upper part of this county. On Wednesday last Lieut. Armstrong marched with forty soldiers, accompanied by Mr. Smith, the Indian interpreter, and ten Indians, into Shareman's valley, where some of the enemy had been discovered. They were joined by thirty of the country people who wanted to bring over their cattle from that place. On Thursday they found the tracks of eight of the enemy, and followed them with spirit enough until evening, when the tracks made towards this valley; next morning the Cherokees discovered some tracks bearing off to the westward, upon which they said they were discovered, and that those bearing towards the westward were going to inform a body of the enemy, which they said was not far off; upon which the Lieutenant told the interpreter that his orders particularly led him to make discovery of the enemy's encampment (if any such there was) and to know whether any were drove off for their support. But two or three of the bravest of the Indians freely told the interpreter, that their young men were afraid, that the enemy discovered them, and therefore no advantage could at that time be got; nor could the interpreter prevail on them to stay any longer out. The Lieutenant reconnoitered the country towards Juniata, and returned last night without any discovery of a lurking party of the enemy behind us. On Friday we had news of a boy being fired at by two Indians, about seven miles from this town, upon which Col. Stanwix sent out a picket. The Cherokees, with a few wearied soldiers who were here, again turned out, found the enemy's footing and followed it some miles, but could not make it out. We have had great rain and the creeks are very high, which has added much to the fatigue of our people. The harvest is now become the great object. This day I am fixing a plan for guarding as well as we can the inhabitants thro' that important season; of which I shall advise your Honor in my next. Colonel Stanwix gives ammunition to every collected body of the inhabitants recommended to me by him.

I am your Honor's
most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Gov. Denny.

* Tobias Hendricks, now Mr. Bowman's on the turnpike road, two miles west of the Susquehanna—near Oyster's Point.

CARLISLE, 25 July, 1757.

May it please your Honor—

For the security of the inhabitants in the harvest, I have strenuously recommended the people's working together in parties as large as possible; and have from William Maxwell's, near the temporary line, to John McCormick's near Susquehannah, placed about twenty guards, altering and changing the station, as well as the number of each guard, according to the necessity and convenience of the people. When a number of women and children happen to be in my fort, the guard stays with them, by which means all the men belonging to such garrison are enabled to labor; but when women and children are not with the party, then the soldiers are stationed with the reapers, keeping sentry around the field; whereby some skulking enemy have been discovered and repulsed; but such is the insatiation of the people, that they can't be prevailed on to convene in proper parties for their own safety, in consequence whereof the following melancholy accidents have happened, please to read the list.

Colonel Stanwix sends out his picket guards as often as they appear to be of service, and has two out at this time. They are to patrol for three days, and are always accompanied by an officer and as many men from this battalion as at the time can be spared.

Your Honor may remember that sundry departments from Colonel Weiser's Battalion being here last winter, and were fed on our provisions, which together with unavoidable waste, and what was actually rotten, has for some days past brought to an end all the meat laid into those garrisons by the victuallers, since I wrote your Honor last upon the subject of provisions, (and some persons with money in their hands being fixed to defray incidental expenses). Colonel Stanwix has ordered Adam Hoops to supply at this town; and last week learning from Fort Loudon that twelve of their men had the flux, and not one pound of meat in garrison, and that Lytleton had been obliged to purchase their present subsistence of meat from a country man who lives at that fort. I was again obliged to apply to Colonel Stanwix, without whose order no person would venture to send any thing to these forts. The Colonel ordered Mr. Hoops to provide cattle, salt, pork, and a little rice for the sick men, which I immediately sent off, under the best escort, we could collect, with orders how to provide the provisions among the garrisons.

Doctor Blair is returned from Loudon and reports that only six of the men were bad of the disorder; that they are somewhat recovered: that it is very hard performing any cure without change of diet. Medicines are left in care of Lieutenant Lyon. While the surgeon was in town, he attended a soldier who was lately wounded by his own fusée's going off by accident.

The surgeon complains, and requests me to write your Honor that he is not paid the daily allowance for which he agreed with the commissioners, viz: 7s. 6d. per day. I have ordered him to write the commissioners.

In answer to Mr. Croghan's, dated at Philadelphia, I wrote him the Indian news.

I have made known the allowance of half a pistole for each recruit, to serve three years or during the war. The old arms shall be collected to this place, and sent down as soon as possible. As hay, oats, &c.,

continue on hand, I must give the people what assistance can be spared until have your Honor's or Stanwix's orders to call them in. I hope the next post will bring orders for supporting the men.

I am your Honor's

most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Governor Denny.

During the years 1758 and 1759, the murders committed within the limits of the counties of which a history is attempted, were not as frequent, though not less atrocious, as in the three or four preceding years. The Indians, however, still surprised the inhabitants on the frontier, and occasionally in the interior of the Province. In 1758 they made incursions in York (now Adams county,) killed some and abducted others. Among the number of those carried off was Richard Bard, of whom, see an affecting narrative, in that part, when speaking of Adams county. Besides abducting Bard, the Indians continued their depredations and killed:

May 21, 1758, one woman and five children taken from yellow breeches.

May 23, 1758, Joseph Gallady killed; his wife and one child taken from Conococheague.

May 29, 1759, one Dunwiddie and Crawford shot two Indians in Carroll's tract, York county.

July 20, a boy ploughing at Sweetara was shot at by two Indians, one horse killed and the other wounded.

CHAPTER IX.

INDIAN MASSACRES—(1763-78).

Plan of attack, &c. by the enemy—Upper part of Cumberland overrun by savages—Depredations committed—Settlers flee, and seek refuge at Bedford, Shippensburg, Carlisle, &c.—Alarm at Carlisle—Letters from Carlisle giving details—Massacres in various parts of the frontiers—Seely's letters—Bouquet's letter from Carlisle—Petition of inhabitants of Great Cove and Conococheague—Murders committed in Franklin county—Brown, a schoolmaster and his scholars killed—Exhumation of relics—James Dysart's daughters killed near Big Spring—Strimble killed near Bedford—Tull and others killed in Bedford county—Captain Phillips and his men killed—Persons killed in Woodcock valley.

After the treaty of 1758 with the Indians, at Easton, peace and friendship had been established between the English and Indians; all fear of Indian barbarities vanished, and the minds of the people had been at rest for some time; but the French war still continued, and cruel murders were occasionally committed upon the frontier settlers, by the Indians, till near the close of the war between the English and the French, in 1762—for there had been a secret confederacy formed among the Shawanese, the tribes on the Ohio and its tributary waters, and about Detroit, to attack simultaneously, all the English posts and settlements on the frontiers. Their plan was deliberately and skilfully projected. The border settlements were to be invaded during harvest; the men, corn, and cattle to be destroyed, and the outposts to be reduced by famine, by cutting off their supplies—Pursuant to this plan, the Indians fell suddenly upon the traders, whom they had invited among them; murdered many, and plundered the effects of a great number to an immense value. The frontiers of Pennsylvania, &c., were overrun by scalping parties, marking in their hostile incursions, the way with blood and devastation.

The upper part of Cumberland was overrun by the sava-

ges, in 1763, who set fire to houses, barns, corn, hay and every thing that was combustible; the inhabitants were surprised and murdered with the utmost cruelty and barbarity. Those who could, escaped—some to Bedford, where Captain Ourry commanded a garrison at the same time, some went to Shippensburg, others to Carlisle, where houses and stables were crowded. Many of them sought shelter in Lancaster county, some in York, in the woods, with their families and their cattle. Some staid with their relatives, and never returned to the place from which they had fled.

A gentleman in writing from Carlisle, July 5, 1763, to Secretary Peters, says:

On the morning of yesterday, horsemen were seen rapidly passing through Carlisle. One man rather fatigued, who stopped to get some water, hastily replied to the questions, What news? "Bad enough, Presque Ish, Le Beuf and Venango had been captured, their garrisons massacred, with the exception of one officer and seven men, who fortunately made their escape from Le Beuf. Fort Pitt was briskly attacked on the 22d of June, but succeeded in repelling the assailants," thus saying, put spurs to his horse and was soon out of sight. From others I have accounts that the Bedford militia have succeeded in saving fort Ligonier. Nothing could exceed the terror which prevailed from house to house, from town to town. The road was nearly covered with women and children flying to Lancaster and Philadelphia.

The Revd. *Thomson*, Pastor of the Episcopal church, went at the head of his congregation, to protect and encourage them on the way. A few retired to the Breastworks for safety. The alarm once given could not be appeased.—We have done all that men can do to prevent disorder. All our hopes are turned upon Bouquet.

Though, as the letter writer says, all their hopes were turned upon Bouquet, the affrighted inhabitants, were so panic struck, that they had not prepared a convoy of provision, when the Colonel arrived at Carlisle, to enable him to march westward. At the time a great number of the plantations and mills were destroyed, and notwithstanding the province had endeavored to save the harvest by raising seven hundred men to guard the frontiers, in many places the full ripe wheat and rye crops stood waving in the field, soliciting the hand of the reaper. The inhabitants in the greatest part

of the county of Cumberland, through what Bouquet had to pass with his army, was deserted, and the roads were covered with families destitute of the necessities of life, flying from their homes. The supplies of provisions, horses and carriages, had become precarious, whilst the commander was required by humanity to apportion his own stock to relieve the sufferers. But after eight days' active exertion on the part of himself and agents, provisions and carriages were procured, with assistance from the interior part of the country.

The Colonel then proceeded with about five hundred men, his first object was to relieve fort Ligonier—and then proceeded further westward.

The following extracts of letters, written at the time, and published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in the month of July, 1763, gives detailed accounts of the incursions and depredations of the savage enemy :

CARLISLE, July 12, 1763.

I embrace this first leisure, since yesterday morning, to transmit you a brief account of our present state of affairs here, which indeed is very distressing; every day almost affording some fresh object to awaken the compassion, alarm the fears, or kindle into resentment and vengeance, every sensible breast, while flying families, obliged to abandon house and possession, to save their lives by a hasty escape; mourning widows, bewailing their husbands surprised and massacred by savage rage; tender parents, lamenting the fruit of their own bodies, reapt in the very bloom of life by a barbarous hand; with relations and acquaintance pouring out sorrow for murdered neighbors and friends, present a varied scene of mingled distress.

When, for some time, after striking at Bedford, the Indians appeared quiet, nor struck any other part of our frontiers, it became the prevailing opinion, that our forts and communication, were so peculiarly the object of their attention, that, till at least after harvest, there was little prospect of danger to our inhabitants over the hills; and to dissent from this generally received sentiment, was political heresy, and attributed to timidity rather than judgment, till too early conviction has decided the point in the following manner :

"On Sunday morning, the 10th inst., about nine or ten o'clock, at the house of one William White, on Juniata, between thirty and forty miles hence, there being in said house four men, and a lad, the Indians came rushing upon them, and shot White at the door, just stepping out to see what the noise meant. Our people then pulled in White, and shut the door; but observing through a window, the Indians setting fire to the house, they attempted to force their way out at the door; but the first that stept out being shot down, they drew him in, and again shut the door; after which one attempting an escape out of a window on the loft, was shot through the head, and the lad wounded in the arm. The

only one now remaining. William Riddle, broke a hole through the roof of the house, and an Indian who saw him looking out, alleged he was about to fire on him, withdrew, which afforded Riddle an opportunity to make his escape. The house with the other four in it was burned down, as one McMachen informs, who was coming to it, not suspecting Indians, and was by them fired at and shot through the shoulder, but made his escape.

The same day about dinner time, at about a mile and a half from said White's, at the house of Robert Campbell, six men being in the house, as they were dining, three Indians rushed in at the door, and after firing among them, and wounding some, they tomahawked in an instant, one of the men; whereupon one George Dodd's, one of the company, sprang back into the room, took down a rifle, shot an Indian through the body, who was just presenting his piece to shoot him. The Indian being mortally wounded staggered, and letting his gun fall, was carried off by three more. Dodd's, with one or two more, getting upon the loft, broke the roof, in order to escape, and looking out, saw one of the company, Stephen Jeffries, running, but very slowly, by reason of a wound in the breast, and an Indian pursuing; and it is thought he could not escape, nor have we heard of him since, so that it is past dispute, he also is murdered. The first that attempted getting out of the loft was fired at and drew back; another attempting was shot dead; and of the six, Dodd's the only one made his escape. The same day about dusk, about six or seven miles up Tuscarora, and about twenty-eight or thirty miles hence, they murdered one William Anderson, together with a boy and girl all in one house. At White's were seen at least five, some say eight or ten Indians, and at Campbell's about the same number. On Monday, the 11th, a party of about twenty-four went over from the upper part of Shearman's valley, to see how matters were. Another party of twelve or thirteen went over from the upper part of said valley; and Colonel John Armstrong, with Thomas Wilson, Esq., and a party of between thirty and forty from this town, to reconnoitre and assist in bringing the dead.

Of the first and third parties we have heard nothing yet; but of the party of twelve, six are come in, and inform that they passed through the several places in Tuscarora, and saw the houses in flames, or burnt entirely down. That the grain that had been reaped the Indians burnt in shocks, and had set the fences on fire where the grain was unreaped; that the hogs had fallen upon and mangled several of the dead bodies; that the said company of twelve, suspecting danger, durst not stay to bury the dead; that after they had returned over the Tuscarora mountain, about one or two miles on this side of it, and about eighteen or twenty from hence, they were fired on by a large party of Indians, supposed about thirty, and were obliged to fly; that two, viz: William Robinson and John Graham, are certainly killed, and four more are missing, who it is thought, have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they appeared slow in flight, most probably wounded, and the savages pursued with violence. What farther mischief has been done, we have not heard, but expect every day and hour, some more messages of melancholy news.

In hearing of the above defeat, we sent out another party of thirty or upwards, commanded by our high sheriff, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. William Lyon, to go in quest of the enemy, or fall in with and reinforce

our other parties. There are also a number gone out from about three miles below this, so that we now have over the hills upwards of eighty or ninety volunteers scouring the woods. The inhabitants of Shearman's valley, Tuscarora, &c. are all come over, and the people of this valley, near the mountain, are beginning to move in, so that in a few days there will be scarcely a house inhabited north of Carlisle. Many of our people are greatly distressed, through want of arms and ammunition; and numbers of those beat off their places; have hardly money enough to purchase a pound of powder!

Our women and children, I suppose must move downwards, if the enemy proceed. To-day a *British vengeance* begins to rise in the breasts of our men—One of them, that fell from among the twelve, as he was just expiring, said to one of his fellows, "*Here take my gun, and kill the first Indian you see, and all shall be well!*"

Extract of another letter from Carlisle July 13, 1763.

Last night Colonel Armstrong returned. He left the party who pursued farther, and found several dead, whom they buried in the best manner they could, and are now all returned in—From what appears, the Indians are travelling from one place to another, along the valley, burning the farms, and destroying all the people they meet with. This day gives an account of six more being killed in the valley, so that, since last Sunday morning, to this day, twelve o'clock, we have a pretty authentic account of the number slain, being twenty-five, and four or five wounded. The Colonel, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Alricks, are now on the parade, endeavoring to raise another party, to go out and succor the Sheriff and his party consisting of fifty men, which marched yesterday, and I hope they will be able to send off immediately twenty good men. The people here, I assure you, want nothing but a good leader, and a little encouragement, to make a very good defence.

Our advices from Carlisle, says the Editor of the Pa. Gazette of July 28, are as follows, viz: That the party under the Sheriff, Mr. Dunning, mentioned in our last, fell in with the enemy, at the house of one Alexander Logan, in Shearman's valley, supposed to be about fifteen, or upwards, who had murdered the said Logan, his son, and another man about two miles from said house, and mortally wounded a fourth, who is ~~sing~~ dead; and that at the time of their being discovered they were rifling the house, and shooting down the cattle, and it is thought, about to return home with the spoil they had got. That our men, on seeing them, immediately spread themselves from right to left, with a design to surround them, and engaged the savages with great courage, but from their eagerness rather too soon, as some of the party had not got up when the skirmish began; that the enemy returned our first fire very briskly; but our people, regardless of that, rushed upon them, when they fled, and were pursued a considerable way, till thickets secured their escape, four or five of them it was thought being mortally wounded; that our parties had brought in with them what cattle they could collect, but that great numbers were killed by the Indians, and many of the horses that were in the valleys carried off; that on the 31st inst., the morning, news was brought of three Indians being seen about 10 o'clock in the morning, one Pummeroy and his wife, and the

wife of one Johnson, were surprised in a house, between Shippensburg and the North mountain, and left there for dead ; but that one of the women when found, shewing some signs of life, was brought to Shippensburg, where she lived some hours in a most miserable condition, being scalped, one of her arms broken, and her skull fractured with the stroke of a tomahawk ; and that since the 10th inst., there was an account of fifty-four persons being killed by the enemy !

That the Indians had set fire to houses, barns, corn, wheat and rye, hay ; in short, to every thing combustible ; so that the whole country seemed to be in one general blaze ; that the miseries and distresses of the poor people were really shocking to humanity, and beyond the power of language to describe : that Carlisle was become the barrier, not a single inhabitant being beyond it ; that every stable and hovel in the town was crowded with miserable refugees, who were reduced to a state of beggary and despair ; their houses, cattle and harvest destroyed ; and from a plentiful, independent people, they were become real objects of charity and commiseration ; that it was most dismal to see the streets filled with people, in whose countenances might be discovered a mixture of grief, madness and despair ; and to hear, now and then, the sighs and groans of men ; the disconsolate lamentations of women, and the screams of children, who had lost their nearest and dearest relatives ; and that on both sides of the Susquehanna, for some miles, the woods were filled with poor families, and their cattle, who made fires, and lived like savages, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather.

Extract of a Letter, dated Carlisle, July 30, 1763.

On the 25th a considerable number of the inhabitants of Shearman's valley went over, with a party of soldiers to guard them, to attempt saving as much of their grain as might be standing, and it is hoped a considerable quantity will yet be preserved. A party of volunteers, between twenty and thirty, went to the farther side of the valley, next to the Tuscarora mountain, to see what appearance there might be of the Indians, as it was thought they would most probably be there, if any where in the settlement ; to search for, and bury the dead at Buffalo creek, and to assist the inhabitants that lived along, or near the foot of the mountain, in bringing off what they could, which services they accordingly performed, burying the remains of three persons ; but saw no marks of Indians having lately been there, excepting one track, supposed about two or three days old, near the narrows of Buffalo creek hill ; and heard some hallooing and firing of a gun at another place. A number of the inhabitants of Tuscarora valley go over the mountain to-morrow, with a party of soldiers, to endeavor to save part of the crops : five Indians were seen last Sunday, about sixteen or seventeen miles from Carlisle, up the valley, towards the North mountain ; and two the day before yesterday, above five or six miles from Shippensburg, who fired at a young man, but missed him.

On the 25th of July, there were in Shippensburg, 1384 of our poor, distressed back inhabitants, viz : men 301, women 345, children 738 ; many of whom were obliged to lie in barns, stables, cellars, and under old leaky sheds, the dwelling houses being all crowded.

In a letter dated Carlisle, 13th August, 1763, it is said that some In-

dians have lately been seen in Shearman's valley, and that on the 11th the tracts of a party were found there, supposed to consist of eight or ten, coming through Shearman's valley, towards Carlisle, about twelve miles upwards. In another letter, dated Carlisle, 17th August, mention is made that one John Martin, in the Great Cove, seeing an Indian coming up to a house where he was, fired at him, upon which the Indian raised a yell, and took a tree; that Martin imagining there might be more Indians near him, ran to a company at work, and told what had happened, when they went to the place, found some blood and excrements; from which they concluded he was shot through the bowels. They followed his track down to a bottom, where they saw the tracks of six or seven more; but being a small party, pursued no further. In the same letter, it is also said, that a young man, at a plantation about nine miles from Carlisle, near the foot of the mountain, saw an Indian and fired at him at about fifty yards distance, but was not sure that he hit him. The Indian took a tree, and the lad went back a little way, in order to load again, but on his return could not find the Indian. He then alarmed the neighborhood; and the soldiers being all out in parties, covering the people gathering in grain, upwards of twenty young men turned out immediately from Carlisle, to scour the woods.

It appears that this well matured onslaught by the Indians was equally cruel and extensive in the autumn of 1763, and drove the whites to acts of desperation, which only finds extenuation from the circumstance that there were no limits to the atrocities of the savages. Wherever they went, murder and cruelty marked their path—and, as will appear from the sequel, even the professed friendly Indians had fallen under strong suspicions, as being to some extent, concerned in these foul murders.

In a letter from Jonas Seely, Esq., dated at Reading, Sep. 11, 1763, it is said—We are all in a state of alarm. Indians have destroyed dwellings, and murdered with savage barbarity their helpless inmates; even in the neighborhood of Reading. Where these Indians came from and were going, we know not. These are dangerous times. Send us an armed force to aid our Rangers of Lancaster and Berks.

In another, from the same gentleman, to Geo. Hamilton, dated Reading, Sep. 1763, he says—It is a matter of wonder, that Indians living among us for numbers of years, should suddenly become grum friends, or most deadly enemies! Yet there is too much reason for suspicion. The Rangers sent in word, that these savages must consist of fifty, who travel in companies from five to twenty, visiting Wyalusing, Wichetunk, Nain, Big Island, and Conestogue, under the mark of friendly Indians. Our people have become al-

most infuriated to madness. These Indians were not even suspected of treachery, such had been the general confidence in their fidelity. The murders recently committed are of the most aggravating description. Would it not be proper to institute an inquiry into the cause of our present distress?—We are in want of force, and money; we require aid.

The Senecas, there is much reason to believe, have been tampering with our Indians.

In the early part of September, in the afternoon, eight well-armed Indians came to the house of John Fincher, a Quaker, residing north of the Blue mountain, in Berks county, about twenty-four miles from Reading, and within three-quarters of a mile of a party of six men of Captain Kern's company of Rangers, commanded by ensign Scheffer. At the approach of the Indians, John Fincher, his wife, two sons and daughter, immediately went to the door and asked them to enter in and eat; expressed their hopes that they came as friends, and entreated them to spare their lives.—The Indians were deaf to the entreaties of Fincher. Both parents and two sons were deliberately murdered; their bodies were found on the spot. The daughter was missing after the departure of the Indians, and it was supposed from the cries that we heard by the neighbors that she was also slain.

A young lad, who lived with Fincher, made his escape, and notified ensign Scheffer, who instantly went in pursuit of these heartless, cold-blooded assassins. He pursued them to the house of one Millar, where he found four children murdered: the Indians having carried two others with them. Millar and his wife being at work in the field, saved their lives by flight. Mr. Millar himself, was pursued nearly one mile by an Indian, who fired at him twice while in hot pursuit. Scheffer and his party continued their pursuit and overtook the savages, firing upon them. The Indians returned the fire, and a sharp, but short conflict ensued,—the enemy fled, leaving behind them Millar's two children, and part of the plunder they had taken.

These barbarous Indians had scalped all the persons whom they had murdered, except an infant, about two weeks old, whose head they had dashed against the wall, where the brains with clotted blood on the wall was a witness of their

cruelty. The consequence of this massacre was the desertion of all the settlements beyond the Blue mountain.

A few days after these atrocious murders, the house of Frantz Hubler, in Bern township, eighteen miles from Reading, was attacked by surprise—Hubler was wounded; his wife and three of his children were carried off, and three other of his children scalped alive; two of these shortly afterwards died.

“Murder and cruelty marked the path of these Indians. From the many acts of savage ferocity committed in Berks county, may be noticed that on the 10th of September, 1763, when five of these Indians entered the house of Philip Martloff, at the base of the Blue mountain, murdered and scalped his wife, two sons and two daughters, burnt the house and barn, the stacks of hay and grain, and destroyed every thing of any value. Martloff was absent from home, and one daughter escaped at the time of the murder, by running and secreting herself in a thicket. The father and daughter were left in abject misery.”*

July 6, 1763, Gov. Hamilton laid before the council a letter received by express from Col. Bouquet.

CARLISLE, JULY 3d, 1763.

Sir:—I am sorry to acquaint you that our Posts at Presque Isle, Le Beuf and Venango are cut off, and the garrisons massacred by the savages, except one officer and seven men, who have escaped from Le Beuf. Fort Pitt was briskly attacked on 22d; (June) had only a few men killed; and wounded and dispersed the enemy. Fort Ligonier has likewise stood a vigorous attack, by means of some men who reinforced that small garrison from the militia of Bedford. The Indians expect a strong reinforcement to make new attempts on these two posts.

If the measures, I had the honor to recommend to you in my letters of yesterday, are not immediately put into execution, I foresee the ruin of the part of the Province on this side Susquehannah; and as York county would be covered by Cumberland, I think they ought join in assisting to build some posts, and saving the harvest—It would not be less necessary to send immediately arms and ammunition to be distributed to the inhabitants to defend their reapers.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedient,

Humble servant,

HENRY BOUQUET.†

The refugees, who had resorted to Carlisle, &c., were re-

* See Votes of Assembly, vol. v. p. 285. Oct. 21, 1765.

† Prov. Rec. 2. p. 379.

lieved, in part, in their distresses, by the munificence of the Episcopal churches of Philadelphia, as appears from the following:

"July 26, 1763, the rector, (Richard Peters) representing to the Vestry, that the back inhabitants of this province are reduced to great distress and necessity, by the present invasion, proposed that some method be considered for collecting charity for their relief, from the congregation of Christ Church and St. Peter's, (Philadelphia,) and it was unanimously resolved, that a preamble to a subscription paper for that purpose, be immediately drawn up, which was accordingly done.

"At their next meeting, the church wardens reported to the Vestry, that they had carried about a subscription paper, and made a collection from the congregations of Christ Church and St. Peter's, for the relief of the distressed frontier inhabitants, amounting to £662, 3s. The rector and church wardens were appointed a committee to correspond with certain persons in Cumberland county, in order to ascertain the extent of the distress, that the above contributions might be judiciously distributed."

Some idea of the greatness of this calamity in the western part of Pennsylvania, brought about by Indian hostilities, may be found from the following letter, addressed to the rector and wardens of Christ Church and St. Peter's:

CARLISLE, August 24, 1763.

Gentlemen:

We take the earliest opportunity of answering your letter on the 12th inst., in which you inform us, that there is at your disposal a sum of money to be distributed amongst the poor unhappy people on our frontiers, who have been obliged to fly their habitations, and take shelter in this town, Shippensburg, Littletown, Bedford, &c. We assure you, that we shall now, and all other times, be ready to give you as full and true information of every thing material relating to the sufferers of our frontiers, as we shall be able, and we shall also be ready to give our assistance in the distribution of such sums of money, as you shall think proper to send up, from time to time, for the relief of those in distress. We have taken pains to get the number of the distressed, and upon strict inquiry, we find seven hundred and fifty families have abandoned their plantations, the greatest number of which have lost their crops, some their stock and furniture, and besides, we are informed that there are about two hundred women and children coming down from Fort Pitt. We also find that the sums of money already sent up are almost expended, and that each family has not received twenty shillings upon an average; although the greatest care has been taken to distribute it to those who appeared the greatest object of distress.—The unhappy sufferers are dispersed through every part of this coun-

ty, and many have passed through into York. Their exact number we cannot possibly ascertain; we can only inform you, that in this town and its neighborhood, there are upwards of two hundred families, many of which are in the greatest exigence; the small pox and flux raging much among them; and from hence you may form a judgment of the numbers distressed through the other parts of this county, as well as at York. The other sums being almost expended, we conceived that immediate relief should be sent up, that those poor people may be enabled to employ a physician for the recovery of the sick, as well as to purchase bread for their families; and this alone is what their present necessities call for.

We are, &c.,

WILLIAM THOMSON,
Itinerant Missionary for the counties of York and Cumberland.
FRANCIS WEST,
THOMAS DONNELLOX,
Wardens of the Episcopal Church, Carlisle.

In consequence of this information, a large supply of flour, rice, medicine, and other necessities, were immediately forwarded for the relief of the sufferers. And to enable those, who chose to return to their plantations, to defend themselves against future attacks of the Indians, the Vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's were of opinion that the refugees should be furnished with two chests of arms, and half a barrel of powder, four hundred pounds of lead, two hundred of swan shot, and one thousand flints. These were accordingly sent, with instructions to sell them to such prudent and good people as are in want of them, and will use them for their defence, for the prices charged in the invoice.—*Rev. B. Dorr's His. Acc. of, Christ and St. Peter's Church, Phila.* p. 139-142.

Passing, it should be remarked, that many individuals made every effort to see the new settlements protected. Among them was David Scott, of Great Cove, when the first hostilities were committed by the Indians in that place and Conococheague, who gave his bond to pay and maintain twenty-seven men of a scouting party for three months; during which time they repulsed the Indians who made attempts on the Great Cove, and the inhabitants got their crops reaped.—*Votes of Assem. V, 297.*

In these distressed circumstances, the inhabitants of Cumberland again applied, by petition, for relief:

A petition from the inhabitants of the Great Cove, and Conococheague, in the county of Cumberland, was presented

to the house and read, setting forth, that the petitioners, by the late depredations and ravages of the Indians, committed on their neighbors, being in very imminent danger, were under the necessity of taking into pay a number of men, amounting to thirty, accustomed to hunting, endured to hardships, and well acquainted with the country, for the protection of themselves and families. That the said men, being a body of intrepid, resolute fellows, under the command of one who was a captive with the Indians for several years—scouted at a considerable distance, and, by despatching runners, gave the inhabitants timely notice of any impending danger, by means whereof they have been enabled to continue on their plantations, and stand a barrier to the interior neighboring settlements. That had not this expedient been fallen upon, they must have deserted their habitations, and depended upon the charities of others; and that although they are very sensible of, and gratefully acknowledge, the care of the legislature, in granting a number of men for the protection of the frontiers, yet they find themselves under the necessity of employing this body of men, inasmuch as the soldiers granted for their department are not acquainted with the country, or the Indian manner of fighting. That the petitioners are poor, and incapable of supporting this body of men, having already advanced greater sums than they could afford; and unless they are assisted by the government, shall be obliged to abandon their plantations to the savages, to the ruin of themselves, and great injury of their neighbors; for which reasons they humbly pray the house would take the premises into consideration, and enable them to continue the aforesaid body of men, in such manner, and subject to such directions, as they shall judge most proper and advantageous.—*Votes of Assembly, V, 264. Sept. 17, 1763.*

In 1764, the Indians once more surprised the inhabitants of Cumberland (Franklin) county. The following extracts, the first from John McCullough's narrative, the second from Richard Bard's, give the history of a murder committed by the Indians within the limits of Franklin county:

"Some time in the summer, whilst we were living at *Kia-ho-ling*, a great number of Indians collected at the forks of *Moos-hing-oong*; perhaps there were about three hundred or upwards; their intention was to come to the settlement and make a general massacre of the whole people, without any

regard to age or sex; they were out about ten days, when most of them returned; having held a council, they concluded that it was not safe for them to leave their towns, destitute of defence. However several small parties went to different parts of the settlements: it happened that three of them, whom I was well acquainted with, came to the neighborhood of where I was taken from—they were young fellows, perhaps none of them more than twenty years of age; they came to a school house, where they murdered and scalped the master and all the scholars, except one, who survived after he was scalped; a boy about ten years old, a full cousin of mine. I saw the Indians when they returned home with the scalps; some of the old Indians were very much displeased at them for killing so many children; especially *Neep-paugh-whese*, or night walker, an old chief, or half king; he alluded it to cowardice, which was the greatest affront he could offer them.”—*Low-don's Narratives*, I, 334.

In August, 1764, (according to the best accounts of the time) my (Bard's) father and his family, from fear of the Indians, having moved to my grandfather's, Thomas Poe's, about three miles from his own place, he took a black girl with him, to his own place, to make some hay; and being there at his work, a dog which he had with him, began to bark and run towards, and from a thicket of bushes. Observing these circumstances, he became alarmed, and taking up his gun, told the girl to run to the house, for he believed there were Indians near. So they made towards the house, and had not been there more than one hour, when from the left of the house they saw a party, commanded by Captain Potter, late Gen. Potter, in pursuit of a party of Indians who had that morning (July 26, 1764,) murdered a schoolmaster of the name of Brown, with ten small children, and scalped and left for dead, one by the name of Archibald McCullough, who recovered, and was living not long since. It was remarkable, that with but few exceptions, the scholars were much averse to going to school that morning. And the account given by McCullough is, that when the master and scholars met at the school, two of the scholars informed him that on their way they had seen Indians; but the information was not attended to by the master, who ordered them to their books; soon afterwards two old Indians and a boy rushed up to the door. The master seeing them, prayed them only to

take his life and spare the children; but unfeelingly, the two old Indians stood at the door, whilst the boy entered the house, and with a piece of wood, made in the form of an Indian maul, killed the master and scholars; after which the whole of them were scalped.—*Incidents of Border Life*, p. 122.

In connection with the relation of the murder of Mr. Brown and his pupils, here is inserted a communication, to the Compiler, from Andrew B. Rankin, Esq., which, it is believed, will be read with interest :

GREEN CASTLE, Jan'y 23, 1845.

"In compliance with your request, I cheerfully furnish you the following :

Exhumation of the bones of the murdered school, comprising ten scholars and teacher.

"On the 4th of August 1843, the following persons, viz : Dr. William Grubb, Dr. James R. Davidson, Dr. Chas. Michaels, Messrs. James Mitchell, George Sites, James Johnson, Jacob Mowrer, John Osbroch, George Shert, Christian Koser, James Burk, John Rowe, jr., William Osbroch, Col. David Dietrich, Adam Shireg, Thomas Atherton, and two youths, Mr. Irwin and Isaac Heichert, repaired to the farm of Christian Koser, about three miles north of Green Castle, in the township of Antrim, where *tradition* said, the bodies of the murdered victims were buried, at the foot, and on the south side of a large hill, near a spring. Mr. Koser pointed out to them, a small plat of ground, unmarked by any thing, save the grass and briars that distinguished it from the land around it—The spot is in an open field, and the land around it, cultivated. Some of the party soon commenced removing the earth; and after digging to the depth of four feet and a half, found some rotten wood, and several rusty nails of ancient construction. After digging a little deeper, part of a small skeleton was found; the bones were much decayed—and when the skull was handled, it crumbled into dust. The teeth, however, seemed sound. Near by the side of the skeleton, there was discovered another, which from its size, was evidently that of a man, full grown—it was in a much better state of preservation, and from the relics found in close contact, which were a large metal button, some small ones, part of an iron box, which seemed to have been a tobacco box—it was manifest that it was the skeleton of the teacher. Several other smaller skeletons were discovered. The skeletons were found lying with feet and head in opposite directions.

"I remember, when a youth, forty-five years ago, to hear it stated, that the teacher and scholars were all buried in the same grave, being put into a large, rudely constructed box, with their clothing on, as they were found after being murdered. The relics found prove the truth of the tradition. The foul murder was perpetrated by the Indians, in August 1764, (July 26, *i. e.* n.) just 79 years before the *exhumation* took place. The name of the teacher was Brown, and three of the scholars were said to be named Taylor, Hart and Hale.

"The relics above mentioned are now in the possession of those who were present, when they were found.* Some of the citizens of Green Castle and vicinity, to render sacred, and perpetuate *this spot*, where lie the bones of the innocent victims of Indian ferocity, design in the course of the ensuing summer, to raise a mound upon it, and inscribe its history upon a stone, to be placed at the side.

"Some of the remains of the school house still exist and mark the place of its location. It was truly a solitary one, and would be considered so at this day. It was situated on the brow of a hill. In the front of it, there is a ravine, deep and dismal—on the north and west, the surrounding hills are covered with a thick growth of underwood and pine. At the foot of the hill issues a clear spring, where rest in silence the bones and the dust of the murdered school."

Shortly after the above murder had been committed, the Indians were again seen at McDowell's, (Franklin county) pursuing two men; and soon afterwards, some savages murdered most barbarously, the daughter of James Dysart, 12 or 13 miles above Carlisle. Along the frontiers, except in the neighborhood of Bedford, all seemed quiet for some time; hence, those in the interior, not being on their guard, were unexpectedly surprised.

The following extracts from letters, dated at Carlisle, are here introduced :

August 14, 1764.

We heard by a young man from Conegocheague, that Indians are seen in that settlement almost every day; and that on Friday last, two men were pursued by four of them, near Justice McDowell's, and with great difficulty escaped.

August 17—A young woman daughter of James Dysart, going home from sermon at Big Spring, last Sunday, about ten or twelve miles from here, was met with, murdered and scalped, and left naked by the enemy. This has alarmed the settlement, who were chiefly gone from home to their places, and will, we are afraid, make many again fly, especially as there are so many accounts of Indians being seen in small parties almost every day, in some part or other of the county.

From another letter of the same date:—"All appears quiet at present along the frontier, except about Bedford, where there are, according to intelligence from thence, some of the savages lying in wait for opportunity of doing mischief. They attempted very lately, to take a man that was fishing, but he got off. The people are returning over the hills to their places, which we are afraid, is yet too soon."—*Penna. Gazette*, August 30, 1764.

The following extract of a letter from Gen. Henry Bouquet, to Gov.

* The Compiler saw the relics, Jan'y 17, 1845, in the possession of Mr. G. W. Zeigler, at Green Castle.

ernor Penn, dated at Fort Loudon, 22d August, 1764—in a postscript to which of August 25, he says, "A party of thirty or forty Indians have killed near Bedford, one Isaac Stimble, an industrious inhabitant of Ligonier—taken some horses loaded with merchants' goods, and shot some cattle, after Colonel Ried's detachment had passed that post. Some more have been killed twelve miles from Winchester.

In the year 1777, says Burd and Mower, Esqs., a family named Tull resided about six miles west of Bedford, on a hill to which the name of the family was given; there were ten children—nine daughters and a son; but at the time referred to, the son was absent, leaving at home his aged parents and nine sisters. At that time the Indians were particularly troublesome, and the inhabitants had to abandon their improvements and take refuge to the fort; but Tull's family disregarded the danger and remained on their improvements. One Williams, who had made a settlement about three miles west of Tull's, and near where the town of Shellsburg now stands, had returned to his farm to sow some flaxseed: he had a son with him, and remained out about a week. The road to his improvement passed Tull's house. On their return, as they approached Tull's, they saw a smoke; and coming nearer, discovered that it arose from the burning ruins of Tull's house. Upon a nearer approach, the son saw an object in the garden, which by a slight movement had attracted his attention, and looking more closely, they found it was the old man just expiring. At the same moment, the son discovered on the ground near him an Indian paint bag. They at once understood the whole matter, and knowing that the Indians were still near, fled at once to the fort. Next day a force went out from the fort to examine, and after some search found the mother with an infant in her arms, both scalped. A short distance, in the same direction, they found the eldest daughter also scalped. A short distance from her, the next daughter in the same situation, and scattered about at intervals the rest of the children but one, who, from some circumstances, they supposed had been burned. They all appeared to have been overtaken in flight, and murdered and scalped where they were found. It seems the family was surprised in the morning, when all were in the house, and thus became an easy prey to the savages.

About December, 1777, a number of families came into the fort from the neighborhood of Johnstown. Amongst them

were Samuel Adams, one Thornton and Bridges. After the alarm had somewhat subsided, they agreed to return to their property. A party started with pack horses, reached the place, and not seeing any Indians, collected their property and commenced their return. After proceeding some distance, a dog belonging to one of the party, showed signs of uneasiness, and ran back. Bridges and Thornton desired the others to wait whilst they would go back for him. They went back, and had proceeded but two or three hundred yards, when a body of Indians, who had been lying in wait on each side of the way, but who had been afraid to fire on account of the number of the whites, suddenly rose up and took them prisoners. The others, not knowing what detained their companions, went back after them; when they arrived near the spot, the Indians fired on them, but without doing any injury. The whites instantly turned and fled, excepting Samuel Adams, who took a tree and began to fight in the Indian style. In a few minutes, however, he was killed, but not without doing the same fearful service for his adversary. He and one of the Indians shot at, and killed each other, at the same moment. When the news reached the fort, a party volunteered to visit the ground. When they reached it, although the snow had fallen ankle deep, they readily found the bodies of Adams and the Indian, the face of the latter having been covered by his companions with Adams' hunting shirt.

A singular circumstance also occurred about that time in the neighborhood of the Allegheny mountain. A man named Wells, had made a very considerable improvement, and was esteemed rather wealthy for that region. He, like others, had been forced with his family from his house, and had gone for protection to the fort. In the fall of the year he concluded to return to his place and dig his crop of potatoes. For that purpose he took with him six or seven men, an Irish servant girl to cook, and an old plough horse. After they had finished their job, they made preparations to return to the fort the next day. During the night, Wells dreamed that on his way to his family he had been attacked and gored by a bull; and so strong an impression did the dream make, that he mentioned it to his companions, and told them that he was sure some danger awaited them. He slept again and dreamed that he was about to shoot a deer, and

when cocking his gun, the main-spring broke. In his dream he thought he heard distinctly the crack of the spring when it broke. He again awoke and his fears were confirmed; and he immediately urged his friends to rise and get ready to start. Directly after he arose he went to his gun to examine it, and in cocking it the mainspring snapped off. This circumstance alarmed them, and they soon had breakfast and were ready to leave. To prevent delay, the girl was put on the horse and started off, and as soon as it was light enough, the rest followed. Before they had gone far, a young dog belonging to Wells, manifested much alarm, and ran back to the house. Wells called him, but after going a short distance, he invariably ran back.

Not wishing to leave him, as he was valuable, he went after him, but had gone only a short distance towards the house, when five Indians rose from behind a large tree that had fallen, and approached him with extended hands. The men who were with him, fled instantly; and he would have followed, but the Indians were so close that he thought it useless. As they approached him, however, he fancied the looks of a very powerful Indian, who was nearest him, boded no good; and being a swift runner, and thinking it "neck or nothing," at any rate determined to attempt an escape. As the Indian approached, he threw at him his useless rifle, and dashed off towards the woods, in the direction his companions had gone. Instead of firing, the Indians commenced a pursuit, for the purpose of making him a prisoner, but he outran them. After running some distance, and when they thought he would escape, they all stopped and fired at once, and every bullet struck him, but without doing him much injury or retarding his flight. Soon after this he saw where his companions concealed themselves; and as he passed, he begged them to fire on the Indians and save him; but they were afraid, and kept quiet. He continued his flight, and after a short time overtook the girl with the horse. She quickly understood his danger and dismounted instantly, urging him to take her place, while she would save herself by concealment. He mounted, but without a whip, and for want of one could not get the old horse out of a trot. This delay brought the Indians upon him again directly, and as soon as they were near enough, they fired; and this time with more effect. as one of the balls struck him in the hip and lodged in

his groin. But this saved his life; it frightened the horse into a gallop, and he escaped, although he suffered severely for several months afterwards.

The Indians were afterwards pursued, and surprised at their morning meal; and when fired on, four of them were killed, but the other, though wounded, made his escape. Bridges, who was taken prisoner near Johnstown, when Adams was murdered, saw him come to his people, and describes him as having been shot through the chest, with leaves stuffed in the bullet holes to stop the bleeding.

The Indians were most troublesome during their predatory incursions, which were frequent after the commencement of the revolution. They cut off a party of whites under command of Captain Dorsey, at "The Harbor," a deep cove formed by Ray's hill, and a spur from it.

One John Lane was out at one time, and a spy and scout under the command of Captain Philips. He left the scout once for two days, on a visit home, and when he returned to the fort, the scout had been out some time. Fears were entertained for their safety. A party went in search; and within a mile or two of the fort, found Captain Philips and the whole of his men, fifteen in number, killed and scalped.—When found they were all tied to saplings; and, to use the language of the narrator, who was an eye witness, "their bodies were completely riddled with arrows."

In 1780, the inhabitants were again surprised and a number of them killed, as stated in the subjoined letter.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY, August 7, 1780.

To his Excellency Joseph Reid, Esq.

Sir:—I received the orders of council for the volunteers to be put in motion, in order to join the main army and for those classes of the militia to be in readiness—And was unfortunately long coming to my hand. I have sent agreeable to said orders to put the volunteers into motion that were raised on the north side of the mountain; but unfortunately I have sent one company to the frontiers of Northumberland county, and the other to the frontiers of Bedford, which was in a very distressed situation, about three weeks ago, the Indians came on a scout, a Captain and twelve men in a place called Woodrock Valley, and not one of the party escaped; they lay, I believe ten days without being buried; I went with a party from this county and covered them the best way we could, which was a very disagreeable task.

I am apt to think it will be a very distressing and disagreeable circumstance to the frontiers to have the volunteers taken from them.—My reason for sending them then as soon as they were ready, was to

support and assist the inhabitants in saving their harvest. I am afraid the militia of this county will not turn out so well as I could wish; but your excellency may depend upon it that every exertion in my power shall be used on the occasion, as I am fully convinced of the necessity of our utmost efforts this year in order to save the country. This county is now very scarce of ammunition, and I have not been able to find any trusty hand and wagon to send for, but expect one before long, when, I flatter myself, that council will supply us with a sufficient quantity of powder, lead and flints.

I doubt if the number required of the militia, turn out, we will not be able to arm them in this county, as we have already furnished the volunteers out of what state arms were here, but we have got a few muskets, but they all want bayonets. I am happy to inform you we have this year had a very plentiful harvest in this county, and appearances of fine corn and plenty of fruit, and also a good disposition in a number of the people to receive and give credit to the state money (if they could get it) but very little of it has come to this part of the county yet. But if ready money of any kind could be had there could be plenty of supplies purchased. There may difficulty arise about procuring wagons, as I believe there is no wagon-master that acts for this county.

I have the honor to be
your Excellency's most obedient
and humble servant,

ABN. SMITH.

CHAPTER XI.

INDIANS MASSACRED AT CARLISLE—(1760).

Preliminary remarks—Doctor John, a Delaware Indian and family murdered, near Carlisle—Assembly makes inquiries into the case—West's letter touching the same—Titte's and Davis's depositions—Loughry's deposition—Allusion to the murder in a conference held with the Indians in 1762.

The principal murders committed by the Indians upon the whites, within the limits of Cumberland and Lancaster counties, at their early organization (but now comprising also what is embraced by the several counties, of which a history is attempted) have been noticed from 1727 to the close of the Revolutionary war. As the whites, in their turn, did also commit, as they were unhesitatingly pronounced, "murders upon the Indians," within the geographical bounds of Cumberland and Lancaster, at the time alluded to, it is deemed as not inappropriate to notice these also, in this connection. As compiler, the writer does not wish to advance any thing in extenuation of the misdeeds of the whites. He would, however, passing, remark: that in war—in the midst of the calamities of a protracted war—it seems the ordinary sympathies of our nature, often forsook the inured warrior. There may be some exceptions (?). In the savage, war whets the destructive propensities, and his thirst for "blood and carnage" increases in ardency, as the number of his victims swells. Total extirpation only constitute the bounds of his sphere of slaughter; hence so many indiscriminate murders both of the innocent and offensive. Persons, civilized, savage, or demi-savage, who once shuddered at the hearing, or seeing the murder of a single individual, can, when inured to the miseries of war, listen to the report of countless numbers slain, as an amusing tale; and be prepared to resent to the utmost, at his life's hazard, every real or imaginary wrong—avenge himself in the destruction of those whom he believes to be aggressor, or mere abettors. Striking exemplifications are recorded in the annals of every country: the cruelties "re-

ciprocally committed" among the whites and Indians, are in point.

The first case of murder, by the whites, of *friendly* Indians, is that of *Doctor John*, a Delaware Indian, who came with his family, consisting of a woman and two children, to Cumberland county, in the winter of 1760, and lived in a hunting cabin on Conodoguinet creek, not far from Carlisle. He and his family were murdered in the early part of February. The news of this barbarous deed was immediately communicated to Governor Hamilton, by Francis West, Esq., of Carlisle. The governor left nothing undone to bring to punishment those who had perpetrated this inhuman murder.

From the Provincial Records, it appears "the governor informed the council, that on the 21st of February, 1760, he had received a letter from Justice West, of Carlisle, acquainting him of a cruel murder having been committed on an Indian called John, and a little boy of his, and that there was reason to think his wife was also murdered, and Capt. Callender coming to town from Carlisle, his Honor had examined him, and by him was told that an inquest had been held on the bodies of the said Doctor John, and a male child, two Delaware Indians in friendship with us, and that it was the opinion and verdict, that they were wilfully murdered; and it was further said by Captain Callender that there was reason to believe, Doctor John's wife and her child were also murdered, whereupon the governor sent a verbal message to the House informing them of this matter, and recommending to them, a reward for the detection of the murderers, &c.

The Assembly sent for Callender, and after interrogating him on the subject, they then offered a reward of a hundred pounds for the apprehension of each person concerned in the murder. The excitement occasioned was immense; for it was feared that the Indians might seek to avenge the murder on the settlers. That reparation on the part of the chiefs would be demanded. The inhabitants of Carlisle and vicinity made every exertion to seek out the offenders, as will appear from the following:

CARLISLE, Feb. 28, 1760.

Sir—

An inhuman and barbarous murder was performed on Doctor John and his family. This Indian, who has been considered a friend to the whites has been treacherously murdered, by some persons unknown.

He belongs to the Delawares; and I grieve to say that *their chiefs will demand reparation.*

So many cruelties have been practiced upon the whites by the Indians, that the *innocent* (Indians) are not secure from their revenge.

I regret that it should have happened in our village. Be assured, we shall do all in our power to bring the offenders to justice.

CARLISLE, March 7, 1760.

To Gov. Hamilton :

Sir—

I was honored with your letter of February 21st, and in obedience thereto, have caused diligent search, and inquiry to be made for the murderers, by the constables, along and between Connogowinet, and the Kittatinny mountain to Susquehannah; but the least discovery has not been made.

Doctor John, the Indian who was lately murdered, was of the Delaware tribe (as I am informed); but what Nation his squaw and the boy were of, I can't clearly learn: he followed hunting whilst in this neighborhood, and behaved insolently, as you will see by the enclosed depositions.

You may be assured I will use my best endeavors to find out the persons who perpetrated that barbarous act; I will for the future, afford protection to every friendly and peaceable Indian that shall sojourn in this county.

I am with great respect,
your Honor's most obedient
and humble servant,

FRAS. WEST.

Cumberland county, ss.

The deposition of Peter Title of Carlisle, aged about thirty-five years, taken before me, &c. Being sworn, &c., deposeth and saith that about the 15th day of January last, a certain Indian, called Doctor John, was in his house at Carlisle: the said Doctor John spoke contemptuously of the soldiers, by saying they were good for nothing, and that he and two or three more of them would drive the whole of them; and this deponent further saith, that said Doctor John said that they killed Captain Jacobs, but that he had another Capt. Jacobs, a young big man, bigger and stronger than him that was killed, and further this deponent saith not.

PETER TITTEL.

Sworn and subscribed, the
4th day of March, 1760,
before Fras. West.

Richard Davis, aged fifteen years, said the Indian called Doctor John, was in the house of Peter Tittle, about the 15th day of January, when he (the deponent) told a certain Thomas Evans, that he killed sixty white people and captured six, and said deponent said he heard Doctor John say, if the war would break out again he would do the same, and asked the said Evans if he would taste it—(meaning death)—and he heard John say in an insulting and angry tone, that the white people

killed his Captain Jacobs, but that he had 'one twice as big, and that they were fools, for when he caught a white prisoner he would lie down on the ground till he would kill and scalp him.

Sworn and subscribed, &c.,

March 4, 1760.

P. S. Lest the above mentioned Thomas Evans should be suspected of the murder of the Indians, on account of their insolent talk and behavior to him, I undertake to say, he is a drunken, stupid fellow, incapable of such enterprise.

FRAS. WEST.

Cumberland county, ss.

The deposition of John Loughry, of York county, Pa., aged twenty-three years; by trade a weaver.

That on or about the beginning of February last, a certain John Mason, son of John Mason of Cumberland county, applied to have this deponent to be assistant with him in perpetrating the murder of a party of Indians, to the number of four or thereabouts, residing in cabins on Connodogwinham creek; this said deponent desired the said Mason not to be concerned in such an affair, for it would bring him to trouble. That some time after that, this deponent being at Mrs. Allison's in Connogojig, in the county and province aforesaid, a certain James Foster of Paxton, in Lancaster county, then informed him, this deponent, that James Foster, together with William George, and some of the boys of Arthur Foster, which said boys, this deponent imagined to be sons of the said Arthur Foster, all of the county of Cumberland, perpetrated the murder of said Indians, by forcibly entering into the cabins of said Indians in the night, when asleep, with axes, &c., and killed and scalped said Indians; and that some time near the beginning of March last, being at Pittsburgh, (at which time the governor's proclamation for discovering said murderers was there publicly known) that the aforesaid James told him, this deponent, that he, the said Foster, was afraid the murder would be found out upon him and his accomplices. This deponent further saith not.

Sworn before us, two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the county aforesaid, at Carlisle, May 6, 1760.

JOHN LOUGHRY.

Fras. West,
Herm. Alricks.

CARLISLE, May the 7th, 1760.

To Gov. Hamilton :

Sir—Herewith we send you inclosed the copy of John Loughry's deposition, against James Foster, John Mason, (who are now at Pittsburgh in the Battoe service) William George, and the boys or sons of Arthur Foster, for the murder of four Indians, near this town, we issued our warrant to the constables, to apprehend such as there are in this county; and we intend by the first opportunity to the commanding officers at Pittsburg, to forward a copy of the deposition, with a request to apprehend and confine, both Mason and Foster, till your orders for transmitting them here, arrive there.

As Loughry had no bail for his appearance, at Court to prosecute,

and for his personal safety, we have confined him in prison: and further, as his evidence is only hearsay, we want information whether William George and the sons of Arthur Foster, are bailable or not. We therefore request your answer and advice on this head.

We are, with the greatest respect,

Your Honor's most obedient and humble servants,

FRAS. WEST,

HERMANUS ALBICKS.

A few years after this murder had been committed, the subject was formally considered in a Conference held with Indians, relatives of the deceased, at Philadelphia, May 6th, 1762.

The persons present were Gov. Hamilton, Richard Peters, Joseph Fox, and the following Indians, viz: Se-con-guep-po, Naw-tow-his-son, and Wal-la-guon-ta-hic-con.

In relation to the death of Doctor John, Gov. Hamilton said to the Indians:

"I have taken notice of every thing you said to me—Brethren, the news you heard about the death of your relative is but two true. Your relative came with his family, consisting of a woman and two children, in the winter, two years ago, into Cumberland county, and lived in a hunting cabin on the river Conedaguainet, near the town of Carlisle, and he and one of his children, a little boy, were found murdered, not far from town, and the woman with the other child was missing, &c."—*Pro. Rec. S.* p. 235.

CHAPTER XII.

INDIANS MASSACRED IN LANCASTER COUNTY—(1763).

Frontier settlers harassed and separated—Paxton Boys concert to make an onslaught upon the Indians at Conestogo; meet for that purpose—Rev. John Elder expostulates with them in vain—He sends an express with a written message—Rev. Elder, &c.—Deposition of Newcomer, Hambright, Cunningham, Mary Le Roy—The Paxton Boys attacked the Indian village and massacred a number of Indians and set fire to their huts—Shippen's letter—Beaty and Miller's letter—Inquisition held—Penn's proclamation and letter—Indians massacred in Lancaster jail—Sheriff Hay's letter—Shippen's letter—William Henry's letter.

Doctor John's murder was a kind of prelude; for there were still causes, as late as 1763, to exasperate the whites.

The inhabitants of the frontiers on the west and east of the Susquehanna river, were still greatly alarmed in the summer and autumn of 1763. "A number of Indians of various tribes, actuated by the love of shedding blood, or the desire for ruin, had committed great depredations and cruelties on the unoffending whites. The Indians committed acts of brutal violence under cover of the night."

The inhabitants of Donegal and Paxton townships, in Lancaster county, reflecting on the past, and the *present* with them; perhaps, in reviewing facts, thus soliloquized: "Have not the bloody barbarians, exercised on our fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, inoffensive as they were, and kindred near and remote, the most unnatural and leisurely tortures? Butchered some in their beds, in the dead hour of the night—at their meals, or in some unguarded hour?" Recalling to their minds sights of horror! scenes of slaughter; seeing scalps clotted with gore! mangled limbs! men, women, children, ripped up! the hearts and bowels still palpitating with life, and smoking on the ground. Seeing savages swill their blood, and imbibing a more courageous fury with the human draught. They then may have reason thus

—These are not human beings! They are not beasts of prey! They are something worse; they must be "*infernal furies in human shape*!" Are we, asked they, tamely to look on, and suffer these infuriated demons to exercise such hellish barbarities upon our wives, children, kindred! our brethren and fellow inhabitants! Shall these barbarians—those, whose veins return to barbarous hearts, the blood of savages—even those whom we have some reason to suspect as accessories—shall they escape? The law—the hatchet—the rifle—fire and faggot—all must bear on them! These were, as it might be supposed, the feelings that incited the "*Paxton boys*," to acts of cruelty. And, it might be asked, Who could, with all the influences of such combined circumstances, let escape one Indian, suspected of perfidy and treachery, however specious his conduct, in the light of day? That the Paxtonians had reason to believe some of the professedly friendly Indians, to be greatly of perfidy or treachery—even among those in the Manor of Conestogo, would seem evident from a number of authentic statements, and evidence from other credible sources. So bent upon destroying the Indians at Conestogo, were the Paxtonians, that all expostulation on the part of their respected pastor, the Revd. Elder, was in vain. On hearing that a number of persons were assembled for the purpose of proceeding to Conestogo, to cut off the Indians, he did all in his power to dissuade them from so rash an act. He sent an express with a written message, expostulating with them, and pointing out to them the consequences—that they would be liable even to capital punishment. The following is adduced as corroborative of these facts:

Rev. John Elder to Hon. Jno. Penn, Esq., Gov.—Touching Massacre of Conestogo Indians.

PAXTON, December 16, 1763.

Sir—

On receiving intelligence the 13th inst., that a number of persons were assembling, on purpose to go and cut off the Conestogo Indians, in concert with Mr. Forster, the neighboring Magistrate, I hurried off with a written message to that party, "Entreating them to desist from such an undertaking, representing to them the unlawfulness and barbarity of such an action, that it is cruel and unchristian in its nature, and would be fatal in its consequences to themselves and families; that, private persons have no right to take the lives of any under the protection of the Legislature; that, they must, if they proceeded in that affair,

lay their accounts to meet with a severe prosecution, and become liable even to capital punishment; that they need not expect that the country would endeavor to conceal or screen them from punishment, but that they would be detected, and given up to the resentment of the government."

These things I urged in the warmest terms, in order to prevail with them to drop the enterprise, but to no purpose; they pushed on, and have destroyed some of these Indians; though how many I have not yet been certainly informed: I nevertheless thought it my duty to give your Honor this early notice; that, an action of this nature may not be imputed to these frontier settlements. For I know not one person here of judgment or prudence, that has been any wise concerned in it: but it has been done by some *hot-headed, ill-advised persons*; and especially by such, I imagine, as *suffered much in their relations, by the ravages committed in the late Indian war.*

I am sir,

Your most obedient and
Very humble servant,

JOHN ELDER.

To the Hon. John Penn, Esq.

Devoted as their endeared pastor was to their welfare, the Paxtonians were, as they believed, so cruelly treated by the Indians; and having asked government to remove the Indians from Conestogo, that, they lent a deaf ear to all that he could say, and, as will appear from the sequel, made both innocent and guilty feel their vengeance.

The palliating letter was written by the Rev. Mr. Elder, to Governor Penn, in which the character of Stewart is represented as *humane, liberal and religious.*

The Rev. Mr. Elder died at the advanced age of 86 years, in 1792, on his farm adjoining Harrisburg, beloved in life and in death lamented.

The Rev. Mr. Elder frequently visited the Indians at Conestogo, Pequehan and the Big Island, and was much respected by them. He had frequently represented to the christian Indians, the *wrong* they were doing to the whites, by admitting *stranger* Indians among them; conduct which made them suspected of treachery.

Extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Elder, to Gov. Penn, January 27, 1764: "The storm which had been so long gathering, has at length exploded. Had Government removed the Indians from Conestogue, which had frequently been urged, without success, this painful catastrophe might have been avoided. What could I do with men heated to madness? All that I could do, was done; I expostulated;

but *life* and *reason* were set at defiance. And yet the men in private life, are virtuous and respectable; not cruel, but mild and merciful.

The time will arrive when each palliating circumstance will be calmly weighed. This deed magnified into the blackest of crimes, shall be considered as one of those youthful ebullitions of wrath caused by momentary excitement, to which human infirmity is subjected."

Abraham Newcomer, a Mennonite; by trade a gunsmith; upon his affirmation, declared that several times within these few years, *Bill Soc* and *Indian John*, two of the Conestogo Indians, threatened to scalp him for refusing to mend their tomahawks, and swore they would as soon scalp him as soon as they would a dog. A few days before *Bill Soc* was killed, he brought a tomahawk to be steeled. *Bill* said, "if you will not, I'll have it mended to your sorrow," from which expression I apprehended danger.

Mrs. Thomson, of the borough of Lancaster, personally appeared the Chief Burgess, and upon her solemn oath, on the Holy Evangelists, saip that in the summer of 1761, *Bill Soc* came to her apartment, and threatened her life, saying, "I kill you, all Lancaster can't catch me," which filled me with terror. And this lady further said, *Bill Soc* added, "Lancaster is mine, and I will have it yet."

Colonel John Hambright, gentleman, an eminent brewer of the borough of Lancaster, personally appeared before Robert Thompson, Esq. a justice of the county of Lancaster, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that in August, 1757, he, an officer, was sent for provision from fort Augusta to Fort Hunter, that on his way he rested at McKee's old place; a sentinel was stationed behind a tree to prevent surprise. The sentry gave notice, Indians were near; the deponent crawled up the bank and discovered two Indians; one was *Bill Soc* lately killed at Lancaster. He called *Soc* to come to him; but the Indians ran off. When the deponent came to Fort Hunter, he learned that an old man had been killed before. *Bill Soc* and his companion were believed to be the perpetrators of the murder. He, the deponent, had frequently seen *Bill Soc* and some of the Conestogo Indians at fort Augusta, trading with the Indians; but after the murder of the old man, *Bill Soc* did not appear at that garrison.

JOHN HAMBRIGHT.

Sworn and subscribed, the 28th of February, 1764.

Alexander Stephen, of the county of Lancaster, personally appeared before Thomas Foster, Esq., one of the magistrates, and being duly qualified according to law, doth say, that Carmayak Sally, an Indian woman, told him that the Conestogo Indians had killed Jegrea, an Indian, because he would not join the Conestogo Indians in destroying the English. James Cotter told the deponent that he was one of the three that killed William Hamilton, on Sherman's creek, and also another man, with seven of his family. James Cotter demanded of the

deponent a canoe which the murderers had left, as Cotter told him when the murder was committed.

ALEXANDER STEPHEN.

Thomas Foster, Justice.

Charles Cunningham, of the county of Lancaster, personally appeared before me, Thos. Foster, Esq. one of the magistrates for said county, and being qualified according to law, doth depose and say, that he, the deponent, heard Joshua James, an Indian, say that he never liked a white man in his life, but *six dutchmen* that he killed in the Minisinka.

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM.

Sworn to and subscribed before Thomas Foster, Justice.

Ann Mary Le Roy, of Lancaster, appeared before the Chief Burgess, and being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and say, that in the year 1755, when her father John Jacob Le Roy, and many others were murdered by the Indians, at Mahoney, she, her brother and some others were made prisoners, and taken to Kittaning; that stranger Indians visited them; the French told them they were Conestogo Indians, and that *Isaac* was the only Indian true to their interest; and that the Conestogo Indians, with the exception of *Isaac*, were ready to lift the hatchet when ordered by the French. She asked Bill Soc's mother whether she had ever been at Kittaning? She said No, but her son, Bill Soc, had been there often; that he was good for nothing.

MARY LE ROY.

Robert Thompson, Justice.

The conviction of the guilt of some of the Conestogo Indians having become general, and arousing feelings which the circumstances would naturally seem to justify; and believing as they did, that some of the Indians in Lancaster county were exceedingly treacherous, and accessory to the murder, a number of them resorted to Manor township, and on Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1763, at day-break a number of them, on horseback, attacked the Indian village, and barbarously massacred some women and children, and a few old men; amongst the latter, the chief—Shaheas—who had always been distinguished for his friendship toward the whites. The majority of the Indian villagers were abroad at the time of the attack. After slaying Shaheas, whose Indian name was She-e-hays, George or Wa-a-shen, Harry or Tee-kau-ly, Ess-ca-nesh a son of She-e-hays, Sally or Te-a-won-sha-i-ong, an old woman, and Ka-ne-un-qu-as, another woman—all who were at home, they set fire to huts, and most of them were burnt down.

LANCASTER, 14th December, 1763.

Honored Sir—

One Robert Edgar, a hired man to Capt. Thomas McKee, living near the borough, acquainted me to day that a company of people from the frontiers had killed and scalped most of the Indians at the Conestogo town early this morning; he said he had the information from an Indian boy who made his escape.

Mr. Slough has been to the place, and held a Coroner's Inquest on the corpses, being six in number. Bill Sawk and some other Indians were gone towards Smith's iron works to sell brooms; but where they are now we can't understand; and the Indians, John Smith and Peggy, his wife, and their child, and young Joe Hays, were abroad last night too, and lodged at one *Peter Swar's*, about two miles from hence. These last came here this afternoon, when we acquainted them what happened to their friends and relations, and advised them to put themselves under our protection, which they readily agreed to; and they now are in our Workhouse by themselves, where they are well provided for with every necessary.

Warrants are issued for the apprehension of the murderers—said to be upwards of fifty men, well armed and mounted.

I beg my kind compliments to Mr. Richard Penn, and am with all due regard,

Sir, your Honor's obliged friend, and
Most humble servant,

EDWARD SHIFFEN.

Hon. John Penn, Governor.

When Messrs. Beaty and Miller, who had been appointed agents by the proprietors to oversee the Indian Town Lands, heard of the Indians being killed, went and brought those who had been abroad and lodged them in the jail, in Lancaster, as a place of security. An inquest was held upon the bodies of those that had been killed.

LANCASTER, 28th December, 1763.

May it please your Honor:

We the subscribers, having been appointed by the Agents of the Hon. Proprietaries to oversee the Indian Town Lands and in the Manor of Conestogo, beg leave to inform your Honor that, immediately after the killing of six Indians at Conestogo, we conducted the residue of the Indians, being fourteen in number, to this town, (though at the risque of our lives) where they were lodged in the gaol as a place of safety. We also secured their papers, and as much of their effects as were not destroyed by those who killed them and were not embezzled by others. Since that time, the Indians whom we brought to the gaol have been killed there.

We have taken the liberty of troubling your Honor with this letter, and pray that we may have directions how to dispose of those effects.

The particulars of this unhappy affair, we presume will be commu-

nicated to your Honor by those whose more immediate duty it is.—
We are

Your Honor's most obedient
Humble servants,

ROBERT BEATTY,
JOHN MILLER.

To the Hon. Jno. Penn, Esq., Lieut. Gov. of Pa.

Lancaster county, ss.

Inquisition taken at Manor township, in the county of Lancaster, the 14th Dec., 1763, before Matthew Slough, Coroner of the county aforesaid.

Upon view of the bodies of six Indians, then and there lying dead, by the oath of John Hambright, John Barr, Frederick Stone, James Ralf, Patrick Work, George Stricker, Wilson Atkinson, Christopher Crawford, Christian Wertz, Andrew Graff, and the solemn affirmation of Mathias Dehuff, John Dehuff, John Miller, and Anthony Snyder, good and lawful men of the county aforesaid, who being duly sworn and affirmed, tried and charged to inquire on the part of our Sovereign Lord, the King, how, and in what manner, the same six Indians came by their deaths, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid respectively do say, that the same six Indians, on the day of taking this Inquisition, were killed by a person or persons, to this Inquest unknown. And so the Inquest aforesaid, upon their oaths and affirmations aforesaid respectively, do say that the same six Indians came by their death in the manner aforesaid.

In testimony whereof, I, said Coroner, have as well as the *Jurors* and *affirmants* aforesaid to this Inquisition, interchangeably set our hands and seals, the day and year above mentioned.

George Stricker, William Atkinson, John Dehuff, Christopher Crawford, Christian Wertz, Andrew Graff, John Miller, John Hambright, John Barr, Frederick Stone, James Ralf, Patrick Work, Anthony Snyder.

Mathias Slough, Coroner.

When the news of this massacre reached Philadelphia, Governor Penn issued a proclamation offering a reward for the perpetrators being brought to trial, and to be proceeded with according to law.

Notwithstanding the Governor's proclamation, and the vigilance of public officers, the Indians placed in the work house, were not safe, for on Tuesday, the 27th December, 1763, the Paxtonians and others assembled in great numbers in Lancaster, marched to the prison, forced the doors in, and says Gordon, butchered all the miserable wretches they found within the walls. Unarmed and unprotected, the Indians prostrated themselves, with their children, before their murderers, protesting their innocence and their love to the English, and in this posture they all received the hatchet.

Those slain in the prison were Captain John, whose Indian name was Ky-un-que-a-go-ah, Betty or Ko-wee-na-see, his wife; Bill Soc or Ten-see-daa-qua, Molly or Ka-mi-an-guas, his wife; John Smith or Sa-qui-es-hat-tah, Peggy or Chee-na-wan, his wife; Qua-a-chone, Captain John's son; Jacob or Sha-ee-kah, a little boy; Ex-un-das, young Shee-hay's boy; Christley or Ton-qu-as, a boy; Little Peter or Hy-ye-na-es, a boy; Molly or Ko-qua-e-un-quas, a little girl; Ka-ren-do-u-ah, a little girl; Peggy or Ca-nu-ki-e-sung, a little girl.*

The names of the Indians killed at Indian Town, and those in jail for safety, were given to John Hay, Sheriff, by Chee-na-wan, wife of Sa-qui-es-hat-tah, and by Ko-wee-na-see, wife Ky-un-que-a-go-ah, shortly before they were massacred in the jail.—*Pro. Rec. S. p. 456.*

From the following letters, written at the time, the reader may form some idea of the condition, and death of the inhabitants of Indian Town, in Manor township.

LANCASTER, 27th Dec. 1763.

Agreeable to your orders when at Philadelphia, I have inclosed a list of the names of the Indians found killed at the Indian Town in Conestogo Manor, with the names of the survivors, fourteen in number, whom I found on my return had been collected and placed in the work house of this county by my son, with the assistance of John Miller and Robert Beaty (who by appointment of Messrs. Hockley and Peters, had the care of the Indians belonging to the town) where they are properly taken care of and fed, and wait your Honor's farther directions relating to them.

I likewise agreeable to your order give herewith an account of the Effects and papers which have been found belonging to the said Indians, which now remain in the possession of the said Miller and Beaty in trust for the Indians, to wit:

Three Horses.

A writing on parchment purporting an article of peace and amity concluded between the governor of Maryland and the chiefs of the Conestogo and other Indians.

* List of Indians belonging to the Conestogo Indian town, in January 1755: John Hays, John, Billy Sock, Peter, Billy Sam, Will James, Young Peter, Will John, George William, Young Warrior, Isaac, Harry, Jemmy Harris, Billy Taylor, Betty, Sally, Margaret, Jemmy Sam, a child; Nancy, Peggy, Mary, Young Billy, Young Jo, Old Molly, Old Peggy, Peggy Tillehauzey, Jemmy Wright, Young Mary, Young Margaret, Hawanah or Big Road, a boy; Hawonesah, a girl; Suzy, a girl; Saw-ateah, a girl; Tuahahuhn, a girl; Quahawey, a girl; Whawney, a girl; Kintasa, a girl; Hayenehs, a boy; Kaquaongush, a girl.—*Pro. Record, for 1755.*

A writing or parchment purporting an article of agreement between William Penn, Proprietary &c., of Pennsylvania and the King of the Indians inhabiting in or about the river Susquehannah and other Indian nations, dated the three and twentieth day of the second month called April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one.

A letter (which seems to be under the lesser seal of the Province) signed W. Keith, dated Philadelphia, May 26, 1719, directed to *Civility* and the rest of the Indian chiefs at Conestogo.

A letter (which seems to be under the lesser seal of the Province) signed W. Keith, dated Philadelphia, 5th May, 1719, directed to *Civility* or Ta-go-te-le-sa, and the Indian chiefs at and near Conestogo.

A writing purporting a letter signed James Logan, dated the 22d 4th mo. 1717, directed to *Civility* and the other Indian chiefs at Conestogo.

A paper (which appears to be under the lesser seal of the Province) signed James Logan, purporting an order of Council held at Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1708, or a request to the Indians to apprehend Nichole Godin on suspicion of several treasonable practices against the government.

And two belts of Wampum.

DECEMBER 27, 1763, P. M.

Honored Sir:

Since writing the above, the poor Indians whom we imagined were placed in safety, are destroyed. A number of persons (by their appearance) of fifty or sixty, armed with rifles, tomahawks, &c., suddenly about two o'clock, rushed into the town and immediately repaired to the work house where the Indians were confined, and notwithstanding all opposition of myself and the Coroner, with many others, broke open the work house, and have killed all the Indians there, being the fourteen mentioned in the list to have survived the former affair at their Town. After which, they in a body left the town without offering any insults to the inhabitants and without putting it in the power of any one to take or molest any of them without danger of life to the person attempting it; of which both myself and the Coroner by our opposition were in great danger.

I have, since the above affair, taken from Messrs. Miller and Beatty the above mentioned papers and belts of wampum, which I shall keep till I have orders from your Honor, and any thing further that I can find belonging to the Indians shall be properly taken care of. As it is rumored that the people with a superior force intend an attack on the Province Island, with a view to destroy the Indians there, I think proper to mention it to your Honor, and shall do all in my power not only to apprehend the offenders, but to preserve the peace of the county.

I beg your Honor's directions, which I shall endeavor punctually to observe, being

Your Honor's most obedient
and humble servant,

JOHN HAY.

Hon. Jno. Penn, Esq., Gov.—*Pro. Rec. S. p. 450, '51.*

LANCASTER, 27th Dec. 1763, Pa.

Honored Sir :

I am to acquaint your Honor that between two and three of the clock this afternoon, upwards of one hundred armed men from the westward rode very fast into town, turned their horses in Mr. Slaugh's (an inn-keeper) yard and proceeded with the greatest precipitation to the work house, stove open the door and killed all the Indians, and then took to their horses and rode off; all their business was done, and they were returning to their horses, before I could get half way down to the work house. The sheriff and coroner, however, and several others, got down as soon as the rioters, but could not prevail with them to stop their hands. Some people say they heard them declare they would proceed to the Province Island and then destroy the Indians there.

I am with great respect,

Sir, your Honor's most obedient

and humble servant,

EDWARD SHIPPER,

Pro. Rec. S. p. 448.

The following was written by William Henry, Esq., to a gentleman in Philadelphia :

LANCASTER, Tuesday 27, Dec. 1763.

" There are few if any murders to be compared with the cruel murder committed on the Conestogo Indians, in the jail of Lancaster, in 1763, by the Paxton Boys, as they were then called. From fifteen to twenty Indians, as report stated, were placed there for protection, a regiment of Highlanders were at that time quartered at the barracks in the town, and yet these murderers were permitted to break open the doors of the city jail, and commit the horrid deed. The first notice I had of this affair was, that while at my father's store, near the court house, I saw a number of people running down street towards the jail, which enticed me and other lads to follow them. At about six or eight yards from the jail, we met from twenty-five to thirty men, well mounted on horses, and with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives, equipped for murder. I ran into the prison yard, and there, what a horrid sight presented itself to my view ! Near the back door of the prison lay an old Indian and his squaw, particularly well known and esteemed by the people of the town on account of his placid and friendly conduct. His name was Will Soc ; across him and the squaw lay two children of about the age of three years, whose heads were split with the tomahawk, and their scalps taken off. Towards the middle of the jail yard, along the west side of the wall, lay a stout Indian, whom I particularly noticed to have been shot in his breast ; his legs were chopped with the tomahawk, his hands cut off, and finally a rifle ball discharged in his mouth, so that his head was blown to atoms, and the brains were splashed against and yet hanging to the wall, for three or four feet around. This man's hands and feet had also been chopped off with a tomahawk. In this manner lay the whole of them, men, women and children, spread about the prison yard ; shot—scalped—hacked and cut to pieces."

This tragic affair might have now ended, had not the Paxtonians and others been too highly exasperated. The news of this massacre reached those who had the Moravian Indians under care, on Province Island, near Philadelphia: but no sooner had the intelligence of removing the Indians near the city, reached the Paxtonians, than a large number assembled, and marched to Philadelphia, which produced considerable alarm in the city. "The force of the insurgents was considerable; since six companies of foot, one of artillery, and two troops of horse, were formed to oppose them; and some thousands of the inhabitants, who did not appear, (including Quakers,) were prepared to render assistance, in case an attempt should be made upon the town." The governor fled to the house of Dr. Franklin for safety, and nothing but the spiritual measures of the inhabitants of the city saved it from the fury of an exasperated multitude, who would not have hesitated to extend vengeance from the Indians to their protectors.*

After consulting among themselves, and on salutary advice given them, they concluded to peaceably return to their homes, leaving Matthew Smith and James Gibson, two of their number, to represent their views to government. They laid their grievances before the governor and the assembly.†

After the excitement had been allayed, the bodies of the slain were interred, within the limits of Lancaster; where the bones of the last remains of the Conestoga Indians rested undisturbed till the month of May, 1833, when the workmen employed in excavating for the railroad, dug them up. The place of interment was still well remembered when the bones were exhumed, by Peter Maurer, who had been present when the bodies were buried. Mr. Maurer is still living near Lancaster city. Governor Penn issued a second proclamation, and offered a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators of this last act of atrocity.‡

* Gordon's Pa. 406-8.

† See Appendix A.

‡ See Appendix E.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIANS MASSACRED AT PENN'S CREEK—(1768.)

Indians from Big Island settled on Middle creek—Stump and Ironcutter killed ten of the Indians and threw their bodies into Middle creek—A body of one of them found in Allen township—Blythe carries intelligence of the murder of the Indians to the Governor—Captain Patterson and some twenty others arrested Stump and Ironcutter, and delivered them to the Sheriff at Carlisle—Patterson's letter to the Indians on West Branch—Shawana Ben's reply—Proceedings of Provincial Council, &c.—Penn's letters and Proclamations—Penn's message to Newoleeka, and other Indians—Stump and Ironcutter rescued from jail—John Armstrong's letter—James Cunningham's deposition before Council and before the Assembly—Sheriff Holme's letter—Justices' proceedings at Carlisle; they arrested a number of persons, supposed to have been concerned in Stump's rescue—Great excitement—The magistrates censured; but acquitted; proof of their acquittal.

The case next to be noticed, is the murder committed by Frederick Stump, known as the "Indian Killer," upon several Indian families in Penn township, Cumberland county. This happened in the month of January, 1768.

Two or three families of Indians, one called the White Mingo, another Cornelius, one Jonas, and one Cammell, three Indian women, two girls and a child, had removed from the Big Island, on the west branch of Susquehanna, in the spring of 1767, came and built themselves cabins on Middle creek, about fifteen miles above the mouth of said creek; where they lived and hunted, and were on friendly terms with their white neighbors—were always well received and kindly treated. In the month of January, 1768, they came to the house of William Blyth, who lived at the mouth of Middle creek. He treated them kindly. From his house they went to Frederick Stumps, who lived near Blyth's, where it is supposed some differences happened. Here four of the Indians were murdered; their bodies cast into Middle creek, through a hole in the ice. Stump, with his servant Ironcutter, (Eisen-

hauser,) then proceeded to a cabin about four miles from his house, where he found two Indian girls and one child, whom he also murdered, and setting fire to the cabin, endeavored to consume the remains.

The body of one of those thrown into Middle creek, was afterwards found, "lying dead within the watermark of the river Susquehannah," some distance below the Harrisburg bridge, and interred in Allen township, as will appear from the following letter, dated

EAST PENNSBOROUGH, Cumberland co., Feb. 29, 1768.

John Penn, Esq., Hon. Sir:

We take this opportunity to inform you, that on the 27th inst., at Allen township, in the county of Cumberland, one James Thompson found an Indian man lying dead within the water mark of the river Susquehannah, who, without doubt, is one of the Indians Stump killed, and was brought down there by the water. As soon as we heard thereof, hearing at the same time that the Coroner was sick, we went down and held an inquest on the dead body. He was struck, as appeared to us, on his forehead, which broke his skull. There was also a large scalp taken off his head which took both of his ears. We held the inquest on the 28th inst., and interred him decently—cut small poles and made a pen about his grave. We have nothing material more to inform you of at present, but beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

Your obedient and humble servants,

JAMES GALBREATH,
JONATHAN HOGG.

The murder of these Indians produced a prodigious excitement, at the time, as will appear from all the facts and proceedings arising from, and connected with it. As soon as this atrocity was made known to the governor of the province, and to Sir William Johnson, Penn issued his proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of Stump and Ironcutter, *promising to punish them with death*; and this declaration, with two strings of wampum, he sent to be made known to the Indians living on the Susquehanna, requesting them not to break the peace in consequence of the murder. A message was also sent to the same effect, says Heckewelder, by the governor to the Christian Indians, with the request that they should make it known in public assembly; and soon after a special message was sent to the Christian Indians (at Friedenshuesten) from Sir William Johnson, desiring if *they* knew any of the relations of those persons murdered at Middle creek, to send them to him, that he might wipe the tears from their eyes, comfort their afflicted hearts,

and satisfy them on account of their grievances. Sir William Johnson also invited the chief of the Six Nations, and other tribes of Indians living on Susquehanna, and on the Ohio to an amicable convention. A convention was held, peace and friendship again re-established.—For particulars see Heckewelder's Narrative.

All the circumstances connected with the murder were communicated to the governor and council. Mr. Blyth repaired to Philadelphia, and made information upon oath.—See extracts of Records below.

Mr. William Blyth of Penn's township, in Cumberland county, just arrived in town, in order to give information to his Honor the Governor, of the murder of ten Indians, lately committed by Frederick Stump, at Middle creek, in that county, appeared at the Board, and being examined on oath, related what is contained in the following deposition, taken in council before the Chief Justice, who was expressly desired to attend for that purpose, viz:

The deposition of William Blyth of Penn's township, in the county of Cumberland. Farmer, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, saith:

That hearing of the murder of some Indians by one Frederick Stump, a German, he went to the house of George Gabriel, where he understood Stump was, to enquire into the truth of the matter; that he there met with Stump and several others, on the 12th of the present month January; and was there informed by the said Stump himself, that on Sunday evening before, being the 10th of the month, six Indians, to wit, the White Mingo, an Indian man named Cornelius, one other man named John Campbell, one other man named Jones, and two women came to his (Stump's) house, and being in drink, and disorderly, he endeavored to persuade them to leave his house, which they were not inclined to do, and being apprehensive that they intended to do him some mischief, killed them all, and afterwards, in order to conceal them, dragged them down to a creek near his house, made a hole in the ice, and threw them in—And that the said Frederick Stump further informed this deponent, that fearing news of his killing the Indians might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next day to two cabbins about fourteen miles from thence up Middle creek, where he found one woman, two girls and one child, which he killed in order to prevent their carrying intelligence of the death of the other Indians, killed as aforesaid, and afterwards put them into the cabbins and burnt them; that this deponent afterwards sent four men up the creek, to where the cabbins were, to know the truth of the matter, who upon their return, informed him that they had found the cabbins burnt, and discovered some remains of the limbs of some Indians who had been burned in them—And further saith not.

WILLIAM BLYTH.

Sworn at Philadelphia the 19th day of January, 1768, before me, William Allen.

As soon as Capt. William Patterson, (formerly of Lancaster county, then residing on the Juniata) heard of this atrocious act, went, without waiting orders from the governor, with a party of nineteen men, and arrested Stump and Ironcutter, and delivered them to John Holmes, sheriff at Carlisle jail. Aware that the relatives of the murdered Indians would be, on the receipt of this news, exasperated, he sent one Gersham Hicks, with a message to the Indians at Big Island, on the west branch of the Susquehanna.

CARLISLE, January 23, 1768.

Sir:

The 21st instant, I marched a party of nineteen men to George Gabriel's house, at Penn's creek mouth, and made prisoners of Frederick Stump and John Ironcutter, who were suspected to have murdered ten of our friend-Indians, near Fort Augusta; and I have this day delivered them to Mr. Holmes at Carlisle jail.

Yesterday I sent a person to the Great Island, that understood the Indian language, with a talk; a copy of which is enclosed —.

Myself and Party, were exposed to great danger, by the desperate resistance made by Stump and his friends, who sided with him. The steps I have taken, I flatter myself, will not be disapproved of by the gentlemen in the government; my sole view being directed to the service of the frontiers, before I heard his Honor the governor's orders—The message I have sent to the Indians, I hope will not be deemed assuming an authority of my own, as you are very sensible I am no stranger to the Indians, and their customs. I am, with respect,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

W. PATTERSON.

JUNIATA, January 23, 1768.

"Brothers of the Six Nations, Delawares, and other inhabitants of the West Branch of Susquehanna, hear what I have to say to you.—With a heart swelled with grief, I have to inform you, that Frederick Stump and John Ironcutter, hath, unadvisedly, murdered ten of our friend-Indians near Fort Augusta—The inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania do disapprove of the said Stump and Ironcutter's conduct; and as proof thereof, I have taken them prisoners, and will deliver them into the custody of officers, that will keep them ironed in prison for trial; and I make no doubt, as many of them as are guilty, will be condemned, and die for the offence.

"Brothers, I being truly sensible of the injury done you, I only add these few words, with my heart's wish, that you may not rashly let go the fast hold of our chain of friendship, for the ill conduct of one of our bad men. Believe me, Brothers, we Englishmen continue the same love for you that hath usually subsisted between our grand-fathers, and I desire you to call at Fort Augusta, to trade with our people, for the necessaries you stand in need of. I pledge you my word, that no

white man there shall molest any of you, while you behave as friends. I shall not rest by night nor day, until I receive your answer.

Your friend and Brother,

W. PATTERSON.

The following is an answer to Captain Patterson's message, of January 22, 1768.

" FEBRUARY 11th, 1768.

" Loving Brother :

I received your speech by Gertham Hicks, and have sent one of my relatives with a string of wampum, and the following answer :

Loving Brother :

I am glad to hear from you—I understand that you are very much grieved, and that the tears run from your eyes—With both my hands I now wipe away those tears : and, as I don't doubt but your heart is disturbed, I remove all the sorrow from it, and make it easy as it was before. I will now sit down and smoke my pipe. I have taken fast hold of the chain of friendship ; and when I give it a pull, if I find my brothers, the English, have let it go, and it will then be time for me to let go too, and take care of my family—There are four of my relatives murdered by Stump ; and all I desire is, that he may suffer for his wicked action ; I shall then think that people have the same goodness in their hearts as formerly, and intend to keep it there. As it was the evil spirit who caused Stump to commit this bad action, I blame none of my brothers, the English, but him.

I desire that the people of Juniata may sit still on their places, and not put themselves to any hardships, by leaving their habitations ; whenever danger is coming, they shall know it before it comes on them.

I am,

Your loving Brother,

SHAWANA BEN.

To Capt. William Patterson.—*Pro. Rec. T. 286, '87.*

The council, after examining Mr. Blyth, immediately took this most important matter into consideration, and were of opinion that warrants should forthwith be issued by the chief justice, directed to the sheriffs, under sheriffs, and other officers of the province, and particularly to those of the counties of Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks, for the apprehending of the above mentioned Frederick Stump, and bringing him before one of his Majesty's Justices of Oyer and Terminer, to be dealt with according to law. The Board also advised the Governor to issue a proclamation offering a reward of £200 for apprehending said offender, and bringing him to justice ; but to delay the publication of the same for a short time, till other more secret means should be used for taking him, lest news of such a proclamation should reach his ear, and he might be thereby so alarmed, as to abscond, or make

his escape, before any sheriff could arrive at Penn's creek, where it is believed he continues to remain with his family. They therefore advised the governor to write immediately to the magistrates of Cumberland county, strictly requiring them to exert themselves on this occasion, by giving their best assistance to the sheriff and other officers, and taking all other measures in their power for apprehending and securing the said Frederick Stump, and also to despatch letters of the same kind to the magistrates of Lancaster and Berks counties, instructing them to send their sheriffs with sufficient aid to the utmost limits of those counties on the Susquehanna, so as to be nearly opposite to Middle creek, that they may be in readiness to apprehend the said Stump, in case he should cross the river to retire to either of those counties.

The Board further advised the governor to write to General Gage and Sir William Johnson, acquainting them with this unhappy accident, and the steps he is taking on this occasion, and to request Sir William will be pleased to communicate the same as soon as possible to the Six Nations, in the best and most favorable manner in his power, so as to prevent their taking immediate resentment for this unavoidable injury, committed on their people, and to assure them of the firm and sincere purposes of this government to give them full satisfaction at all times for all wrongs done to the Indians, and to preserve the friendship subsisting between us and them inviolable. Accordingly, the chief justices warrants and several letters to the magistrates of Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks counties, were prepared without delay and despatched by express.* But before those letters, and the proclamation of chief justice Allen reached the magistrates and sheriffs, Stump and Ironcutter, as above stated, had been lodged in jail; but before they were brought to trial, were rescued from prison by their friends and neighbors, whose fears were excited that Stump and Ironcutter were to be taken to Philadelphia, there to be tried, they "*not properly distinguishing between EXAMINATION and TRIAL,*"† rescued them from prison, on the 29th of January, and carried them off.

Governor Penn sent a message express to the chiefs on

* Proclamations and several letters are given in the Appendix F.

† Rev. Duffield's statement, Feb. 19, 1768. Pa. Gaz. March 3, 1768—See Appendix.

Great Island, in which he deplores the deaths of the Indians.

A Message from the Governor of Pennsylvania to Ne-wo-lee-ka, the chief of the Delawares, and to other Indians at the Great Island.

Brother Ne-wo-lee-ka :

The Indian man Billy Champion, who is the bearer of this letter, has informed me there were some white people in your parts, surveying and marking out lands, under a pretence of hunting; and you sent him to desire to know, if this was done by my order or knowledge. I assure you it was not. It is a wicked thing, contrary to my treaties with you, and contrary to our laws and my proclamations. I will make it my business to find them out; and, if you know who they are, I desire you will inform me, that they may be taken and brought to justice. The string herewith sent confirms my words.

A STRIKE.

Brother: I am glad this Indian man Bill came down at this time, for it gives me an opportunity of informing you of a melancholy affair which I have only heard of within these few days, and which fills the hearts of all your Brethren with the deepest sorrow and grief. It is this: two or three families of Indians, namely the White Mingo, Jonas and John Cammell, three women, two girls and a child, left the Big Island in the spring and came and built themselves cabins on Middle creek, about fifteen miles up the creek, there they lived and hunted, and were often with our people, and were always well received and kindly treated by them. About ten days ago they were at Mr. Wm. Blythe's, who lives at the mouth of Middle creek, who treated them kindly; and from his house they went to one Frederick Stump's, a Dutchman, who lives in that neighborhood. There it is supposed some difference happened, but what it was we have not heard, but they were all found murdered; six of them in Stump's own house; and four at a certain cabin at some distance from it. I am further informed, Stump says he killed them all with his own hands, and that there was no other person concerned with him, in the fact.

On my receiving this melancholy account, the sheriff was immediately sent with his officers to take up this Stump as the murderer; and for their encouragement, I offered them a reward of two hundred pounds; and I am in hopes he is by this time taken; and no time shall be lost to bring him to his trial that he may suffer death in the same manner as he would have done, had he killed some white men.

Brother: I consider this matter in no other light, than as the act of a wicked, rash man, and I hope you will also consider it in the same way, and not imagine that since it was done by one man in the manner I have related it to you, that any other persons have been concerned in it, or that it has been in any way encouraged by any of my people. I assure you it has not.

Brother: There are among you and us some wild, rash, mad-headed people, who commit actions of this sort. Whenever it so happens, all that can be done, is immediately to acquaint each other of them, and to bring the offenders to justice, that it may make no breach between us, but be considered as a rash, sudden act, that could not be prevented: and, we now inform you further, that we are going to send off a messenger immediately to the relations of the deceased people, who,

we hear, live near *Chenasse* (Genesee) to inform them, and the Seneca Nation, to whom they belong, of this murder; and to bury their bodies and wipe their tears from their eyes, that it may not break the friendship subsisting between us the Indians; but that we may live together and love one another as we did before this melancholy accident happened.

This belt confirms my words.

A BELT OF WAMPUM.

Brother: I desire this belt of wampum may be sent to any of our brethren near you, that they may not be frightened, or think the English are not their friends. Assure them to the contrary; and that we will keep the chain of friendship entire and bright, notwithstanding this accident. To confirm this my request, I give you this string.

A STRING.

Given under my hand and the Lesser Seal of the Province of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, the 23d of January, 1768.

{ Locus
sigili. }

JOHN PENN.

By his Honor's command:
Joseph Shippen, Jr., Secretary.

Immediately on the rescue of the prisoners, Mr. Armstrong sent a letter express, by Mr. Cunningham, to governor Penn, informing him of what had happened. Mr. Cunningham's deposition was taken, by Chief Justice Allen, before the council and Assembly, whereupon the governor issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the prisoners.

CARLISLE, January 29th, 1768.

John Penn, Esq., Hon. Sir:

In this perturbation of mind, I cannot write; but in real distress, only inform your Honor, that we are deceived and disgraced at once; for about ten o'clock this morning, to the number of seventy or eighty men under arms surrounded our jail, when a number of them unknown to the magistrates, I must say, appear to have had too ready entrance into the dungeon, and in less than ten minutes time, they carried off Stump and his servant, in open triumph and violation of the law.—The few magistrates that were present, Messrs. Miller and Lyon and myself, have, I hope, obviously enough done our duty; but while we were engaged at the prison door, exerting ourselves both by force and argument, a party, utterly without our knowledge, was in the dungeon, of which we were not acquainted either by the jailer, or any other person, who, before we were aware of it, had the prisoners in the open street, when we were unable to make further opposition, and they were gone in less than a second.

The jailor says that a pistol was held at his breast, and this is all we can at present say of that circumstance. These rioters give as reasons for their conduct that the prisoners were to be carried to Philadelphia for trial—that a number of white men have been killed by the Indians since the peace, and the Indians have not been brought to justice, &c. At present we know not what step to take for the best and

beg leave to be favored with your Honor's further instructions. I have written in the presence of the two magistrates mentioned above, and am

Your Honor's

Most obedient servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S. The bearer, Mr. Cunningham, is a prudent young man—knows the state of these things, and may be depended on in any questions your Honor, or the chief justice may think proper to ask.

James Cunningham appeared before the Board, Thursday, Feb. 4, 1768—his deposition taken in the presence of John Penn, Esq. James Hamilton, Wm. Logan, Benj. Chew, Richard Penn and James Tilghman, was examined, and his deposition taken.

James Cunningham of Lancaster county, farmer, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that on Friday, the 29th day of January last, about nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon, as he was sitting at breakfast with John Armstrong, Esq., in the town of Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, he was surprised to see a number of armed men surrounding, on a sudden, the public jail in the said town, that he, and the said John Armstrong, apprehending that the said company met with an intention to rescue from the said jail a certain Frederick Stump and John Ironcutter, who were confined there for the murder of a number of Indians, they both instantly ran to the said jail in order to prevent, if possible, the execution of so wicked and illegal a design. That when they got up to the said jail, the said John Armstrong made his way through a number of armed men, who stood before the door of the said jail, which was open, and guarded by four men, who stood within the door with arms in their hands; that the said John Armstrong, and John Holmes, high sheriff of the said county, both attempted to go into the door of the jail, but were several times pushed back and prevented: that as the said John Armstrong stood on the steps, under the door, he addressed himself frequently to the armed company who were about him, and used many arguments to persuade them to desist from their lawless undertaking, and told them, among other things, that they were about to do an act which would subject themselves and their country to misery. That while the said Armstrong was speaking, this deponent saw one man take hold of him, and draw him down the said steps, upon which the said Armstrong

by violence pushed back the person who had hold of him, and regained his stand on the said steps, saying at the same time, that they should take his life before they should rescue the prisoners. This deponent further saith, that while the said John Armstrong and Robert Miller, and Wm. Lyon, Esq., and the Rev. J. Steel, who had joined the said Armstrong, were endeavoring to disperse the said company, several other armed men appeared within side the said jail, to the very great surprise of every one, with the two prisoners above mentioned in their possession, whom they brought forward, and after pushing the said Armstrong, Miller, Lyon, Steel, Holmes, and this deponent, by violence and crowding from before the said jail door, carried them off with shouts and rejoicing, and immediately left the town. This deponent further saith that he cannot with certainty declare what numbers were in the company which made the said rescue, but that from the best judgment he could form, there were 70 or 80, all armed with guns, and some tomahawks. This deponent further saith, on his solemn oath, that he does not know, nor has any personal knowledge of any one of the persons he saw in the said company, concerned in the said rescue, and that after the said company had left the town, the Rev. Steel came to the said Armstrong and Mr. Lyons and Holmes, and informed them that the said rescuers desired they would come to, and confer with them at the plantation of John Davis, to come to some terms with them. That the said three last mentioned persons immediately mounted their horses and went towards the said Davis's, but informed this deponent that on their return, that the said company had altered their resolution, and had gone on without waiting for them; and further saith not.—*Prov. Rec. T.* p. 254-55.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM.

Taken and sworn before the Governor
and council, Feb. 4, 1768.

Deposition of James Cunningham, of the county of Lancaster, being sworn according to law, taken an oath, administered by the Chief Justice, before the House, February 4, 1768.

That about ten o'clock last Friday morning, as he sat at breakfast, with Col. John Armstrong, in the town of Carlisle, looking through a window opposite to the prison, he saw a

number of armed men running towards the back of the jail, of which acquainting the colonel, they both rose from the table, run into the street, and made their way through the armed men to the jail door, the colonel calling out to the people that they were acting a bad part, or words to that effect, and desiring them, as they could not be all reasoned with, to choose out three or four, or half a dozen of their leaders, and he would convince them that they were acting a part that must subject them and their country to misery; that the Rev. Mr. Steel came out and spoke to the people to the same effect; that the Colonel, Mr. Miller, Mr. Lyon, the Sheriff, the deponent and others, having got to the jail door, forced all the people from it, except four armed men, who stood within the door with their muskets across it; that some of the armed men within pushed the Colonel down the steps, who, having recovered himself, said to them: Gentlemen, I am unarmed, and it is in your power to kill me, but I will die on the spot before you shall rescue the prisoners. Mr. Miller spoke in like manner; that while the magistrates and sheriff were thus attempting in vain to get at the door, to the surprise of every one but the mob, the prisoners were brought out, (Stump handcuffed, the servant not) when the people accompanying them, called out to the mob, "make way, here are the prisoners;" many shouting out, "we have them," and immediately run off with them—that the deponent had no personal knowledge of any of the rescuers, but, to the best of his memory, was informed by the jailer, that one of the persons who had hold of him in the jail, was named James Morrow; that he also heard, but knows not from whom, that there was one among them by the name of Beard; likewise Adams, Parker, Williams, or Williamson, and one John Morrow, who was on the outside of the jail armed: that after the mob and prisoners were gone off, Mr. Steel came down to Col. Armstrong's, and informed him he had seen two that he suspected were of the party, who told him they wanted the Colonel, Mr. Lyon, and the Sheriff to go to John Davis's place at the creek, about two miles off, to converse with them, hoping they might come to terms; that upon this notice, the Colonel, Mr. Lyon and the sheriff, immediately took their horses and went off: that a little before sunset they returned, when Colonel Armstrong told this deponent they had gone to Davis's, and to some other house farther off, (he does not

remember the name) and were there acquainted that the mob being apprehensive a party might pursue them and retake the prisoners, had moved off with them from that place, thinking it was unsafe to stay longer; that Justice Byers having heard of the matter, met them here, and Colonel Armstrong sent a messenger, with a few lines, after the mob, setting forth to them the danger they were in, and the mischievous consequences of such conduct, and advising them to return and surrender the prisoners to justice; that the deponent was told the names of the rioters above mentioned by Colonel Armstrong, Mr. Miller, Mr. Lyon, or the sheriff, but he is not certain which of them; and that after the rescue, he heard a company of lads say they saw the mob going along with the prisoners, and carrying a Smith with them, (named McGonegal) with a pistol held to his breast; that three men from Carlisle, to wit, Ephraim Blain, Ralph Nailor and Joseph Hunter, told the deponent he had followed the mob to one Ferguson's, near the foot of the North mountain, six or seven miles from Carlisle, and coming up with them, endeavored to convince them they had done wrong, and ought to give up the prisoners to government; that some appeared concerned, as if convicted of misconduct, and thereupon told these men, that if they could have security that the prisoners should not be carried to Philadelphia for trial, they would take care of them, and engage they should be delivered up to justice;—that the said Blain, Nailor and Hunter, however, gave them no encouragement to expect the security they wanted, but acquainted them they would mention it to the magistrates and Sheriff; that after this deponent heard some talk of the magistrates and sheriff's intending to go out to the mob, but they were gone up when he left Carlisle; that the deponent heard on the Wednesday before the rescue, the magistrates met to consult on some matter, he supposes it might be about sending the prisoners to Philadelphia, when a party of armed men appeared in sight of Carlisle, from whom two persons, John Davis and John McClure, came to town, and he was told, informed the magistrates that this party were coming to rescue the prisoners from jail, understanding the sheriff was to take them to Philadelphia that day: that two young men came also from the said party to town, to speak to the sheriff, having heard the prisoners were cruelly treated, and were to be sent to Philadelphia for trial; that upon talking with

the sheriff, and being convinced that the prisoners were not ill used, nor to be carried to Philadelphia to be *tried*, but only for *examination*, they seemed satisfied and returned to their party, who fired their muskets and moved off; that the sheriff told this to the magistrates, and the deponents heard they advised the sheriff to be careful of the jail doors, but he does not know that the magistrates placed a guard or took any other method for strengthening and securing the prison; that on the morning of the rescue, before the mob appeared, two men, as the deponent was informed, went into the jail, the door being open, called for some liquor, and were talking with the jailer, when a party of armed men rushing in, the two that first entered, seized the jailer and hurried him to a back apartment, where the debtors are kept, one drew a pistol and put it to his breast, the other a cutlass or hanger, and swore that he was a dead man if he made any noise or resistance; that a part of the mob, in the meantime, got into the dungeon, a girl hired by the jailer having, the deponent knows not whether by threats or persuasion, furnished them with the keys and a candle, or (as he once heard) the door being broken by force; that the deponent was in the dungeon when the prisoners were committed, at which time their legs, he thinks, were ironed and chained to the floor; that before the day of rescue he went down again with parson Bogart, (Bucher) and then the servant lad being sick and his hands much swelled with the tying; when brought to Carlisle, he found all the irons had been taken off the lad, and those also upon the legs of Stump, but that Stump yet continued handcuffed; that the deponent being about going to Lancaster county, where he lived, was desired by the jailer, who had heard that Stump's friends in that county would oppose his going to Philadelphia, to use his influence with them to quiet their minds and discourage them from so rash an attempt; but that he was informed, and believes, the principal part of the rescuers were inhabitants of Schearman's valley, about twelve miles from Carlisle.

Here deponent was asked, if he knew the reason why the sheriff did not, agreeable to the Chief Justices writ, immediately bring the prisoners to Philadelphia?

Answer. That Stump and his servant were brought into Carlisle late on Saturday night, when they were put into jail, and the next day the sheriff endeavored to procure a guard

to set out with them on Monday morning for Philadelphia—that the guard were accordingly ready on Monday morning, and the deponent, intended at that time to go homewards, was desired by the sheriff to make one of the party, and provided himself with arms for that purpose; that the sheriff being thus prepared, determined to set off, and had the irons taken from the prisoners, and their arms bound; that just at this juncture Mr. Miller and M. Pollock, going to Colonel Armstrong's, mentioned some uneasiness the people were under, on account of Stump's removal to Philadelphia, alleging, that it would not be proper to set off with the prisoners that day, the weather being bad, and the Susquehanna supposed to be dangerous, as it had been stopped by ice the week before, and that in case they should proceed to the river and find it impassable, an attempt might be made there to rescue the prisoners, which would probably be attended with dangerous consequences to the sheriff and his guard;—that Col. Armstrong, upon these suggestions, sent for the sheriff from the jail, who, with a number of town's people, met at the Col.'s house, when some were of opinion that it was not advisable to set out that day; others encouraged the attempt; but, in fine, it was concluded best to defer it, Col. Armstrong and the sheriff were for going; Messrs. Miller and Lyon objected to it, for the reasons above mentioned, without assigning any others that the deponent remembers; Mr. Pollock, Mr. Sweeny,* a lawyer, and some others, thought it improper, because illegal, to remove the prisoners from the county;—that Mr. Tea, and Mr. Campbell, a lawyer, urged strenuously to bring them down, and further deponent saith not.

JAMES CUNNINGHAM.

William Allen, Chief Justice.†
February 1768.

CARLISLE, Feb. 7th, 1768.

Hon. John Penn :

Please your Honor—

Though I am very certain you will receive full intelligence of the affair of Frederick Stump before this can reach you; yet as my conduct and character are so much concerned, I pray your Honor to receive the following plain statement of the case, as all the vindication I

* William Sweeny (Swainey) was admitted to practice at the Lancaster Bar in 1766. *Hist. Lan. co.* p. 368.

† Votes of Assembly VI. p. 35-37.

can offer of my conduct. James Galbreath, Esq., brought to Carlisle, and delivered to me the chief justice's warrant on the 3d day of January. Immediately on the receipt thereof, I summoned a guard to attend me next day to go in quest of Stump; but that very evening, Captain Patterson brought him with his servants, and delivered them to me. Next day I summoned a guard to set off in obedience to the chief justice's warrant, having the same morning received a letter from the sheriff of Lancaster, who waited for me at John Harris'. Col. Armstrong sent for me, and told me they had concluded to keep Stump, and not send him down. I alleged to him, I was not obliged to obey any orders of any magistrate in Cumberland county, as I had the chief magistrate's warrant to the contrary. But he insisted I should not take him off, but discharge my guard, which I absolutely refused, whereupon the Col. went to jail and discharged my guard, brought up the prisoner, examined him and by *mittimus*, committed him, and wrote to some other justices to attend in Carlisle on Wednesday. On Wednesday, while said justices were sitting in council, a large party under arms came very near Carlisle and sent in messengers to the magistrates and to me, claiming that they should be well used, and not sent to Phila. Being satisfied that they were properly used, and having been told they were committed to our jail, they dispersed. The magistrate wrote a full account to the chief justice, and I made free to acquaint him that I was ready to execute his orders, if he thought proper to call for the prisoners, being persuaded now we should meet with no further trouble from the country; but on the 29th January, another large body of armed men, thought to be mostly the former, joined with a party from Sherman's valley, on a sudden rushed into town, and marched up to the jail, having sent a few without arms, to appear before them, who went into the jail when the company came up, seized the prisoner, making the jailor and his family prisoners; we labored with the armed men to disperse, to offer no violence, not dreaming they had got into prison, when, unexpectedly, they brought out Stump and made off. Mr. Steel, at my request, followed them to the creek, two miles from town, but labored in vain.

On Sunday I called a *posse*, and set off early on Monday into Sherman's valley. Several magistrates and most of the principal inhabitants of Carlisle and in the county attended, but we could neither find out where they had concealed Stump, nor by any arguments prevail with them to deliver him to us. Since this, they wrote me unless the Governor, Mr. Allen, (who was then chief justice) another gentleman of note, would oblige themselves that Stump should not be taken out of the county.

Please your Honor, I have given you a plain and true account of the affair, and pray that I may not be considered as designing or acting in disobedience to the chief justice's warrant, as I am persuaded your honor will plainly see.

I purpose to set off into Sherman's valley again to-morrow, and do what lies in my power to have the prisoners delivered up; though I fear that infatuated people will pay very little regard to my endeavors.*

I am your Honor's, &c.

JOHN HOLMES.

Nothing was left undone on the part of government, and the magistrates to re-take the escaped prisoners, and bring them to trial, also punish those who aided in their rescue.— The magistrates of Cumberland issued warrants for apprehending and securing in jail those concerned in the rescue.— They discovered some twenty or more.

CARLISLE, Feb. 28, 1768.

May it please your Honor:

Your commands per Capt. William Patterson of the 20th inst. came to hand on the 24th. On receipt, a number of the justices met the same evening, at Carlisle, (Mr. Montgomery assisting) to concert measures, how to execute your Honor's injunctions in the most effectual manner. As it appeared to us utterly impossible that these licentious people who rescued Stump, would, or ever had it in their power to return to justice the perpetrators of the late murder on the Indians, and as the best intelligence we can gain, renders it matter of scruple whether he be in our county, we proceeded to take information on oath, and issue warrants to the proper officers for apprehending and securing in jail these villains, who were concerned in the rescue. We have transmitted a copy of your Honor's injunction to the justices of the upper end of the county with our advice to exert themselves; as it appeared to us probable that the murderers might take that way to Virginia where it is thought they will seek refuge.

We cannot sufficiently acquit ourselves in not acquainting your Honor, yet we can assure you the sheriff, justices and several of the principal people here, have exerted themselves with all their might, to regain Stump and Ironcutter, though we have not had success, we are persuaded all pains will be used by the proper officers to apprehend the rioters and that the magistrates will be aiding hereunto with all their influence.

With all wise and good men, we abhor the base insult on government, sensible of the direct tendency of such a crime, to the subversion of order, justice and propriety.

We are concerned your Honor's order and the chief justices warrant were not immediately complied with, which we conceived might have been done with safety before these licentious people had time to cabal and contrive their plan, this, we think, might have prevented such disagreeable consequences, nor can we conceive why it was not done. But your Honor no doubt has had reasons laid before you.

We are with many others highly pleased with the brave conduct of Capt. William Patterson, (he did honor to our county) and the notice your Honor has taken of merit in the manner of expressing your approbation, we persuade ourselves, will influence not only the young man himself, but others to behave worthily.

We gratefully respect your Honor's goodness in repeating your injunctions of the 4th inst., as most of us had not the pleasure of seeing

them before. We shall willingly receive from time to time, what commands your Honor may think proper.*

We are your Honor's
most obedient and humble servants,

JONATHAN HOSE,
JAS. GALBREATH,
ANDW. CALHOUN,
JNO. BYERS,
JNO. MCKNIGHT,
HERNS. ALBRICKS.

Copy of a list of names enclosed in the original letter, preserved at Harrisburg.

James Murry, John Murry, Andw. Jones, James Hamilton, Richd. Shenky, Richd. Irwin, — Neilson, Francis Irwin, Joseph Childers, James Rody, Wm. Adams, Thos. Huitt, Jno. Glass, James Ferguson, Joseph McDowel, William Williams, Jno. Clark, Wm. McGary, Jno. Beard, Matthew Gregg, Joseph Goldon, James Eakles, Wm. Willson.

The murdering of the Indians and the subsequent rescue of Stump and Ironcutter, produced a great excitement, not only at Carlisle, but through the whole country. The magistrates and sheriff, it appears had been censured.† But, the *Compiler* inclines to think, in examining some documentary evidence that the officers, sheriff and magistrates, did not favor the prisoners. In support of this opinion the following is submitted.

On the 26th of February, 1768, Governor John Penn, wrote to Col. John Armstrong, desiring him to appear before the Board of the Provincial Council.—*Prov. Rec. Vol. T. 291.*

On the 19th of March, the Governor informed the Board that both John Armstrong and John Holmes, the sheriff of Cumberland, were in town to attend the Council, in order to be examined with respect to their conduct. They appeared —“each related the circumstances respecting the detention of Frederick Stump in the jail at Carlisle, the reasons for taking that measure, as well as the manner and cause of his rescue, and then laid before the Board *sundry depositions* in proof of what they respectfully alleged.

“It appearing in their examination, that they disagreed in

* *Prov. Rec. T. 294-5.*

† If tradition, as a late *Sabido*, would, is to be credited, rather than documentary testimony, then it would appear that “The sheriff and jailer were principal actors in freeing Stump and Ironcutter.”—*Sacudido.*

some particulars, and that Robert Miller and William Lyon, Esqrs., Justices of the Peace, were also concerned in preventing the execution of the Chief Justice's warrant; the Council were of opinion that they also should be examined with respect to their conduct and knowledge in this matter, before any proper judgment can be given on it."

The Board advised the Governor to have Miller and Lyon to appear before them. They were accordingly commanded to appear before the Board in the month of May.—*Pro. Rec. T. page 298.*

On the 6th of May, Col. Armstrong, Miller, and Lyon, Esqrs., appeared before John Penn, William Logan, Benjamin Chew, Richard Penn, and James Tilghman, members of the Board of Council, and "were severally examined with respect to their own conduct in the detention of Frederick Stump in the jail at Carlisle, as well as all that they knew in regard to his rescue from the hands of justice. The Board agreed to take this matter into further consideration and appointed a meeting of the Council to be held the 12th of May, in order to come to a final result on the subject.—*Prov. Rec. T. 319-20.*

Depositions, still on file at Harrisburg, had been presented on the 19th of March and on the 6th of May; affording the Council some aid to come as it is not unreasonable to suppose, to a correct conclusion as to the guilt or innocence of the persons accused in the detention and rescue of Stump—and it is also not incredible to believe that Gov. Penn, who had evidence before him of the true state of the case, would not shrink to pronounce a true verdict—not exculpate, or acquaint the sheriff if he was indeed a principal actor in freeing the prisoners from jail, and rescuing them from the justices.

The 12th day of May the Board met, and came to a final result on the subject. What that was, the reader may learn from the following extract from the Provincial Records.

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Thursday the 12th of May, 1768—present: The Hon. John Penn, Esq., Lieut. Gov. &c. William Logan, James Tilghman, Esqrs.

Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Lyon appearing at the Board, agreeable to the Governor's appointment, the following admonition, which was read to them, viz:

Col. Armstrong, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Lyon—Upon the

rescue of Frederick Stump, and John Ironcutter, who had been arrested for the murder of ten Indians, I was informed that you, as magistrates of Cumberland county, had interposed to prevent their being brought to Philadelphia, in obedience to the Chief Justice's warrant, in the hands of the sheriff; and that in particular, Col. Armstrong, had himself, discharged the sheriff's guard, after he (the sheriff) had refused to do it; and committed the prisoners to the county jail, which was in a great measure the occasion of the rescue, as it gave the persons who committed that bold and daring insult upon the laws of the Government, time to consult measures for the execution of it. The matter was of such consequence, and the reputation of the Government so much concerned in it, that I could not pass it by, without making an enquiry into it, and upon hearing you and the sheriff, and considering the several proofs, which both you and he have laid before me, I find, that on Monday the 25th day of January last, the sheriff was ready to set off with the prisoners from Carlisle, under a guard of eight or ten men, in order to bring them to Philadelphia, as the warrant required—that the people of Carlisle, thinking the rights and privileges of their county would be infringed, by the prisoners being brought to Philadelphia, grew uneasy under these apprehensions, and did apply to you, and press you to interpose in the affair, until they could have an opportunity of remonstrating upon the occasion, which was first warmly opposed by Col. Armstrong; but that at length, partly to quiet the minds of the people, and partly from an apprehension of danger of a rescue, in case the sheriff with the prisoners, should be detained on the banks of the Susquehanna, which was then hourly expected to break up, you were induced to cause the prisoners to be examined, and, upon their examination, they were committed by Col. Armstrong and Mr. Miller to Carlisle jail; in order, that the Government, informed by express, which was determined to be sent on that occasion, should give further orders respecting them.

“Tho’ the transaction has not been proved in the aggravated light in which it was represented to me, yet, it was undoubtedly officious and beside your duty to interpose at all in the affair, as it was unjustifiable in the sheriff to pay any regard to your interposition, and your conduct, upon the occasion, was in itself an obstruction of justice, and is not to be

justified; however, it may in some measure be excused by the motives of it. But as I am satisfied from the evidence, that both you and the sheriff were far from having any intention either to favor the prisoners, or to offer the least contempt to the authority of the Chief Justice's warrant, and that you acted for the best, in a case of perplexity, not expecting, but rather intending to prevent the consequences which followed. I shall take no other notice of the matter, than to admonish you for the future, to be very careful, in confining yourselves with the bounds of your jurisdiction, and not to interfere again in matters which belong to superior authority."—*Pro. Rec.* vol. T. page 321-2.

CHAPTER XIV.

SON OF SENECA GEORGE, SHOT—(1769).

Son of Seneca George shot by one Reed—Proceedings of council—Conference held at Shamokin, August 1769.

The last death of an Indian, caused by a white man, to be noticed in this connection, is that of an only son of Seneca George, who was shot by one Reed. This happened within the borders of Cumberland at that time. Mr. Reed was arrested, and lodged in jail. The governor, to conciliate the relatives of the deceased, proposed a conference to be held at Shamokin. The proceedings had there, being so interesting, are inserted at length, from which all the particulars touching the death of Seneca George's only son may be learned.

Minutes of a Conference held at Shamokin or Fort Augusta, by Col. Francis on the part of the government of Pa. with Indians in and near Shenago, in order to condole with, and make a present to Seneca George and his relatives on account of the death of George's only son, who was shot sometime since by an unknown person, near the mouth of Middle creek, on Susquehanna.

Saturday, August 19, 1769, a little before noon, Seneca George Gen-gu-ant, and about fifty-three more Indians of different tribes, being chiefly Nanticokes and Conoys, landed from their boats, and sent a message to Col. Francis to know when they might speak to him, who immediately returned an answer, that in the afternoon that he would be glad to see his brother, Seneca George, and the friends and brethren he had brought with him. Col. Francis then proposed to receive the Indians, and desired the Rev. Doctor Smith, of Phila., who happened to come to the fort about half an hour before the Indians, to give his assistance in taking the minutes.

Aug. 11, P. M.

Present, Col. Francis, Rev. Smith and about 50 inhabitants on and near Susquehanna ; Seneca George, Last Night, the Conoy King ; Gu-en-gu-ant an Onondago, and 22 more warriors and young men.

ISAAC STILL, Interpreter.

Seneca George, speaks :

Brother : You sent a letter some days since inviting me to this place. I invited my brother Gu-en-gu-ant one of the Onondagoes to come with me, and likewise some of my children of the Nanticokes and Conoys. I also found other young men waiting for me to come down ; and now we are all here before you as you was the Governor, for you could not expect me to come alone.

Brother :

We have met among ourselves this day with many tears, but now see you, our tears begin to dry up a little, and we are ready to hear what you have to say, and you may appoint the time as soon as you please ; and when you speak, all of us will consider one with another what you say to us.

Brother :

I will speak one word more. I desire you would stop all your strong drink awhile, for you and I can neither speak nor smoke together rightly, if our young men should get drink at this council fire, kindled by the Governor at Shamokin.

Brother :

You and I are friends, and know each other, and you likewise very well know what the custom is when the Governor meets his brethren at any place where he appoints a council fire—Now you see your brethren here, and we desire you will give us something to eat, for this is always the custom when we meet the Governor at a council fire—we have no more to say at this time.

Col. Francis was going to make some reply, and to express his pleasure at meeting his brethren, and to tell them that they should hear

good things from the Governor, on Monday; but Seneca George got up and desired Col. Francis would not speak then, it being better to consider what had been said to him till Monday. The Indians then went to their camp and provisions were sent them. This evening, Joseph Shippen, Esq., Provincial Secretary, arrived at the Fort.

Sunday, Aug. 20, 1769.

The Indians having understood that Doctor Smith was to have divine service to white people, assembled at the Fort, Seneca George sent notice that his people worshipped the same God with the English, and would attend divine service; which they did accordingly, with great decency, and Isaac Still interpreted the conclusion of the discourse, which was particularly addressed to them.

Monday, Aug. 21, 1769.

Present, Col. Francis, Joseph Shippen, Dr. Smith, Chas. Stewart, and near one hundred inhabitants; and all the Indians that had attended on Saturday.

ISAAC STILL, Interpreter.

Seneca George speaks.

Brother, and all you, my Brothers:

This day we are all met here together; some chief men, my brothers, are come with me, and some young men, to this council fire, kindled by the Governor. You have sent for me to come from Shenango, and now I am come to hear my brother, and I suppose you have something within your heart to tell me. *Gives a String.*

Colonel Francis spoke then, as follows:

Brother Seneca George, and all you, my brethren:

I am glad to see you here, and that you received the letter I sent you, soon enough to meet me here, at the very time I wished to see you. My grief for what has happened has been equal to yours, but on seeing you here, in so friendly and good a disposition, my grief is now so much removed that I have been able to light this council fire, and to acquaint you with what is contained within the Governor's heart, on this occasion. *Gives a String.*

Now brethren, open your ears and listen—I am going to deliver to you what the Governor desired me to speak to Seneca George, and his friends, on this sad occasion—Attend then brethren; for it is now the Governor speaks.

Brethren:

I take this opportunity by Col. Francis to give you my kind and hearty salutations, and by this string desire you will hearken to the message I send you by him. *A String of Wampum.*

Brethren:

It is not above a month ago, that Col. Francis came from Shamokin, on purpose to acquaint me of the death of one of our Indian brethren, and that the man who was supposed to have committed the crime was apprehended and secured in Lancaster jail.

On this information, I ordered the man to be sent to the jail of this city, to be kept secure, till he can be tried.

Brethren :

Col. Francis further acquaints me that, the Indians, who were in the cabin with our deceased brother, at the time he was killed, were present when the offender was taken, and were satisfied with Colonel Francis' conduct in this affair, and were kind enough to take a message from him, to give you an account of what had been done, and to tell you he was hastening to Philadelphia, to lay the same before me, and would bring in a month, or six weeks, my message to you, on this melancholy occasion, and desired you to be at Shamokin, in order to receive it.

Brethren :

Knowing that by treaties between this government and the Indians, we are obliged to inform each other of any accidents that happen, which may be likely to disturb the peace subsisting between us ; as soon as I had made myself acquainted with the particulars attending this matter, I lost no time in sending account thereof to Sir Wm. Johnson, that he might relate the real truth, so far as was come to my knowledge, to the Indians of the Six Nations, and assure them, that the person apprehended should be taken great care of, and safely secured, and receive his trial in the same manner as if the deceased had been a white man, and by his trial it will appear whether the affair was accidental or designed.

Brethren :

We are sensible that whilst the body of our deceased brother lies above ground, your minds cannot be easy. We therefore, by these strouds, bury his body, and cover it so deep that your eyes may never more see it.

Brethren :

With these handkerchiefs we wipe away all the tears which run down your cheeks, and take the sorrow from your hearts, and desire you would grieve no more. *Handkerchiefs.*

Brother :

With this belt we scrape up all the blood that has lain on the ground, or may have stained the bushes. We collect them together, bury them under ground, that neither your nor your friends eyes may more behold them, as you pass and re-pass the place where the accident happened. *A Belt.*

Brethren :

As we have now buried the body of our deceased brother, we desire you will suffer no uneasiness to remain in your minds, that may cause the least ill will towards your brethren of the English. *A Belt.*

Brethren :

As you are the relations of our deceased brother, as a token of our affection for you, and to comfort your hearts, we desire you would accept of this present of goods.

Delivered the Goods.

Signed

JOHN PARR.

Seneca George speaks.

Brother :

Now I have heard what the governor has to say to me on this oc-

cession; my young men and the chiefs that are come with me have likewise heard it and are very glad that they have heard the Governor of Philadelphia speak. Now I will return to my fire place, and to-morrow will give an answer to what the Governor has said to us.

Tuesday 22nd Aug.—The Indians sent word they could not be ready to answer the governor's message till to-morrow in the afternoon.

Wednesday 23rd Aug.—Having met; Seneca George spoke as follows:

Brothers:

We have met here on this good day, and as the Governor of Philadelphia has sent you here to speak to me, I shall look upon you as in the governor's room. I am glad to hear what my brother the governor has said, and so are also my young men, and I doubt not your young men are likewise as well pleased as our young men are with what the governor has said.

Brother:

I let you know, I am not a king, but a captain of the Six Nations. But here is a king (pointing to Last Night, the Conoy King) you will hear him speak good things. His words and mine are one.

Brother:

You may see that the occasion which has called us to meet here, is not from a bad spirit on our part, but on yours. The Great and Good Spirit put it into the hearts of our grand-fathers and yours to lay strong foundations for peace with each other; we must follow what they have done, and if we hide any thing in our hearts from one another, this Great Spirit, whom you call God Almighty, will know it.

The Conoy King then speaks.

Brother:

I am really glad to see you at this fire which the governor has placed at Shamokin, and to hear what my brother the governor has said; and to see all these young men that are come with you. My young men are likewise all glad on the same account. *A string of four rows.*

Brother:

I now speak to the governor, by you, Col. Francis. I have put into my heart what the governor has said. My young men have done the same. We all believe what the governor has said to Col. Francis has really come from his heart. I will, therefore, now open my heart, and you shall hear my good things. *2d string of four rows.*

Brother:

I am well pleased the governor takes this method to bury our grief under ground. I need not repeat what you said to us. I am glad you have wholly wiped away that stain from the face of the earth, and I now assure you, I will look on you, my brothers, as I used to do, and think well of you.

Brother:

As I told you, we are all glad to hear our brother, the governor. But I assure you, brother, I do not know what to do on the affair we are met about. I have considered this sad breach, and should know

what to do in it if any of my people had committed the like against any of yours.

Brother :

You know best how to manage such of our people as have been overcome by the Evil spirit, and therefore I leave this matter wholly to you. *A belt of seven rows.*

Brother :

Let me now speak one word to my brother the governor, and to you Col. Francis. I would have my brother, the governor, be strong, to hold fast that good friendship, whereof our forefathers laid fast foundations when you first came into this country. Sir William Johnson is but lately come—But we had in old time a very firm peace, and you and I used always then to speak to one another. Now, as I said, brother, we then laid a firm foundation for peace, and this was one great article of that peace; that we should have pity on our young men and also on our women and children; because we all came from one woman, as you may easily know by the mark—“*That our little children when born have all the same shapes and limbs as yours, altho' they be of a different colour.*” Wherefore, I would have you be strong, and in good earnest to preserve this our ancient friendship, so that our young men, whoever they meet on a journey or hunting about in the woods, may always be glad to see one another.

Brother :

There was also another mark in this, our old friendship, that if we had one loaf of bread, when we meet each other in the woods, we would cut in two, and divide it with one another. Let us all then cast our eyes to the great Good Being, to bless our endeavors to preserve this, our ancient friendship. *A belt of eight rows.*

Brother :

You know that our Grandfathers made a road between each other, which passes by my door and reaches to Onondago. We have now kindled a council fire at Shamokin. Let us then be strong, that our young men, women and children may pass and repass, and always be glad to meet one another as they hunt in the woods.

Brother :

You may perhaps hear bad stories from other nations, but I would not have you listen to them, but let you and I still hold fast the ancient friendship.

Brother :

You and I are brothers. The Nations to which I belong, the Nanticokes and Conoys, never yet, since the beginning of the world, pulled one scalp, nor even one hair from your heads; and this, I say, gives us a right to call ourselves brothers. Although you have done me some hurt, I have never yet cast my eye upon that, but have always looked steadfastly to our ancient friendship.

Brother :

Now we have healed this sad breach, and you see all my young men here, are satisfied it is so made up, and I hope your young men are also pleased. But, brother, I would have you tell your young men,

never to make the least breach of our friendship again, and I will tell our young men the same: *A belt of seven rows.*

Brother :

Now you have heard all your brothers had to say to you on this good day. There is, as I told you, a council fire at Shamokin, which is the door of the Six Nations. When I go home all your brethren shall know, what you have said, and Sir Wm. Johnson shall also know it.

Brother :

We, the Nanticokes, and Conoys have wiped away all the grief from the eyes of our great warrior Seneca George. We show you this belt, wherewith we joined you in wiping his eyes.

Brother :

Last fall, Sir Wm. Johnson and all the Governors kindled a council fire at Fort Stanwix. They sent for all his Indian brethren, as far as Allegheny, to meet at this council fire. It was his business when they met to find provision for them, and he did so. But they killed one six years old steer for me, and I have had no satisfaction for it.—If you think proper to consider this matter and allow me satisfaction, I shall think well of it.

Brother :

To-morrow I intend to leave you. I was in hopes you would send me a squaw to me to warm me at night. Perhaps you have one to keep you warm ; but as you did not send me one, I must go home to my own as fast as I can. But you know the custom is, that you must give me a little bread to eat on the way.

Col. Francis then spoke as follows ;

Brothers, Seneca George, Last Night, and all you my brethren :

I am really rejoiced to hear all the good things you have said, and to find that the governor's message to you with his small present of goods, have wiped away all the tears from your eyes, and confirmed in your hearts the old friendship and good will you have your brothers, the English. All who are present with me rejoice on the same account. You see I have caused to be written down on paper all the good things you have said, that I may send them directly to the governor, who will put them in his heart and remember them the first time you speak together.

Brother :

As to what you say about a squaw, I have really none here. We keep all ours in Philadelphia, and we are as desirous to get home as you are. I am sorry that we have so little provisions here ; but you shall, this very evening, have all that I can get for you. I will kill one of our best cattle for you. I will send you all the flour I have left to make cakes on your way, and I will give some powder and shot to your young men to kill a little deer to eat with your cakes as you go along. I shall likewise send you a little *walking stick* (the Indian phrase for rum) and I am sorry I cannot make it long enough for a *setting pole*;

but really our rum keys begin to run very low—however, I will make the stick as long and strong as I can. Brother Last Night, I will consider what you say about your steer, and look what there is in my purse when I go home to my lodgings from this council fire.

Col. Francis having finished the above which was received with great cheerfulness and many signs of approbation by the Indians, Mr. Frederick Weiser desired Col. Francis that he would be pleased to deliver the following short speech to Seneca George :

Brother Seneca George :

Now the business of the Governor is finished—the son of your old brother and friend, Conrad Weiser, desires me to speak a few words to you. Myself and all the children of Conrad have had great grief and many tears for the unhappy death of your son, and our tears have run down our cheeks in greater abundance, because a cousin of ours, the sister's son of our father Conrad has been suspected of the mischief. He is soon to be tried by the English laws, and if he should be proved guilty, which we hope he may not be, we are willing he should suffer the same punishment as if he had committed the crime against a white man.

Brother :

This matter has grieved and surprised us greatly, for neither the man who is said to have done this, nor any of our family, have ever had any difference with our Indian brethren, and time will show whether this man is guilty or not; and as we do not wish to screen him from justice, we desire you will not entertain in your hearts any ill will, against any of the family or children of our old friend and brother, Conrad Weiser, on account of this one man, who, if he is guilty, must have been carried away by a very evil spirit towards the Indians, and different from the spirit of all his family. As a mark of our love to you, I, who am the eldest son of your old friend Conrad Weiser, desire you will accept this small present from his family, to wipe all tears from your eyes.

A present from Mr. Weiser.

Seneca George having sat after this speech three or four minutes in a deep silence, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and tears visibly flowing from them, got up and spoke as follows :

Brother :

I have really been pleased with what the governor has spoken by you, Col. Francis, for making up this sad affair. Now, as to what has been said by the son of Conrad Weiser, I am glad to see one of his sons, and to hear him mention a little of the *old friendship and love that was* between us and our brother, his father. Yes, old Conrad was indeed my brother and friend. He was a counsellor of the Six Nations, and knew all that passed between them, or was in their hearts. I am very glad the tears have flowed from the eyes of his children, as they have done from mine, on account of this unhappy affair, which has certainly been a great grief to me: for, he that is lost, was a son that lay near to my heart. He was all the child that I had; and now I am old, and the loss of him has almost entirely cut away my heart. But I am yet pleased my brother Weiser, the son of my old friend, has taken

this method to dry my tears. I assure my brother Weiser, this matter shall be remembered no more against his family to their hurt, but I will look upon it that an evil spirit got into the mind of the person who did it.

All the while Seneca George was delivering the above, he kept advancing still nearer and nearer to the table where Col. Francis, Mr. Weiser, and the other gentlemen sat, and his action and whole behavior was surprisingly great. That part especially where he spoke of his son, was understood, even before interpreted, by the tone and manner in which it was delivered. When he came to the last part, where he declared he had no ill will to the family of the Weiser's, he sprang forward with a noble air of forgiveness; and shaking Mr. Weiser by the hand, I have, said he, no ill will to you, Mr. Weiser; nor to you, Col. Francis; nor any to you, father, (meaning Dr. Smith); nor any to you, (meaning Mr. Stewart); and shaking every one by the hand, then spreading out his arms, and turning quite round to all the company; nor have I any ill will to any of you, my brothers, the English.

That manly spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation which Seneca George showed on this occasion, by his looks and gestures, and whole action, made some of them at the table cry out, as he ran up, holding out his hand to them, "This is noble;" for here his speech stood in need of no interpreter.

A conference with the Delawares, inhabiting the Big Island and West Branch of Susquehanna.

During the conference with Seneca George and his friends, Colonel Francis had great uneasiness on account of the Delaware chief *Namoleka*, and about 42 of his friends, who had come down the West Branch on a rumor that there was to be a general treaty at Shamokin, and that the governor was to be there.

The Nanticokes and Conoys refused to admit them into the conference, and said they had no business with it, while the others complained that they had waited many days last past of their hunting season, and were now starving for hunger.

Col. Francis sent Isaac Still to bring three or four of their chiefs to a private conference; who being come, told him that since they could not see the governor, nor hear from him, they intended to proceed to Ohio. Col. Francis told them the governor was not at Philadelphia, but gone on a long journey, but that he would carry any message they had to the governor, and that they might not be wholly disappointed, he would give them some provisions and a little "Walking Stick," to help them back to their hunting-place.

The Chief then desired Col. Francis to carry this message, viz:

That they would return home and hunt awhile a few skins to make a pair of breeches for the governor, which they would bring down in the fall, to have a talk with him according to an old custom, for they now longed to see him, and had many things to say.

It was then found necessary to give them some flour, &c., and to get them away as well pleased as possible, for the inhabitants became apprehensive that they would kill cattle or do some hurt, for want of provisions, and on account of their disappointment in their journey.—Prov. Rec. U. p. 70-73.

CHAPTER XV.

DAUPHIN COUNTY.

Preliminary remarks—Erection of counties—Dauphin separated from Lancaster county—Original extent and boundary of Lancaster—Erection of townships within the limits of Dauphin and Lebanon, viz: Peshtank or Paxton, Lebanon, Derry, &c. Names of taxables of 1760, or of early settlers—Miscellaneous—Hanover township erected; early settlers in.

As early as 1682, three counties were organized in the Province of Pennsylvania, viz: Philadelphia, Buch and Chester. In 1729, Lancaster county was erected; and it then comprised all the territory west and north of Chester county, between the Schuylkill, north of the boundary line of Chester and the Susquehanna, and all west of the Susquehanna. Lancaster county was gradually reduced; first by the separation of York county, in August, 1749; Cumberland in 1750, Berks in 1752, Northumberland, which was erected out of parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Bedford and Northumberland, in 1772; and by the organization of Dauphin county, which was separated from Lancaster, by the acts of March 4th 1785, and by erecting Lebanon in 1813, formed out of parts of Lancaster and Dauphin.

The extent and boundary of Lancaster, at the time of its organization is given, in the following extract from the Provincial Records.

“At a council held at Philadelphia, May 2d, 1729: present, the Honorable Patrick Gordon, Esq., Lieut. Governor, Richard Hill, William Fishbourn, Clement Plumsted, Thos. Lawrence, and Samuel Hazel, Esqrs.

A return being made by the order of Council, dated the

20th February last, for running a division line in the county of Chester, and settling the boundaries of the county to be erected in the back parts of this province towards Susquehanna, pursuant to the minutes of council of the 20th of said February, the same was read, approved and confirmed, and is in these words :

Pursuant to a warrant from the Hon. Patrick Gordon, Esq. Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, upon Delaware, bearing date the 22d day of February last past (1729)—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, met together, on the 17th day of March, 1728-29, near the head of the northern branch of Octoraro creek, and with the assistance of John Taylor, surveyor of the county of Chester, run a line from the said branch to the river Schuylkill, according to the courses following, viz : Beginning on a corner, marked white oak standing on the eastern side of the said branch, on the land of John Minshall, thence northeast by north, five hundred and eighty perches to a chestnut oak, standing on the top of a barren mountain, at the head of the branches of the said Octoraro creek, thence along the said mountain, northeast by east, three hundred and forty perches to a chestnut tree ; thence north, northeast, four hundred and forty perches to a white oak by a branch of Pequea creek, thence continuing the same course along the said mountain four hundred and eighty perches to a chestnut oak, thence north by east seven hundred perches to a white oak tree near a small branch of Brandywine creek, thence north by west six hundred and sixteen perches to a chestnut tree standing on the top of a mountain at the head of the western branch of said Brandywine creek, thence east northeast along the said mountain two thousand two hundred and twenty perches to a chestnut tree near the western branch of the French creek, thence northeast by east three hundred and fifty perches to a red oak, thence northeast one hundred and ninety perches to a chestnut oak, near another branch of the said French creek, thence northeast by north two thousand one hundred perches to a corner marked white oak, standing by the said river Schuylkill, about three quarters of a mile below the house of John Burroughs.—Signed

Henry Hayes, Samuel Hollingsworth, Philip Taylor, Elisha Gatchel, James James, John Wright, Tobias Hendricks,

Samuel Blunston, Andrew Cornish, Thomas Edwards, John Musgrove.

And the upper parts of the province described as aforesaid, are hereby declared to be erected, and are accordingly erected into a county by the name of LANCASTER COUNTY."

When Lancaster county was laid off from Chester, John Wright, who had settled on the present site of Columbia, some time in 1726, named it *Lancaster*, after the county *Lancashire*, England, where he came from in 1714. John Wright had first settled on his arrival in the Province, in the lower part of Chester county.—*His. Lan. co.* 240.

Soon after Lancaster had been organised, the magistrates, viz: John Wright, Tobias Hendricks, Samuel Blunston, Andrew Hornish, Thomas Edwards, Caleb Pierce, Thomas Reid and Samuel Jones, Esq., inhabitants of the county, met, to settle and agree upon the names and boundaries of townships. This meeting was held June 9th, and the Court confirmed the names and boundaries, at the August term of 1729. The names of the townships then organized, are Drumore, Sadsbury, Martock, Conestoga, Hempfield, Earl, Warwick, Manheim, Lancaster, Leacock, Lampeter, Salisbury, Derry, Peshtank, and Lebanon.

The boundaries of the three last were as follows: Derry, the township of Derry, beginning at the mouth of Conewago, thence up Susquehanna to the mouth of Suataaro, thence up Suataaro to the mouth of Quetopohello, thence south on a direct line to Conewago, and down the same to the place of beginning.

PESHTANK—The township of Peshtank, beginning at the mouth of Suataaro, thence up the river to Kehtohtoning hill above Peter Allen's, thence eastward by the south side of said hill to the meridian of Quetopohello mouth, thence on a south course to the mouth of the same at Suataaro, and down Suataaro to the place of beginning.

LEBANON—Lebanon township, beginning under the aforesaid hill, at the northeast corner of Peshtank, thence by the said hill easterly to the meridian of the west line of Tolpehockan manor, thence southerly and by the said line to the hills bounding Warwick township, thence by the said hills and township westerly to the corner of Derry and Conewago, thence northerly by Derry and Peshtank to the place of beginning.

Derry township was divided prior to 1750 into the "West End of Derry," and the "East End of Derry." The names of taxables and early settlers in the East End in 1750, are the following, viz :

James Semple, James McKee, Joseph Candor, Thomas Hall, James Clark, Randel Boo, John Allison, James Shaw, Robert Ramsey, James Russel, Thomas Boman, James Chambers, Hugh Carrithers, James Carrithers, Robert Bratchey, Hugh Black, Thomas Black, David Black, Robert Chambers, James Long, David Campbell, James Ireland, Patrick Down, John Vanlier, Robert Carrithers, William Bradin, Charles Neely, Arthur Chambers, John Tice, John Laird, David Caldwell, Andrew Morrison, John Thomson, Alex. Robeson, John Nicom, John Kerr, William Blackburn, Andrew Lockert, David McNair, James Wiley, Christian Saddler, William Mitchel, Moses Wilson, Michael Howry, Moses Patterson, James Russel, William Sterret, Robert Armstrong, John Welsh.

The taxable and early settlers of the "East End of Derry," at the same period, were James Galbreath, Esq., James Wilson, James Campbell, James Walker, John Walker, H. Walker, John McCord, David McCord, William Robeson, Archibald Walker, David Tyler, John Orr, John Rinagel, William Wilson, James Miller, William Boyd, Robert Boyd, John Cosh, William Sayers, George Eby, David Mitchel, Leonard Denie, John McColloch, Charles Conway, David Shenk, David Kleim, Michael Hover, Honnes Palmer, Henry Peters, Hans Ketrin, Charles Clark, Thomas Mackey, Andrew Moore, James Foster, Robert McClure, Hugh Hall, Thomas Rutherford, William Rea, John McQueen, John Rea, Neal McCallester, Christian Schneider, Neal Daugherty, Thomas Logan, George Miller, John McCallester, Joseph White, John McClelland, Robert Mordeck, Moses Potts, David Jonson, Jacob Reif, Jacob Longnecker, Andrew Rowan, Hugh Hayes, Patrick Hayes, John Kerr, Duncan McDonnell, Thomas Wilson, James Wilson, John Campbell, Mr. McClan, Mr. Sloan, John Maben, Patrick Kelly, James Duncan, William Hays, John Foster, Robert Foster, David Foster, Wilson Cooper, John Strean, John Cochran, Hans Adam Nei, Jacob Sailer, Hugh Miller, John Godfrey, Thomas Aiken, Anthony Hempel, Conrad Wisan, John McColloch, John Gingerich, William Miller, John Moor, John Hays, William

Huston.—**PESHANK**, was divided into the "West Side of Paxton," the "South End of Paxton," and the "Narrows of Paxton." The taxables and early settlers of the West Side, in 1750, were the following:

William Thorn, Hugh Montgomery, Robert Dugan, Thomas Sturgen, John Johnson, John Harris, James McNight, James Reed, James Armstrong, Robert Chambers, John Davis, James Harris, David Carson, William McCalley, James Toland, Andrew Steen, John Cochran, Alexander Jonson, Thomas Foster, Esq. James Aiken, James Allcorn, Thomas Simson, James Polke, James Potts, George Gillespy, Alexander McCay, John Cavit, Andrew Caldwell, John Scott, Samuel Price, Patrick Gillespy, Jeremiah Sturgeon, Robert Montgomery, John Caldwell, Robert Smith, Jos. White, John Neal, John Dougherty, George Gabriel, John Carson, Samuel Hunter, John Daily, Samuel Simpson, Samuel Martin, Thomas McArther, James Colier, Thomas Larnar, Andrew Stuart, Samuel Campbell, Alexander Sanders, Robert Curry, Moses Wain, Jos. Ross, John Smith, James Thorn, William Armstrong, William Calhoun, Thomas McCormick, John Wiggins, John Wiley, Andrew Cochran, Robert Potter, William Thorn.

The taxables and early settlers of the South End, were William Kirkpatrick, Thomas King, Thomas Meays, William Steel, Robert Tyler, Hugh Stuart, Peter Fleming, John Shields, Kennedy Kanix, John Gray, William Harris, Richard McClure, John Wilson, Oliver Wiley, Samuel Galbreath, Martin Shults, David Shields, Moses Dickey, H. McKinney, H. Seller, Valentine Starn, Thomas Dugan, Alexander Brown, James Lusk, John Means, Andrew Hanna, George Shiets, Timothy McNight, William Sharp, H. McElroy, John Johnston, Charles Gordon, John Montgomery, Timothy Shaw, Matthew Gordon, Andrew Huston, Samuel Woods, John Welsh, Alexander White, John Morrow, James McNight, Francis Jonson, James Wilson, William Dickey, Patrick Kinney.

Taxable and early settlers of the Narrows were John Kelton, Mr. Murray, Robert Armstrong, John Armstrong, Thomas Gasten, William Foster, Thomas Clark, John McKenne, Robert Clark, Thomas Adams, Halbert Adams, John Watt, George Clark, James Reed, James English, John Geven, James Bas-

kins, Thomas McKee, Charles Williams, John Mitchell, John Lee, *a trader*.

At the August Court, 1729, at Lancaster, James Pattison, Edmond Cartlidge, Peter Chartier, John Lawrence, Jonas Davenport, Oliver Wallis, Patrick Boyd, Lazarus Lowry, William Dunlap, William Beswick, John Wilkins, Thomas Perrin, and John Harris, prayed to be recommended to the Governor to trade with the Indians. Their prayer was granted, and they recommended.

March 5, 1730—ordered that Thomas Gardener, constable of *Pashtank*, be allowed 18 pence. Taxes assessed in Paxton township for 1736, amounted to £22, 10, 7. For 1737, £21, 2, 10. Samuel Montgomery was collector this year. For the year 1738, £27, 0, 6. For 1739, £13, 5, 9—William McMullin, Collector. For 1740, £9, 13, 8—John Willson, collector.

October 30, 1739, the county commissioners agreed to hold an appeal, January 4th, 1739–40, at Thomas Lenix's, in Paxton, for the upper end of Lancaster.

January 8, 1744, the commissioners held an appeal at the house of John Harris, in the township of Paxton.

December 30, 1747, the commissioners again held an appeal at the house of John Harris.—*Com. Book of Lancaster co. in Secretary's Office, Harrisburg.*

At the February session, 1736–7, upon a petition of the inhabitants of Lancaster county, Hanover township was erected—divided on the west from Paxton to Beaver creek, from its mouth to the mountain, from Lebanon on the east, and Derry on the south by Suataaro creek, from Beaver mouth to the forks, thence by the north branch thereof to the mountain. Prior to 1750, Hanover township was divided into the "West End of Hanover" and the "East End of Hanover." The taxables and early settlers in 1750 of the West End, were the following—

Joseph Rogers, Seth Rogers, Hugh Rogers, Samuel Sterret, Jas. McKoit, James Beard, Robert Porterfield, Mathew Thornton, William Rogers, William Thomson, Samuel Todd, George Jonson, John Brown, John McCavit, James McCavit, Thomas French, James French, James Finney, Thomas Sharp, John Sharp, John Dobbins, Mr. McCowen, John Hill, Philip Robeson, James Brown, William Erwen, Samuel Barnett, Alexander Montgomery, Thomas Bell, Samuel Robeson,

James Riddle, Thomas McQuire, John McCord, Robert Houston, John Gamble, John Henry, Thomas McClure, William Barnet, Andrew Wallace, Richard Jonston, Josias Wiley, John Snodey, John Cooper, Thomas Cooper, Francis McClure, Michael Neal, H. Hart, Robert Humes, James Robinson, James Rippert, Mathew Snodey, John McCormick, James Wilson, John Streat, Robert Park, Hugh Wilson, Jas. Wilson, Robert Wallace, Robert Snodgrass, Wm. McClenahan, David McClenahan, sen., Danl. Shaw, Samuel Stuart, Robert Love, William Laird, John Hutchinson, Samuel Young, James Finney, John McNealey, James McConnell, Thomas Russel, Charles McClure, John Woods, Andrew Woods, Matthew Tyler, Andrew Walker, Robert Martin, James Wilson, George Miller, John Miller, John McClure, Patrick Gracy, William Cooper, Thomas Martin, John Stuart, Thomas Robeson, James Wallace, Michael Wallace.

The taxables and early settlers of the East End of Hanover, at the same period, were the following, though many of them would now fall within the limits of Lebanon county:

Jacob Musser, Peter Hettrich, Melchior Henry, Thomas Proner, Henry Bachman, Conrad Clatt, Anthony Rosebaum, Jacob Mosher, Esau Ricker, William Clark, John Sibbins, John Schwar, James Young, John Gilleland, Peter Hailman, Widow Work, Frederick Hoak, Jas. Sloan, Widow Gilleland, Jacob Sops, John Sops, Rudolph Hake, Joseph Hoof, Benj. Clark, Killion Mark, George Tittel, Isaac Williams, Adam Clannean, John Casnet, James Williams, Anthony Tittel, Dennis Keril, Mathias Boor, John Sloan, Daniel Ankel, William Young, Abraham Williams, James Clark, Martin Lichty, Adam Roth, Ludwig Shits, John Stewart, John Foster, John Andrew, Walter McFarland, Joseph Brechtbill, William Robison, Philip Kolps, Onwal Jagel, Thomas Croil, Alexander Swan, Alexander Thomson, John Graham, Samuel Ainsworth, John Martin, Barnet M'Night, Widow Brown, John Humes, Andrew M'Keehan, Thomas Brewster, John Thomson, James Graham, John Cunningham, William Cunningham, Christopher Sies, John Meyers, Patrick Brown, John Andrews, John Strein, Antony M'Crath, George Shetley, Walter Bell, Leonard Long, Adam M'Neely, John M'Clure, John Henderson, William Woods, John Porterfield, Robert Haslet, John Crawford, William Watson, Henry Gantz, James Greenleaf, John Craig, Hugh M'Gowen, John

Dickson, Joseph Willson, Adam Miller, Edward M'Murray Jacob M'Cormick, John Ramsey, James Stewart, Humphrey Cunningham, Robert Kirkwood, James M'Coorey, William Thomson, Thomas Strain, Mathias Plank, Jacob Steiner, William Stoner, James Todd, John Young, James Dixon, Robert Bryson, William Bryson, Daniel Andrew, David Stevenson, William Cathcart, William Crosby, Benjamin Ainsworth, Patrick Bowen, Adam Harper, Lazarus Stewart.

In noticing the remarkable incidents and leading events that transpired before the erection of Dauphin county in 1785, the writer does not confine himself to the present limits of the county, but embraces those that happened within the limits of Lancaster, north of the present southern boundary of Dauphin county. The same course will be pursued in the history of Cumberland and the other counties.

CHAPTER XVI.

DAUPHIN COUNTY ESTABLISHED, &c.

Dauphin county erected and named—Boundary in 1785—Reduction of, in 1813—Present boundary—Variety of geological features—Geology of—Acres of land in—Productions—Live stock—Cereal grains, &c., &c.—General statistics—Synopsis of the census of 1840—Description of streams—Public improvements, &c.

DAUPHIN county, named in honor of the son of Louis xvi., King of France was separated as stated above, from Lancaster, by an act of March 4, 1785, and then bounded as follows: "Beginning on the west side of the Susquehanna river opposite the mouth of Conewago creek; thence up the middle of the said creek to Moor's mill; and from thence to the head of said creek; and from thence by a direct line to the south-east corner of Heidelberg township, where it strikes the Berks county line; thence northwest by the line of Berks county to Mahantayo creek; thence along the same by the line of Northumberland county, and crossing the river Susque-

hanna, to the line of Cumberland county, and that part of the line of York county to the place of beginning, on the west side of the river Susquehanna."

Dauphin was afterwards reduced, by an act of Feb. 16, 1813, erecting Lebanon county out of parts of Dauphin and Lancaster. Dauphin is now bounded, north by Northumberland, northeast by Schuylkill, east by Lebanon, and south by Lebanon and Lancaster, and on the west by the Susquehanna, separating it from the counties of York, Cumberland and Perry; the whole stream, however, being within the county, the course of the river through it, which is forty-eight miles. The length of the county is thirty-three miles, and mean width sixteen miles; it contains an area of five hundred and twenty-eight miles; containing 341,120 acres.

Population in 1810, 31,883; 1820, Lebanon having been separated, 21,663; 1830, 25,303; 1840, 30,118. Aggregate amount of property taxable in 1844, was \$8,197,491.00.

This county presents a great variety of geological features as well as a variety of soils, viz: limestone, yellow and red shale, gravel, sandy, &c. The limestone region, in the southern and southeastern part of the county, has a rich, loamy soil, highly productive, where well cultivated. The slate formation between this and the Blue mountain, is more hilly and less fertile; but by proper improvement and the free use of lime as a manure, may be made a fine agricultural region. Much of it has been reclaimed. "Formerly, and not more than twenty years ago, Lower Paxton and the Hanovers could boast of as poor land, as carelessly cultivated, as any tract of the same extent on the face of the earth. 'The youth all emigrate, and the poor all starve,' was the remark commonly made use of, when describing this *now* smiling region."

As said, the geological features of this county are various; for in it, says Trego, we find nearly, if not quite all the rock formations, from the white sandstone which overlies the primary rocks, upwards to the coal.

The Conestoga hills, in the southern part of the county, are composed of trap rock: north of these we find the middle secondary shale and sandstone, extending as far as High-spire, on the Susquehanna, six miles below Harrisburg, where it overlaps the great limestone formation of Cumberland Valley. The limestone formation is a broad belt of limestone, which may be traced from the Delaware river, at and above

Easton, through Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, Dauphin, Cumberland and Franklin counties, and so passing southwestward through Maryland and Virginia. The limestone formation is seen in some other counties of this state. The limestone in this county ranges from Lebanon across Dauphin to the Susquehanna; its northern limit on the river being at the lower end of Harrisburg, and the line of junction between the limestone and slate passing thence eastward to the Swatara creek, north of Hummelstown, and so on to the Lebanon county line near Palmyra. Some belts of slate are contained within the range of this limestone, one of which may be observed passing from the Swatara west of Hummelstown, south of the poor house, and extending nearly to the Susquehanna.

North of the limestone is a broad slate formation, having a hilly and rolling surface, which occupies the region between the northern limit of the limestone, and the southern base of the Kittatinny* or Blue mountain. Some thin strata of limestone are found in certain parts of this slate range. This range extends all along the Blue mountain from the Delaware river through Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, Dauphin, Cumberland and Franklin counties, to the southern line of the state.

The rocks of the Blue mountain consist chiefly of the hard, compact, white, gray and reddish sandstone, which lies next in order above the last mentioned slate, and which forms so many of the mountain ridges in middle Pennsylvania. This rock constitutes that long, narrow, nearly level and continuous ridge which stretches from near the Hudson river, not far from Kingston, across New York and New Jersey, and which entering Pennsylvania at the Delaware water gap, is known from that place to its termination in Franklin county, by the name of Kittatinny or Blue mountain.

On the northern slope of this mountain, and in the valley between it and the second mountain, are the red variegated shales, resting on the sandstones just described, with the overlying limestone, of an argillaceous blue; the fossiliferous sandstone, of various thickness; the olive slate, occupying but a small space, because the strata are nearly perpendicular; and along the south side of the Second mountain, the red and

* *Kittatinny*, originally called by the Indians, *Kau-ta-tin-Chunk*, i. e. the Main, or Principal Mountain.

gray sandstones, and red shale next in position. The olive slate and red shale rocks appear in Armstrong's valley, around Halifax.

In order to account for the small space occupied by so many formations, some of which in other parts of the state occupy of themselves a wide extent of country, it must be recollected that the strata here are vertical, or in truth thrown rather beyond a vertical position, so that their order of superposition is inverted, and the strata which really lie uppermost in place appear to dip steeply beneath those which are actually below them. Rock Strata which are vertical can only occupy an area equal to their thickness, while those which approach the horizontal position, usually spread over a wide region.

The Second mountain is mainly composed of a coarse, hard, grayish sandstone, which is also found in Peters', Berry's and Mahantany's mountains; all these being in fact but the same ridge which winds round recrosses the several twins. The rock next in order is the bright red shale, which underlies the coarse pebbly conglomerate next below the coal bearing strata. This red shale is found encompassing all the anthracite coal fields, and from its softness and liability to decomposition, has been worn down so as usually to form valleys around the high, sharp ridges, which bound the coal basins. Accordingly it is found extending down Stoney creek valley, between the Second and Third mountains, and folding round on the Susquehanna above the town of Dauphin, again following up the valley of Clark's creek, thus enclosing the coal field of the Third and Fourth mountains. Passing round the junction of Peters' and Berry's mountains on the east, it enters Williams' valley and stretches down Wisconisco creek again to the Susquehanna at Millersburg. The whole of Lykens' valley, which lies between Berry's and Mahantany's mountains, is of this red shale, the northern division of which extends up the valley of Pine creek into Schuylkill county, enclosing between it and the Williams' valley division, the Bear valley coal basin.

The Third and Fourth mountains are composed of the coarse conglomerates and sandstones, which immediately underlie the coal, and it is in the high narrow depression between these ridges that the coal of the Stoney creek coal region is found. Owing, however, to the displacement conse-

quent upon the highly upheaved position of the rocks below it, and to the crushing effect near the junction of the uniting ridges, the coal beds towards the western extremity of this basin, are confused and uncertain. Further eastward the prospect is better, and excellent coal has been obtained, soft of which is so soft and free burning as to approach the bituminous character.

The Big Lick and Bear mountains, in the northeastern part of the county, are also cemented pebble or conglomerate rock, and in like manner enclose a coal basin, the western end of which extends into this county. It is commonly known by the name of Bear valley coal region, the western point of which is at the junction of the two last named mountains, about twelve miles east of the Susquehanna. Most of the coal obtained from this valley has been mined at Bear's gap, an opening in the Big Lick mountain through which Bear creek flows southward towards Wisconisco creek. The mountains which bound the coal basin on the north and south are here about seven hundred and fifty feet in height above the level of Bear creek, and contain numerous coal strata which descend towards the centre of the narrow valley at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The gap made by the passage of Bear creek through the mountain, has exposed the coal on both sides of the stream, and affords great facilities for mining it advantageously. One of the beds opened is eleven feet thick, two of seven feet, and others of less size. Several coal seams are known to exist here which have not yet been fully explored; one has been ascertained to be twenty-four feet thick. Shafts have been sunk on the slope of the mountain, north of the valley, and beds of 24, 12, 10, 8, and 7 feet of coal have been found there.

The mining operations at Bear gap are carried on by a company, and a railroad sixteen miles in length, has been constructed from the mines to Millersburg on the Susquehanna. Here the coals are ferried across the river to the Pennsylvania canal on the west side, and the coal discharged into canal boats, being chiefly transported to Baltimore by way of the Pennsylvania and Tide water canals. The completion of the Wisconisco canal, (now in progress, 1844,) on the east side of the river, from Millersburg to the head of the Eastern division of the Pennsylvania canal, at Clark's ferry on Duncan's island, will greatly facilitate the coal trade from this

region, offering a more convenient means of transportation, and one by which the troublesome necessity of ferrying the loaded cars across the Susquehanna may be avoided.—*Trego.*

This county contains about three hundred and forty thousand acres of land; whereof, according to the best data, seventy thousand are limestone; the other portion shale and gravel, excepting the flats along the Susquehanna which are generally sandy, and the mountainous and rocky portions, the latter of which are scarce fit for cultivation. The flats or river bottoms of Londonderry, upper and lower Swatara, Susquehanna and Middle Paxton, are very rich, and highly productive, amply repaying the husband for his care bestowed upon them in a judicious course of culture. Many of these bottoms are preferred to limestone soil, yielding with more certainty, if not more abundantly. This county produces annually three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, four hundred thousand bushels of oats, two hundred thousand bushels of rye, three hundred thousand bushels of corn, one hundred thirty thousand bushels of potatoes, from twenty to twenty-five thousand tons of hay, twenty-five thousand bushels of buckwheat. By a proper course of culture and the liberal application of vegetable, animal and mineral manures, the county may soon yield double the quantity it does at present.

According to the census of 1840, there were in this county three furnaces, which produced three thousand tons of cast iron; three forges and rolling mills, and produced four hundred and sixty-six tons of bar iron; the furnaces and forges consumed five thousand, five hundred and thirty-seven tons of fuel; employed two hundred and twenty-four men, including mining operatives; capital invested, \$120,000. The furnaces and rolling mills have since increased.

There were mined or dug, eight thousand tons of anthracite coal; in which thirty men were employed; capital invested, \$150,000.

Live Stock: five thousand eight hundred and fifty-two horses and mules, seventeen thousand four hundred and twenty-nine neat cattle, fifteen thousand seven hundred and fourteen sheep, twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and seven-teen swine, poultry of all kinds estimated at \$13,784.

Cereal Grains: Two hundred and seventy-seven thousand two hundred and forty-eight bushels of wheat, one thousand nine hundred and eighty bushels of barley, three hundred and

ninety-eight thousand five hundred and forty-four bushels of oats, two hundred and two thousand seven hundred and seventy-one bushels of rye, twenty-four thousand and thirty-nine bushels of buckwheat, three hundred and seven thousand three hundred and sixty-three bushels of corn.

Various Products: Twenty-four thousand and twenty-one pounds of wool, six hundred and four pounds of hops, one thousand pounds of beeswax, one hundred twenty-five thousand and fifty-one bushels of potatoes, eighteen thousand and eight tons of hay, three tons and one-fourth of hemp and flax, gathered forty-six thousand seven hundred and thirty pounds of tobacco, three hundred and twenty-two pounds of silk cocoons, sold nine thousand and twenty-four cords of wood.

The value of the product of the dairy \$54,208, value of the products of the orchard \$18,959, one hundred and seventy-two gallons of wine were made, the value of home made or family goods \$13,330.

Value of manufactured tobacco \$5,000; eight persons employed, capital invested \$3,250. Value of hats, caps and bounnets manufactured \$118,50; nineteen persons employed, capital invested \$7,350.

Twenty tanneries, which tanned fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-five sides of sole leather, six thousand and forty-four sides of upper, employed fifty-eight hands, capital invested \$82,200. All other manufactories of leather, saddleries, &c., twenty-six; value of manufactured articles \$58,800; capital invested \$28,610. Twenty thousand pounds of soap, sixty thousand pounds of candles, capital invested \$4,500. Seventeen distilleries, which produced one hundred and forty-seven thousand gallons; four breweries, which produced four hundred sixty-six thousand nine hundred and twenty gallons. Four potteries; value of manufactured articles \$2,300, five men employed, capital invested \$850.

Value of produce of market gardens \$4,850; value of nurseries of florists \$800; twenty-six men employed, capital invested \$2,000. Three commission houses, capital \$23,500. Retail dry goods, grocery and other stores, one hundred thirty-three; capital invested \$479,110. Ten lumber yards; capital invested \$59,000; forty-seven men employed. Twenty-six butchers; capital invested \$19,400. Value of lumber produced \$1,228. Fifty barrels of tar manufactured, one man employed. Value of machinery manufactured \$2,000,

three men employed. Forty-seven small arms made.— Value of bricks and lime manufactured \$21,219; ninety-one men employed.

Nine fulling mills; six woollen manufactories; value of manufactured goods \$6,215, thirty-one persons employed, capital invested \$4,056. One paper manufactory, twelve printing offices, six binderies, eleven weekly newspapers, one hundred and thirteen men employed, capital invested \$73,500; two rope walks, value of produce \$7,000, eleven men employed, capital invested \$2,800.

Carriages and wagons manufactured \$13,185, fifty-one men employed, capital \$5,040. Twenty-nine flouring mills, which manufactured fifteen thousand four hundred and thirty-one barrels of flour; thirty-five grist mills, seventy-six saw mills, two oil mills. Value of furniture manufactured \$14,750, forty-four men employed, capital invested \$6,040. Sixteen brick and stone houses built, thirty-seven wooden houses built, employed one hundred and ninety-three hands, value of constructing or building \$72,790. Value of all manufactured articles not enumerated \$5,120, capital invested \$39,025. Total capital invested in manufactures \$357,315.

The following tables exhibit a synopsis of the census of 1830 and 1840, of each township; population, of different ages, males, females, &c.—Furnaces, forges, rolling mills, mills of various descriptions, tanneries; various kinds of products, &c., &c.

CENSUS TABLE OF DAUPHIN COUNTY OF 1840.

CENSUS OF 1840 OF DAUPHIN COUNTY.		MALES.												FEMALES.												Colored.	
		under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	90 and under 100	under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	90 and under 100		
Derry,	186	135	103	114	160	90	66	37	20	10	2	—	145	117	113	105	184	84	70	39	35	11	2	—	2	6	
Hamelstown, bor.,	43	26	27	17	58	34	17	12	1	1	0	—	39	37	16	21	51	23	20	19	9	2	0	—	1	0	
Halifax,	228	172	139	116	348	257	129	62	18	6	2	—	176	165	142	138	209	111	79	45	27	3	4	—	17	16	
Hanover,	223	218	170	143	209	139	120	77	40	21	2	—	230	203	189	143	253	150	94	7	35	20	1	—	4	6	
Harrisburg,	360	271	294	193	664	390	157	158	47	14	4	—	328	278	280	359	629	312	213	129	78	25	9	1	296	351	
Jackson,	127	96	87	62	90	61	36	21	18	9	2	—	102	100	61	54	109	55	28	24	10	2	2	—	4	4	
Londonderry,	192	139	126	102	186	102	98	40	17	15	2	—	134	139	129	127	172	98	71	43	23	3	2	—	17	13	
Lower Swatara,	117	66	71	69	131	71	49	18	13	5	0	—	95	74	66	80	127	56	40	31	10	5	0	—	31	33	
Middletown borough,	56	47	51	33	78	42	23	22	9	1	0	—	61	42	50	42	83	39	26	21	13	4	4	—	5	3	
Lower Paxton,	112	87	91	70	95	73	47	33	20	6	2	—	125	86	94	67	136	67	57	36	18	5	4	—	5	3	
Lykens,	139	98	101	100	97	76	55	16	18	1	2	—	138	110	97	77	117	62	52	31	11	9	2	—	0	0	
Middle Paxton,	159	120	76	72	143	82	57	44	22	7	1	—	114	109	85	74	149	66	51	38	24	6	5	—	24	32	
Millin,	193	119	116	97	150	92	65	21	21	5	1	—	183	142	100	84	182	85	54	39	18	6	0	—	4	4	
Rush,	19	19	15	9	28	19	5	2	6	1	0	—	24	20	10	16	23	11	4	5	4	2	1	—	1	1	
Susquehanna,	137	92	86	77	158	81	51	36	8	6	2	—	124	84	79	77	145	70	50	32	7	10	2	—	21	22	
Upper Paxton,	151	131	115	79	168	117	65	45	20	5	2	—	180	137	120	99	160	89	61	46	15	6	1	—	14	11	
Upper Swatara,	113	73	76	51	82	95	55	27	14	7	0	—	107	78	68	52	111	79	40	33	13	8	1	—	14	8	
Wisconsinco,	50	41	33	30	25	27	24	11	4	0	0	—	50	48	40	22	27	29	20	3	4	1	0	—	0	0	
Total Population,	2595	1950	1737	1534	2870	1848	1319	652	316	120	22	1	2355	1969	1739	1637	2866	1486	1030	686	334	128	36	1	453	609	

STREAMS OF THE COUNTY.

Dauphin County possesses abundance of water power.— The streams of this county are numerous. The recipient of them all is the SUSQUEHANNA, which the Indians called the *Sa-os-qua-ha-na-unk*, i. e. *Long-crooked-river*, according to Heckeweleder; and is emphatically “the river of Pennsylvania,” rises both in New York and Pennsylvania. The north eastern or greatest branch rises in the northern ridge of the Catsbergs, from the Ostego lake. The west branch rises in Cambria county. These two branches unite at Northumberland, and form a stream of 4,285 feet, the breadth of which, at Harrisburg, is 2,876 feet. It flows in a southern direction into the Chesapeake bay. It forms the entire western boundary of Dauphin county, flowing along it for a distance of about forty-eight miles. In its course along this county it embraces a number of islands, the principal of which are Duncan’s, Haldeman’s, Cox’s, Foster’s, Hill’s, Eliot’s, Shelly’s, and other islands. There are several bridges across it within the limits of this county; one at Duncan’s island and one at Harrisburg. There were two here, but on the 4th of December, 1844, the Cumberland Valley Railroad bridge was destroyed by fire—it is now rebuilding. The Susquehanna is one of the most important streams in Pennsylvania.

The scenery along this majestic river is grand—unsurpassed by any in the State, if not in the Union.

The other prominent streams are numerous, and with their several tributaries, afford much water power, of every description, to the county. These are noticed below.

The Susquehanna, as it washes the western portion of Dauphin, receives from the county the following considerable creeks, with their numerous tributaries, viz: Mahantango creek, Wisconisco creek, Armstrong creek, Powel’s creek, Clark’s creek, Swatara creek, and Conewago creek, besides some twenty smaller streams that empty into it. Some of the larger creeks receive scores of smaller streams in their course through the county.

The Mahantango creek rises in Schuylkill county, and flows west southwest, twenty-five miles into the Susquehanna river, about thirty above Harrisburg; and for twelve or thirteen

miles above its mouth, it forms the dividing line between Dauphin and Northumberland counties, and in its course along the county receives a number of smaller streams; the largest of which, is that passing through Hain's gap of the Mahantango mountain. Mahantango affords considerable water power for mills.

The Wisconisco creek rises in Schuylkill county and flows westward through Williams' and Wisconisco valleys, about sixteen miles, and empties into the Susquehanna river at Millersburg; in its course through the county it receives Bear creek, Rattling creek, Little creek, the Little Wisconisco, and several rivulets of less size. There are some ten or twelve grist mills, saw mills and factories, on the Wisconisco.

Armstrong's creek rises in the Short mountain, and has a south western course of ten or twelve miles through Armstrong valley, and empties into the Susquehanna about one mile above Halifax—it affords water for five or six mills.—Near its mouth stood fort Halifax, which had been erected by Colonel Clapham in 1756.—*See Halifax, infra.*

Powell's creek rises in Powell's valley, between Short and Peter's mountain, flowing along the base of the last mentioned mountain, receiving in its course several small tributaries, and enters the Susquehanna river opposite Duncan's island. It is a good mill stream. Its whole length is about twenty seven miles.

Clark's creek rises in Clark's valley between Peter's and the Fourth mountain, flowing down said valley, nearly equidistant between Peter's, the Fourth and the Third mountains, and falls into the Susquehanna river. Its whole course is about twenty eight miles.

Stoney creek rises south of the Fourth mountain, and flows south west, between the Second and Third mountains, in its course it receives the waters of the Cold spring, Yellow spring, Green spring, and other smaller streams, and turns several mills near its mouth, and empties into the Susquehanna at Dauphin, eight miles above Harrisburg.

Fishing creek rises near Smith's Gap, in the Blue mountain, flows south west between that mountain and the Second mountain, about ten miles into the Susquehanna, at McCallister's.

Paxton creek rises in Lower Paxton township, at the base of the Blue mountain four miles north of Linglestown,

whence it receives several branches, and flows west into the centre of Susquehanna township, thence running south, it passes the borough of Harrisburg, into Swatara township, and unites with the Susquehanna two miles below the borough. It turns three or four miles before it enters the first alluvial flats.

Spring creek rises in Lower Paxton township, flows south into Susquehanna township, thence running south west through Swatara township, it falls into the Susquehanna about one third of a mile below the mouth of Paxton creek. It turns several miles.

Swatara creek rises in Schuylkill county on the south side of the Broad mountain, in its course towards its recipient it receives the Little Swatara, Quitapahilla creek, and many small streams, before it enters Dauphin county; in its course through this county, for a distance of eighteen or twenty miles, it receives, on the north, Bow run, Manady creek, Yellow run, Beaver creek and several smaller streams; on the south, Spring creek, L. Mine run and other small streams. It falls into the Susquehanna river at Portsmouth. Its comparative course is between fifty and sixty miles. The valley of this stream, as far as the Quitapahilla, forms the channel of the Union canal.

Bow run rises in West Hanover township, about two miles north west of Hanover church, flows south, about six miles, and falls into Swatara creek, affording water to one or two grist mills.

Manady creek rises north of the Blue mountain; its east branch rises in Lebanon county; its west branch near the Second mountain, a few miles north of Smith's gap—the two branches unite and pass through Manady gap, and the creek in its course south through West Hanover township, receives Walnut run on the west, and several small streams on the east, and falls into the Swatara. It is a good mill stream. Its entire course is about thirteen miles.

Yellow run is a small stream that rises in a southern part of West Hanover, and flows south into the Swatara.

Beaver creek rises on the south side of the Blue mountain, and about a mile west of Smith's gap; flowing a southern direction, it receives in a course of ten miles, ten or twelve small tributaries. It falls into the Swatara, a few miles west of Hummelstown.

Spring creek (there are two streams of this name in this county) rises in Londonderry township, Lebanon county, enters Londonderry of this county, flows a northwestern course through the township, and falls into the Swatara. It is not more than five miles long, but has several mills and a forge on it.

L. Mine run rises near the "Round Top," in Derry township, and empties into the Swatara.

Conewago creek rises in Londonderry township, Lebanon county, and flows southwest along the north base of the Conewago hills to the Susquehanna river, at the village of Falmouth, Lancaster, forming the boundary between Lancaster and Dauphin counties, having a course of about twenty-two miles.

These streams afford abundant water power to mills, &c., viz.: to some thirty flouring mills, forty grist mills, between seventy and eighty saw mills, clover mills, forges, furnaces, &c., &c.

The public improvements, such as canals, railroads and turnpike roads, passing through this county in various directions are numerous. The Union canal, made by a company, which was incorporated in 1811, passes through this county, following the Swatara creek for a distance of twenty miles, and connects with the state canal at Portsmouth, on the Susquehanna.

The Pennsylvania canal extends along the Susquehanna river from the southern extremity of this county to Duncan's island, sixteen miles above Harrisburg, where it crosses the river. The Wisconisco canal, commenced a few years ago, abandoned for a short time, but now drawing towards completion, extends from Clark's ferry to Millersburg, at the mouth of Wisconisco creek, a distance of twelve miles.— This canal when completed will afford great facilities to transport the immense quantities of coals from the northern portion of the county.

The Lyken's valley rail road, a single track of flat rails, is for the transportation of coal from the mines at Bear gap to the Susquehanna at Millersburg, a distance of sixteen miles.

The Williams valley road, it is anticipated, will, before many years be in operation.

The Harrisburg and Lancaster rail road extends from

Harrisburg to Dillerville, near Lancaster city, where it connects with the Philadelphia and Columbia rail road. The Cumberland valley railroad, crossing the Susquehanna river, passes through the borough of Harrisburg and connects with the Harrisburg and Lancaster rail road.

There are turnpike roads leading from Harrisburg in various directions; three leading from the Capitol to Philadelphia; one by way of Reading; one by way of Ephrata and Downingstown; one through the city of Lancaster. There are two turnpikes from Harrisburg to Pittsburg; one by the southern route through Carlisle; the other by the northern route, up the Susquehanna, crossing at Duncan's island, thence up the Juniata, &c. There is also a turnpike road from Harrisburg to Baltimore, through Middletown and York. Another to York, down the west side of the Susquehanna. These, and the common roads, with some exceptions, are kept in good order.

Several fine bridges extend across the Susquehanna and other streams of the county. Two at Harrisburg; the one built in 1812 to 1817, by a company, in which the State was a stockholder to the amount of \$90,000, but since sold her interest. The bridge and toll houses cost \$192,138.00.— See Article *Harrisburg* for an interesting sketch of this bridge.

The other erected by the Cumberland Valley Railroad Company; at a cost of \$95,000.00, was destroyed by fire in December 1844; but is now (September 1845) rebuilding, and it is anticipated to be passable by August 1846.

The third is at Duncan's island or Clark's ferry, built by the State, having a tow path attached to the south side for the purpose of drawing canal boats across the river at that place.

CHAPTER XVII.

DAUPHIN COUNTY—HARRIS SETTLED AT PEIXTAN OR PESH-TANK, &c.

John Harris settled at Peixtan—Indian towns—Gov. Evans and others at Peixtan, in 1707, and apprehend one Nicole—Harris traded extensively with the Indians—Harris paid attention to agriculture. According to tradition, some Indians attempted to burn the elder Harris. Harris attempted to improve lands at Choniata—Harris died, 1748—The Penn's made Harris an offer for a large tract of land—Anecdotes of Esther Harris—Incident illustrative of the Indian character—Harris's Ferry a celebrated place—Harris an active patriot—Bears seen in the river near Harrisburg by Robert Harris, now living—Wild turkeys abundant about Harris's in 1777–1785—Indians encamped near Elder's mill—Harrisburg sickly in 1793—Landis's mill the cause of it—Mill-dam removed; mill purchased, &c.—Graydon, in his memoirs, alludes to the sickness that prevailed—Old houses—Rev. Montgomery—Chief Justice McKean—General Washington's head quarters in 1794—Extract from the court Records—Names of the first jury—Harris's Ferry changed to Lewisburg—Seat of government, &c.—Miscellaneous facts, &c., &c.

The first settlement, within the limits of Dauphin, chiefly consisted of emigrants from the north of Ireland and Scotland, who commenced the improvement of farms prior to 1719 or 1720; for, it is evident, from authentic sources, that the Presbyterians organized the Paxton church and Derry church in 1720.* If tradition may, in this case, be relied on, John Harris, a native Yorkshire, who, it is said, was the first settler of the Conewago hills, must have commenced a settlement at or near the present site of Harrisburg, prior to 1719.

The following, from the pen of George Washington, Harris, Esq., a great-grand-son of John Harris of Yorkshire, appeared a few years ago in "Mr. Napey's Harrisburg Bu-

* See Harrisburg. Presbyterian church, *infra*.

business Directory, to which some intercalated and foot notes are added.

"The first John Harris is said to have been a native of Yorkshire, England. He was a middle aged man when he immigrated to America, and he first settled in Philadelphia. He was there married to Esther Say, an English lady, and who was a woman of rather extraordinary energy and capacity.

They first moved to Chester county; thence to, or near the mouth of Conoy creek, on the Susquehanna, about the present site of Bainbridge, in Lancaster county, and finally to the present site of Harrisburg. At this place was born, about the year 1726, his son, John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, and who, it is said, to have been "*the first white child born in Pennsylvania, west of the Conewago hills.*"

About the time of the settlement of John Harris, at (Peixtan) Harrisburg, Indian Towns were existing near to Squire Will's stone house, (in Cumberland county) opposite Harrisburg, and at the mouth of the Conedoguinnett and Yellow Breeches creeks. There had been one on the low ground on the river, about the lower line of Harrisburg, and another at the mouth of Paxton creek. These two last are supposed to have been abandoned at the time of making his settlement. The Indians, who resided in this neighborhood, were of the *Six Nations*;* and, it is said, that at one time, by firing a

* *Six Nations.* Passing by the traditions touching the former residence of the several Indian Nations, prior to their "Union," I would remark, that the great western confederacy of Indian Nations, has generally been styled by the French, *Iroquois*, (*Les Iroquois sont partager en cinq cantons, savoir les Tsonontouans, les Goyogoans, les Onnotagues, les Onoyants, et les Agnies*), generally at first called "The Five Nations," afterward "The Six Nations."

The *Mohawks* are said to be the oldest of the confederacy, and that the *Onoyants*, or *Oneidas*, joined first with the *Mohawks*; the *Onnotagues*, or *Onondagos* were the next; then the *Tsonontouans*, or *Senecas*, (*Sinkers*;) then the *Goyogoans*, or *Cayugas*. The *Tuscaroras*, from Carolina, placed themselves under the protection of the *Five Nations*, in 1713 or 1714, but were not formally admitted till above 1723 or 1723. The *Six Nations* called themselves by the name of *Aquannachioni*, i. e. "*United People*."

The *Shawanese*, who lived on the West Branch of the *Susquehanna* and in Cumberland county, were not of the confederacy, but were called brothers by them; nevertheless, they looked upon them as inferiors. They occupied, says Drake, before the French wars, a great extent of country, some of their towns being eighty miles asunder.

gun, six or seven hundred warriors could be assembled at the present site of Harrisburg.

The Indian village was called *Peixtan*, as appears from the following extract from the Provincial Records. And from it, we also learn, that the Honorable John Evans, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, accompanied by Messrs. John French, William Tonge, Michel Bezaillion, one Mr. Grey, and four servants, visited *Peixtan*, in June, 1707.

On Tuesday, the 1st July, 1707, we went to Conestogo and lay there that night, and the next morning proceeded on our journey, and arrived in the evening within three miles of an Indian village, called *Peixtan*. The governor had received information at Pequehan, that one Nicole, a French Indian trader, was at that place, against whom great complaints had been made to the governor, of which he acquainted the Chief Indian at *Peixtan*, as also of his design to seize him; who willingly agreed to it; but advised the governor to be very cautious in the manner: there being only young people at home, who, perhaps might make some resistance, if it were done without their being first told of it; for this reason we lay short of the village that night; but early in the morning, we went within a half a mile of the town, and leaving our horses, marched a foot near the same; from whence the governor sent Martine to the village; ordering him to tell Nicole that he had brought two caggs of rum with him, which he had left in the woods, for fear any christians were there; and withal to persuade Nicole to go with him and taste the rum. Martine returned with James Letort and Joseph Jessop, two Indian traders, but could not prevail with Nicole; upon which Martine was sent back, with orders to bring down some Indians, and Nicole with them—then we drew nearer to town, and laid ourselves in the bushes, and Martine returned with two Indians, whom the governor acquainted with his intent of taking Nicole, telling at the same time, he had spoken with the uncle of one of them upon that head, who ordered the Indians to submit to the governor's commands, with which they were contented, tho' we perceived too well the contrary, by their inquiring how many we were, and how armed; and the concern they seemed to be in, when they found we were more men in number than they: but still Nicole was wanting; it was there-

fore, resolved to try once more if he could be got into the woods; accordingly Martine went again to the place and brought Nicole where we lay concealed, and asking him to drink a dram, he seized him; but Nicole started from him, and run for it, when immediately we started out and took him, and presently carried him to the village (Peixtan) through which we were obliged to pass; and there we found some Indians, with guns in their hands, who looked much displeased at what we had done; but being in readiness against any surprise, they thought it not fit to attempt any thing. Here we staid about half an hour, and then parted for Turpyhocken—having mounted Nicole on a horse, and tied his legs under the belly, we got within a mile of Turpyhocken at about two of the clock. On Friday morning, about seven, the governor went to the town, from thence we went to Manatawny that night, and the next day to Philadelphia.—*Colonial Records*, ii. p. 404, '5.

“John Harris fixed his habitation on the bank of the river, below the grave yard, and he dug the well now existing there. About twenty years ago the cellar of one of his buildings was visible. He traded extensively with the Indians, and had connected with his house, a large range of sheds, which were sometimes literally filled with skins and furs, mostly obtained by him in traffic with the Indians, and stored there by the Indian traders, who brought them from the western country. These skins and furs were carried, at an early day, on pack horses to Philadelphia. John Harris experienced much difficulty at his first settlement, as his supplies could not be had nearer than Philadelphia, and had thence to be transported on pack horses to his place of residence.

“His attention, however, was not confined to trading with the Indians; he engaged extensively in agriculture, and from the statement of old Parson Elder to William Maclay, ‘*he was the first person who introduced the plough on the Susquehanna.*’

“An incident in his life has excited considerable interest, and been the subject of much inquiry:

“On one occasion, a band of Indians, who had been down the river, or as is said, to the East, on a trading excursion, came to his house. Some, or most of them, were intoxicated. They asked for *lum*, meaning West India rum, as the modern whiskey was not then manufactured in Pennsylvania.—

Seeing they were already intoxicated, he feared mischief, if he gave them more; and he refused. They became enraged and seized and tied him to the mulberry tree to burn him.—Whilst they were proceeding to execute their purpose, he was released, after a struggle, by other Indians of the neighborhood, who generally came across the river. How the alarm was given to them, whether by firing a gun or otherwise, or by whom, is not now certainly known. In remembrance of this event, he afterwards directed that on his death, he should be buried under the mulberry tree, which had been the scene of this adventure. Part of the trunk of this tree is still standing. It is ten feet up to the lowest limb, and the stump is eleven feet, six inches in circumference. The writer (G. W. Harris,) of this has eaten mulberries from this tree, which was one of the largest of its species.”

It would appear that John Harris had commenced clearing a plantation to carry on trade at the mouth of *Choniata* (Juniata river) prior to 1732 or 1733. June 19, 1733, at a council held at Philadelphia, *Shickalamy*, a chief, by Conrad Weiser, as interpreter, asked whether the Proprietor had heard of a letter which he and *Sassoonan* sent to John Harris, to desire him to desist from making a plantation at the mouth of *Choniata*, where Harris has built a house and is clearing fields.

They were told that Harris had only built that house for carrying on his trade; that his plantation, on which he has houses, barns, &c., at Pextang, is his place of dwelling, and it is not to be supposed he will remove from thence; that he has no warrant or order for making a settlement on *Choniata*.

*Shekallamy** said that though Harris may have built a house for the conveniency of his trade, yet he ought not to clear fields. To this it was answered, that Harris had probably cleared as much land only as would be sufficient to raise corn for his horses. *Shekallamy* said he had no ill will to John Harris, it was not his custom to bear ill will, but he

* *Shekallamy* was an Indian of much consequence among the Five Nations. He was the father of the celebrated Logan. It appears he was a Cayuga sachem, and styled by *Loekiel*, “first magistrate and head chief of all the Iroquois Indians living on the banks of the Susquehanna, as far as Onondago. He died at Shamokin, his residence, in 1749. He had been a great friend to Moravian missionaries.

is afraid that the warriors of the Six Nations, when they pass that way, may take it ill to see a settlement made on lands which they had always desired to be kept free from any person settling on. He was told, in answer, that care should be taken to give the necessary orders in it.—*Col. Rec. iii.*, p. 541.

“John Harris died about the year 1748, and was buried where he had directed—under the shade of his own memorable tree; and there his remains still repose, with those of some of his children. The title to the grave yard, to the extent of fifteen feet square, is secured by conveyance from the Commissioners who laid out the town. The Deed is recorded in book A. in the Recorder's office at Harrisburg.—In the words of Parson Elder, who knew him well, “he was as honest a man as ever broke bread.”

“It may be curious now to know that John Harris was once offered by the Penns, all of the land from the river to Silver Spring, and extending across the Cumberland Valley, from mountain to mountain, for £5,000. He offered £3,000 refused to give more. At his death he owned about nine hundred acres of land, including the present site of Harrisburg and Maclaysburg, and extending down to the upper line of Fulton's place—also, two hundred acres on the opposite shore from Harrisburg, now owned by Messrs. Hummel and Lebkicher and including the Ferry, and Gen. Simpson's place below Yellow Breeches, extending to the South mountain, and including Shriners Island; and seven or eight hundred acres at the mouth of Conedoguinnett creek on the upper side, where the old Indian town had once been.

“Of Esther, the wife of John Harris, several anecdotes are told which establish her promptness and energy of character.

“The Mansion House, situated on the river bank, as before mentioned, was surrounded by a stockade for security against the Indians. An English officer was one night at the house, when by accident the gate of the stockade was left unfastened. The officer, clothed in his regimentals, was seated with Mr. Harris and his wife at the table. An Indian entered the gate of the stockade and thrust his rifle through one of the port holes of the house, and it is supposed pointed it at the officer. The night being damp, the gun simply *flashed*. Instantly Mrs. Harris blew out the candle, to prevent the Indian aiming a second time, and he retreated.

"It has been observed that John Harris kept articles for trade with the Indians. At one period Mrs. Harris had an Irish girl in her employ. On one occasion, she was sent up stairs for some purpose, and she took with her a piece of lighted candle without a candlestick. The girl soon came down without the candle, and on Mrs. H. asking what she had done with it, she said she had stuck it into the barrel of *flaxseed*. This, however, happened to be a barrel of *powder*. Mrs. Harris instantly rose, and without saying a word, for fear of alarming the girl, went up stairs, and advancing to the barrel, cautiously placed her hands under the candle and lifted it out—and then coolly reproved the girl for her carelessness. These occurrences prove her to have been well fitted for the life of a pioneer.

"An incident is related to have happened at the present site of Harrisburg, which is highly illustrative of the Indian character and superstition:

"A party of Indians from the Susquehanna went off on a war or predatory excursion against the Southern Indians. In the course of the expedition, a hostile Indian was killed, and one of his relatives determined on revenge. He is said to have come from the Catawba in South Carolina. He came alone, and eventually reached the bank of the river opposite to the present site of Harrisburg. He there secreted himself, to observe the fording place, and watching an opportunity of glutting his revenge. Having observed the ford below the Island, he one night crossed the river, and cautiously approached the Indian Town, a short distance below. As he advanced a dog barked, and an aged squaw came to the door of one of the wigwams to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. The Indian leaped forward and sinking his hatchet into her brain, drew his knife and scalped her; then raising the war whoop, he ran to the river, leaped into a canoe, and made across the river. The Town was aroused and the warriors gave chase; but, though closely pursued, it is said he escaped, and bore away in triumph the bloody trophy, the evidence of his courage and barbarity.

"John Harris, the Founder of Harrisburg, died July 29th, 1791, and is buried in the grave-yard of Paxton church. He was about 65 years of age, and was consequently born, at least as early as 1726.

"Under the will of his father, and by purchase, he became

the owner of seven hundred acres of land, on a part of which Harrisburg is now laid out. It extended up to the lower line of Maclaysburg. He was an active, energetic and industrious man. He farmed extensively, and also traded with the whites and Indians, for skins and furs; and his son, the present Robert Harris, has seen ten or a dozen wagon loads of skins and furs in his father's storehouse, belonging to him and to Indian traders. In his time Harris' Ferry became a celebrated place. It is said to have been so well known in Ireland, England and Germany, that letters were directed from those countries "to the care of John Harris, Harris' Ferry, N. America." He was successful in business, and had an extensive acquaintance throughout Pennsylvania.

"He had strong faith in the advantages of the position of his property here. It is said that twenty or more years before the Town was laid out, he observed to a gentleman, Mr. Hollenback, who afterwards settled at Wilkesbarre, that this place would become the centre of business in this section of country, and would be the *Seat of Government of Pennsylvania*.

"When the Town was laid out in 1785, he conveyed, with other property, to the Commissioners, for laying out the Town, viz: Jacob Awl, Joshua Elder, Andrew Stewart, James Cowden, and William Brown, the four acres of ground on Capitol Hill, to the east of the present State buildings, 'in trust for public use, and such public purposes as the Legislature shall hereafter direct.'

"That he was patriotic, the following incident will establish:

"When Independence was agitated, he thought the Declaration premature. He feared that the Colonies were unequal to the task of combating with Great Britain; but when Independence was declared, the present Robert Harris observes, that his Father took his Mother aside, and in the presence of his son, read to her the Declaration from a Philadelphia newspaper. When he concluded it, he observed, 'that the act was now done, and that we must take sides, either for or against the country. The war in which we are about to engage, cannot be carried on without money. Now, we have £3,000 in the house, and if you are agreed, I will take the money to Philadelphia and put it into the Public Treasury to carry on the war. If we succeed in obtaining

our Independence, we may lose the money, as the Government may not be able to pay it back, but we will get our land.' She agreed and he carried the money to Philadelphia and deposited it in the Treasury, and took certificates. After the war, he sold these certificates for 17s. 6d. in the pound. After the debt was funded, certificates rose to twenty-five shillings for the pound.

"The law erecting Dauphin county and declaring Harris' Ferry the seat of Justice, was passed 4th March, 1785.

"The Town of Harrisburg was laid out in the Spring of the same year. William Maclay,* who was the son-in-law of John Harris, laid out the Town and made the draft of the plan and drew the various conveyances from John Harris to the Commissioners.

"The *Ice-flood* happened in the winter of 1784-5, and the *Pumpkin-flood* in the fall of 1787. During the Ice-flood, the low ground about the grave yard was covered with water, and the Ferry-flats were tied to the bars of the cellar windows of the Stone House. On that occasion, the water rose into the first story of Judge Carson's house, above Harrisburg, and a considerable part of the river ran around that house and down Paxton creek. The fences on its route were generally carried away. During the Pumpkin-flood, the ground about the grave yard was also covered with water, and the pumpkins carried off chiefly from the Yankces in Wyoming Valley, were strewed in profusion over the low ground below Harrisburg.

"The bricks of Judge Carson's house were made in its neighborhood, but the shingles and boards used in its construction, were brought from Philadelphia.

"When the Town was laid out, the old orchard extended up to about the line of Mulberry street, and down to near the stone house. About the intersection of Mulberry and Second streets, was a ridge, from which the ground descended from six to ten feet to the present Market Square, and the water ran from the Square upwards and into the river, along the channel which is under the bridge, now erected across Front street above Walnut street. When the Town was laid out, the ground above Market street was chiefly in woods.

* William Maclay with Robert Morris, afterwards represented Pennsylvania, in the *first* Senate of the U. States, under the Constitution.

"The present Robert Harris has frequently seen several bears killed in the river in one day. In the fall of the year they would come down from the mountains to the corn fields, and were quite abundant in the neighborhood. It was quite common to see them whilst riding along the roads. In the year preceding the Revolution, they abounded more than usual in this neighborhood. The farmers when going out to plough, would frequently take their guns to guard against their depredations.

"When Robert Harris and Mrs. Hanna were children, they were one day playing at the river at the mouth of the run, at the end of Walnut street. A thicket of bushes extended up along the run. Some boys came running from the barn on the bank, and called to them that two bears were coming down the run. They scampered up the bank, and presently the bears came along and took into the river.

"This occurrence is trifling in itself, but may be considered interesting as having occurred on the site of the present Capitol of the State.

"On one occasion, a man named Rennox, with some others, went out on the river in a canoe in pursuit of a bear. When the canoe approached near to it, Rennox made a stroke at the bear with his socket pole, but missed it. He either lost his balance, or was drawn overboard by the weight of the pole, and the bear struck him with his paw, and tore his cheek open.

"Wild Turkeys were also abundant about Harrisburg during the revolution and after it. Mrs. Hanna has seen her father John Harris, shoot wild turkeys from the door of his stone house. Beaver and Otter were then and afterwards, killed along Paxton creek and on the Islands in the neighborhood. Otters were, however, more abundant than Beaver, and were very plenty.

"On one occasion, a party of Indians came down the river to murder the people of this settlement. They formed a camp in a thicket, back of Mr. Elker's mill dam. They designed falling on the people when at worship in Paxton church. They are supposed to have come on Monday, and after waiting several days, they came to the conclusion that the congregation would not assemble, and they went off.— They left the settlement by the way of Indian-town-gap.— On their way off, they murdered several persons and took a

prisoner, from whom it was afterwards ascertained that they had been encamped here several days. The late Joshua Elder has seen the encampment. The people of the Congregation before and afterwards came to the church armed; and Mr. Elder, the pastor, also carried his gun into the pulpit.—Mr. Elder was pastor of that church when it was built, about 106 years ago, and preached to that congregation, and in the Derry church, upwards of sixty years. He was Col. of the Paxton Rangers, whose duty it was to keep a look out for the Indians, and range the settlements for their protection, from the Blue mountain to the river.

“The late Judge Bucher’s father,* who was a clergyman in Lebanon, was also a Colonel in the same kind of service.

“Parson Elder wore a small cocked hat, and such were usually worn by clergymen in this day.

- “About the year 1793, Harrisburg was exceedingly sickly. A fever of a violent character prevailed, especially amongst the new settlers or foreigners. At the same time the yellow fever was prevailing in Philadelphia, and fears were entertained of its introduction into Harrisburg. A patrol was accordingly established at the lower end of the Town, to prevent infected persons from Philadelphia coming into it. A considerable number of Irish emigrants died, and some of the citizens; but most families of the place were to some extent afflicted. A mill dam owned by two men named Landis, was generally thought to be the cause of this sickness.—The citizens, after various meetings, resolved in March, 1795, on its removal, and a subscription was set on foot to raise money to pay the Landis’ for the property. The site of the mill, dam and race had been bought from John Harris. His heirs, David Harris, Robert Harris, William Macclay and John A. Hanna, paid \$1,600, the purchase money, or perhaps something more than the amount, which the Landis’ had paid for the property, and the citizens generally contri-

* The Rev. John Conrad Bucher was a native Swiss—came to America in 1755, took up his abode at Carlisle—was commissioned as a Lieutenant, April 19, 1760—promoted to a captaincy of the Pennsylvania Regiment of foot, July 31, 1764. A more indefatigable minister of the gospel, never labored in the German Reformed Church, than the Rev. Bucher. He was one of the most devoted ministers of the day; truly apostolic in all his labors. He was a shining light, consuming itself, as it illuminated others by its splendor. He died, August 16, 1780—and is buried at Lebanon.—*Compiler.*

buted in addition. The money raised was tendered to the Landis', who refused it. The citizens then prepared for the forcible removal of the dam, and the Landis' threatened to use force to prevent it. The citizens accordingly marched in a body to the dam, on a cold snowy day in March. The owners were there with several men, armed with guns, threatening to fire. The citizens, however, advanced into the water, and the dam was soon demolished. The Landis' threatened suit, and the citizens handed to them a list of several hundred names to be sued; but, the proprietors finally took the money.*

"Moses Gilmore, Stacy Potts, Capt. John Sawyers, Adam Boyd, Robert Harris, John Kean, Samuel Weir, Gen. John A. Hanna, Alexander and Samuel Berryhill, and many others, were active in the above proceedings.

"It may be remarked that some citizens of Harrisburg, who refused to contribute to the subscription, were obliged to leave the place. No violence was offered to them, but no one would employ them in their several pursuits, and they at length went elsewhere.

"The mill was erected about one quarter of a mile below Harrisburg—about as low down as the white house, which is situate on the old mill road and the canal; and the race extended up along or nearly along the present route of the Pennsylvania canal, to a lane which ran across to the Hill, about the upper line of Mr. Dowding's brick yard lot, where the dam was erected.

"The Town as laid out by John Harris, extended as far down the bank as Mulberry street, and the lot belonging to the late Valentine Egle, on the upper corner of Front street and Mulberry street, was numbered one on the plan of the Town. In the course of one, two or three years afterwards, he extended the plan as low down as Mary's Alley, which bounds the stone house lot on the upper side. His executors in 1792, extended the plan of lots further down.

"There is no house, except the stone house, now standing within the present limits of Harrisburg, which is certainly known to have been erected before the Town was laid out. The log house, erected in the rear of Hise's brewery, on

* See the Notes, Remarks, &c., at the conclusion of this Chapter—(xvii.)

Front street, was built about the time the Town was laid out; but whether it was begun before that time, is not recollected.

"John Hamilton erected the first permanent embellishment to the Town, after Harris' stone house, by building the brick house on the corner of Front street and Blackberry Alley; and also, the large establishment for his store, on the corner of Market Square and Market streets, now known as the "Washington Hotel." He was an extensive trader. In place of the present rapid modes of conveying merchandize and passengers to Pittsburg, he kept large numbers of horses and mules, and every few weeks his caravans set out "for the west," laden with salt, powder, lead, &c.

"The first Clergyman established in Harrisburg, was the Rev. Mr. Montgomery, a Presbyterian. His first discourse, we have heard, was delivered in the lot on which the Presbyterian church is now erected, on a pleasant afternoon in June. The congregation—the whole Village—were sheltered by two or three large apple trees, and some noble oaks, the primitive growth of the forest.

"Chief Justice M'Kean, resided here for some time, at least while Congress sat at York. He lived in a substantial one-story log house, a short space above what is now Locust street. He wore an immense cocked hat, and had great deference shown him by the country people, and the straggling Indians who had their village on what is now M'Kees' place. This was in 1778-'79; after the country quieted, when he and the other Judges of the Supreme Court came to Harrisburg to hold a court, numbers of the citizens of the place would go out on horseback to meet them and escort them to Town. Sometimes one or two hundred people would attend for the purpose. The Sheriff with his rod of office, and other public officers, and the Bar, would attend on the occasion—and each morning, whilst the Chief Justice was in Town, holding court, the Sheriff and Constables escorted him from his lodgings to the Court Room.

"The Chief Justice, when on the Bench, sat with his hat on, and was dressed in a scarlet gown.

"Gen. Washington's head quarters, while at Harris' Ferry, on the Western expedition, were in a small frame house, which stood until the last few years, at the corner of Vine and Paxton streets.

"The writer of this has heard his grandmother say, that the whole extent of country, from the west bank of the Susquehanna to Carlisle, and beyond, was without timber upon it, when she was young. That the centre of the Valley had not a tree to be seen on its surface from the South to the Blue mountain. Now it is called a well timbered country.

"The building in which the first Court was held still stands—the dilapidated log house in the rear of what was Hise's brewery. The Courts were afterwards held in the log house erected on the east or lower side of Market street, on the corner of Market street and Dewberry Alley, which is nearest to the river.

"The earliest record of a Court reads:—At a Court of Quarter Sessions holden near Harris' Ferry, in and for the county of Dauphin," &c., on the "Third Tuesday of May, in the year of your Lord 1785," before "Timothy Green, Samuel Jones, and Jonathan M'Clure, Esq's., Justices of the same Court."

"The Sheriff of Lancaster County exercised the same office for this, then, new county.

"The names of the Jurymen were :

"James Cowden, (Foreman,) Robert Montgomery, John Gilchrist, Barefoot Brunson, John Clark, Rowan M'Clure, John Carson, John Wilson, William Crane, Archibald M'Alister, Richard Dixon, John Pattimore, James Crouck, Jacob Awl, William Brown, Andrew Stewart, James Rogers, Samuel Stewart, John Cooper, Alexander Berryhill.

"Joshua Elder was the first Prothonotary; Anthony Kelker the first Sheriff; Rudolph Kelker Deputy Sheriff.

"On the juries for the next three or four terms, we recognize the names of many of the ancestors of our present citizens—the Cox's—the Keller's—Krause's—Hamilton's—Forster's—Bucher's—Elder's—Rutherford's—Orth's—the Fox's, &c.

"The earliest record of a punishment is the account of one inflicted on Wm. Courtenay and Jesse Rowland, who were sentenced to receive eighteen lashes and pay fifteen shillings sterling, on the 18th of August 1785, between "the hours of four and six o'clock in the afternoon." Several records occur in which punishment was inflicted by lashes and "standing in the pillory."

"At the August sessions of 1786, we find noted, that the

name of the Town had been changed from Harris' Ferry to Louisburg, by "order of the Supreme Executive Council." At what time it was changed back again, we can find no note.

"The law for locating the Seat of Government at this place, was approved 21st February, 1810. The offices were removed from Lancaster 12th October, 1812, and the Commissioners for the purpose were, Robert Harris, George Hoyer, George Zeigler.

"The Town of Harrisburg, auspiciously begun, has steadily advanced. The prophecy of John Harris has been fulfilled, and it is now the Seat of Government of Pennsylvania."

LANDIS'S MILL.

NOTES, REMARKS, &c., SEE PAGE 234.

April 16th, 1790, John Harris sold to Peter, John and Abraham Landis a mill seat, the privileges of a dam and mill race, containing three acres of land: subsequently, they purchased a small piece of land from Gen. John A. Hanna, in addition to that purchased from Mr. Harris, whereupon they erected a mill, &c. In 1792, in autumn, the sickness alluded to before, commenced. May 9, 1794, the Landis's proposed to the citizens of the borough of Harrisburg, to sell them the mill and all the other privileges belonging thereto, for the sum of £2600: the first payment of £1600 to be paid in wheat; whereof £530 belonged to the estate of John Harris, deceased. The balance was to be paid as follows, viz: £500 May 1st, 1765, with interest from date: £500 May 1st, 1796. The Landis's, in this proposition, reserved the house and lot for one year.

In the fall of 1793 and 1794, the fever was of a very malignant character. The citizens of the borough entered upon decisive measures for the speedy removal of what they conceived as the cause of the epidemic. Meetings were held,

committees appointed, funds were raised and tendered to the Landis's, the mill dam removed, the mill purchased, &c., as will appear from the following extracts from papers, kindly furnished me by Judge J. C. BUCHER, procured by Mr. R. F. Kelker.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Borough of Harrisburg, on the 16th day of January, 1795, it was unanimously agreed, that two thousand and six hundred pounds be immediately assessed on the property of the citizens of the said Borough; that one thousand and six hundred pounds of the said sum be collected on or before the first day of March next; that the remaining one thousand pounds be secured to be paid with interest, in two equal annual instalments, and that the whole (to wit, the sixteen hundred pounds in cash, and the residue in bonds,) be tendered to Peter & Abraham Landis, or either of them, proprietors of the mills and other waterworks, with the appurtenances thereto belong; near the Borough aforesaid, as a full compensation for their property in the same: and, that in case they refuse to accept the said sum as a full compensation for the said mill with the appurtenances; that then we unanimously agree to prostrate the dam erected on the waters on Paxton creek, for the purpose of conveying water to said mill, and pay our proportionable parts of all legal expenses and damages, that may accrue on any suit or suits, indictment or indictments, that may be brought or prosecuted in consequence of such act or acts.

Witness our hands and date aforesaid.

W. Graydon, Galb. Patterson, John Wyeth, Samuel Weir, Robert Harris, J. Bucher, Henry Baeder, Frederick Youse, G. Fisher, Stacy Potts, Alex. Berryhill, Wm. Wallace, Geo. Ziegler, Michael Kapp, jr., Patrick Murray, John Hocker, Thomas Murray, John Norton, Jacob Zollinger, Irwin and Howard, George Hoyer, Tho. Forster, George Pfeffer, Adam Boyd, Valentine Horter, Anthony Riehl, William Ingram, Christian Ewig, John Benner, John Pool, jr., Joseph Bener, Jacob Wain, Balthazer Sees, Christopher Suesz, Charles Miller, Thomas Bennet, Henry Isett, Thomas Gregg, Lawrence Bennetch, William Glass, John Balszle, Johannes Zinn, Henrich Ruthrauff, George Waltz, Herman Anthony Leyer, John Shields, George Frittle, John Weir, John Dentzel, Andrew Forrest, John Heisz, Archibald McAlister, John Hoge, Benjamin Fenton, Anthony Seyfert, Samuel Hill, Hugh Ste-

phen, William Mears, Christian Kunkle, Simon Schneider, Jacob Schneider, Jacob Reitzel, Henry Saylor, Tobias Seyboth, George Youse, John Shock, John Gillum, Moses Gilmer, James Duncan, Jacob Youse, Alexander Cummins, John Cummins, Andrew Armstrong, Conrad Bombach, Michael Kapp, John Gilchrist, J. Montgomery, Peter Graybill, (?) John A. Hanna, Philip Brindle, Jacob Welshance, James Sayers, William Graydon, Gawin J. Beatty, John Romjeau, Peter Fahnestock, B. Kurtz, Geo. Wiltberger, John Ebbert, Samuel Berryhill, Andrew Ream, Robert Barr, Adam Hooker, Simon Wingert, John Dralley, George Hatz, Mathias Hutman, Peter Walter, Peter Denig, Edward Burke, J. Kean.

We, the subscribers, do promise to pay the sums annexed to our names, to Conrad Bumbaugh, Esq., as a *gratuity* towards paying the expense of the purchase, or the reduction of the mill dam on Paxton creek, next the Borough of Harrisburg, and that when called upon. Witness our hands, Jan. 21, 1795.

William Crabb \$20, Maj. Swiney 15, George Whitehill 10 Jacob Burckhart 8, George Reitzel 6, Solomon Markel 4, John Peiffer 16, Anthony Seyfert 10, John Maclay 20, Samuel Elder 6, Nathaniel R. Snowden 15, Peter Reitzel 4, Benjamin Hunt 10, Jacob Fridley 2, John Patterson 4, John Gilchrist 6, Joseph Wiegley 8, John Spangler 8, Thomas Gregg 10, Thomas Dickey 2, Mordecai McKinney 4, Samuel Awl 4, Irwin & Howard 12, William Patterson 4, John McFarland 4, Anthony Kelker 2, Robert Boal 2, Edward Crouch 2, William Stewart 2, Samuel Finney 2, John Weidman 2, James Byers 2, John Martin 1, Peter Lein 1, Simon Basler 1, George Lutz 50 cents., William Krebs 1, Jacob Ziegler 1, Jacob Fetter 1, William Porter 2, C. B. 1, Peter Bobe 1, Christian Walborn 1, Thomas Trousdale 1, William Allen 2, Robert Freckelton 2, Jacob Houck 6, Charles Rowen 2,33 cts., Rudolph Kelker 4, James Reed 1.

At a meeting of the committee of seven appointed to superintend, and direct the appropriation of the monies raised for the demolition of the mill dam, and for the further removing the nuisance in Paxton creek, April 8th 1795.

At Brindles—present, Potts, Gilmore, Berryhill, W. Graydon, Dentzell, Bucher, Kean.

John Kean was appointed Secretary and Treasurer—Or-

dered that the treasurer take up the bonds due to Adam Boyd and to George Allen. Adjourned to Saturday evening next at 6 o'clock at M. Berryhill's.

Saturday 11th, the committee met and viewed the dam, and adjourned till Monday evening at 6 o'clock, at Berryhill's.

Monday 13th met, and the members mentioned the names of persons wishing to borrow money—agreed that the money be retained in the treasury for a few days longer.—Agreed that on Saturday next at 1 o'clock, the bell be rung and the inhabitants assemble and demolish the rem. of the dam.

Saturday 18th, the committee met, and proceeded with a number of the inhabitants to the dam. Committee hired four persons to open the bed of the creek twelve feet wide, which was done, and the persons employed were paid six dollars which was raised by voluntary contribution on the spot.

Saturday 25th April 1795, the committee met, Peter, John and Abraham Landis attended, and offered to take £2000 for the water right, which the committee positively refused.

April 25, 1795, Peter Landis, John Landis and Abraham Landis, sold to Stacy Potts, Moses Gillmore, William Graydon, Jacob Bucher, John Kean, John Dentzel and Alexander Berryhill, of the borough of Harrisburg (a committee chosen at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the said borough at the Court Room, on the 7th of April) sold and conveyed to them their mill, &c., for £2,633, 4s. 6d.—“To hold and to have the said two pieces of lands, houses, mills, mill-machinery,” &c., &c.

The following Duplicate exhibits the amount each citizen, &c., was taxed towards paying the Landises. The payments were made in three annual instalments; one half of the amount assessed was paid in 1794; one half of the balance in 1795, and the balance in 1796. For example, a citizen taxed £4. had to pay £2. in 1794; £1. in 1795, and £1. in 1796.

AN ESTIMATE

Of the proportion of each citizen of Harrisburg to purchase the Mill belonging to the Landis family, in order with divine favor, to restore the Borough to its former state of health and prosperity.

Awl Jacob, Exec.,	£ 15 00	Brua Peter	6 6
Allen Jacob	4 00	Clark Widow	1 4
Allen George	4 16	Crabb William	4 8
Allen Joseph	4 4	Conrad Henry	10 16
Alcorn James	1 4	Cummins John	1 4
Armstrong Andrew	14 12	Chambers John Exe.	1 10
Abbott's house	2 14	Carson William	1 4
Bener John	4 2	Clunie James Exe.	17 00
Bennet Thomas	2 4	Cassel George	3 00
Boyd John	2 14	Cairns James	12
Boyd Adam	23 2	Comfort John	6 18
Bucher Jacob	6 14	Culp Mark	2 8
Bruner Henry	6 6	Degar Jacob	2 00
Brindle Philip	7 12	Duncan James	20 14
Boyd Widow	5 8	Downey Charles	2 8
Bader Henry	7 4	Denning Peter Exec.	6 00
Bombauch Conrad	20 4	Davis Samuel B	2 16
Berryhill Alexander	12 12	Drawly John	2 16
Bolinger Widow	1 16	Dentzel John	5 00
Bombach John	1 4	Dickey William	1 4
Bleymire John		Dickey Thomas	2 00
Beatty Gawin	1 00	Ebright Jacob	16 10
Barr Alexander	7 4	Elder John	4 16
Brooks James	3 00	Earnest John	3 00
Berryhill Alexander, sr.	16	Ebbert John	11 16
Berryhill Samuel	3 14	Eiteneyer Widow	1 4
Baker Peter	3 00	Elliot James	2 8
Burmister Charles		Ensminger Michael	1 16
Brooks John	7 16	Elder Joshua	45 00
Beatty James	12 00	Fisher George	40 00
Balzly John	9 12	Fulton Henry	16 16
Bennage Lawrence	4 10	Fenton Benjamin	6 12
Barr Robert	4 4	Feger John	1 16

Feder John	4 10	Horning Conrad	2 8
File John	2 8	Irwin Robert	20 8
Fridley G & Barney	12 00	Issett Henry	6 18
Ford Henry	7 4	Ingram William	3 8
Firestone George	7 4	Irwin & Howard	12 00
Forrest Andrew	6 18	Kaup William	1 00
Fogelsanger John	6 00	Kunkle Christian	22 18
Foster Thomas	14 8	Krause John & And.	10 4
Graydon Alexander	18 00	Kunkle Peter	1 6
Gregg Thomas	6 12	Kreamer John	4 00
Greger Barnhart	4 4	Kapp Michael	18 00
Greenawalt Christian	4 10	Kean John	11 4
Gilmore Moses	12 12	Kurtz Benjamin	3 00
Gillum John	6 14	Knatcher Michael	2 14
Gibson Ruben	2 4	Kapp Michael jr	6 00
Glass William	4 16	King Charlotte	1 4
Graybil Peter	6 14	Koffman Andrew	9 00
Graydon William	4 16	Klickner Frederick	1 00
Girt Frederick	3 00	Luther John	19 16
Galbreath John	1 00	Laffery Justinia	1 16
Greigor Martin	2 4	Lever Nicholas	7 16
Hess George	7 00	Lawyer Adam	1 4
Horning Stephen	5 12	Liphart Henry	3 00
Hamilton Widow	16 16	Lever George	2 8
Hamilton John Exec.	36 18	Little's house	3 00
Hoge John	9 00	McCart Robert	1 4
Hocker John	16 4	MaChemay John	5 8
Horter Valentine	7 4	Murry William	3 12
Hoyer George	23 14	McCarty Benja.	2 16
Hume John	4 10	Mish Jacob	15 18
Hocker Adam	13 10	Maclay John	3 12
Hocker Christopher	13 10	Mooney Abraham	1 16
Hilligas Conrad	3 00	McManus Patrick	2 8
Hill Samuel	10 00	McLaughlin Alex.	1 00
Heafly John	3 6	Murray Patrick	1 16
Heis John	10 00	Mytinger Lewis	1 4
Hutman Mathias	2 8	Mitchel James	7 4
Hartman George	2 14	Murphy Barny	18
Hatz George	3 8	Miller John	12 00
House Joseph	2 00	Morse Moses	2 8
Heaning Jacob	9 00	Montgomery Alex.	2 4
Holstein George	9 00	Miller Jacob	2 00

Moore Thomas	3 00	Seez Balthazer	4 4
Montgomery Joseph	15 00	Seez Christopher	7 16
Martin J & Thomas	5 14	Stephen Hugh	2 4
Mackey James	1 16	Smith Nicholas	18
Miller Charles	2 12	Smith Casper	9 0
McAlister Archibald	1 4	Sweigart Daniel	2 14
McCaslin John	2 2	Shoch John	1 10
Newman John	2 2	Smith's Miss.	5 2
Norton John	15 00	Shields John	1 4
Newman Nicholas	2 18	Scarlet David	1 10
Newman Andrew	2 18	Sawyer James	6 18
Ott Nicholas	10 00	Shrom Jacob	2 14
Petry Henry	1 4	Saur's Casper house	2 16
Peffer George	9 00	Syfert Anthony	3 12
Peifer John	2 00	Sheets John	1 0
Potts Stacy	6 00	Smith Widow	1 4
Poat Joseph		Snyder Adam	1 10
Patterson Galbreath*	10 16	Sayler Henry	4 16
Pool John	1 0	Syboth Tobias	9 0
Pancake Valentine	3 0	Snyder John	2 8
Pancake George	2 0	Sealy John	15
Patterson Robert	2 0	Staugh & Voglesanger	1 4
Pool John jr	6 0	Tresenrider Conrad	8 0
Pfleager Frederick	5 0	Ungar Peter	2 4
Porter William	3 0	Updegraff Abraham	18
Peters Michael	2 16	Whitehill George	4 10
Rymuth Philip	12 0	Willson William	7 4
Ritezel Jacob	10 16	Wain Jacob	1 0
Reel Anthony	1 18	Walter Peter	8 2
Reel Philip	2 6	Whitehill Robert	2 14
Ritz John	1 10	Wickersham Hannah	6 4
Romjeau John	4 4	Wear Samuel	4 0
Riehm Andrew	6 18	Weatherhold widow	
Redding George	6 18	and George	6 0
Reamer's Executors	3 0	Wingert widow	8 8
Rothroff Henry	2 12	Welchhance Jacob	7 4
Saur Charles	3 6	Waltz George	2 4
Snyder Simon	2 8	Weathrup John	3 0
Stoehr's house	4 0	Walters Christopher	2 4
Sweeny Major	6 0	Wingert Simon	2 0
Stehly, Widow	9 12	Wilson John	1 4

* Subscribed £20.

Wallace Benjamin	10	0	John Lehr	2	8
Wilhelm Jacob	2	8	Duncan McGachin	2	8
Wyeth John	2	8	James Elliot	2	8
Williams Vincent	1	4	John Over	2	8
Williams Christopher	2	0	James Simpson	2	8
Youse Jacob	2	8	John Umholtz	2	8
Youse Frederick	2	14	John Weaver	2	8
Youse George	6	0	William Porter	2	8
Young Robert	1	4	William Irwin	2	8
Zolinger Jacob	14	14	Mathias Henderson	6	0
Zinn John	10	0	FOR LOTS OF GROUND.		
Zeigler Geo carpenter	15	0	Thomas Forster	1	16
Ziegler George	2	0	Thomas Murray	1	16
Zerver Frederick	2	0	Samuel Wier	1	16
SINGLE MEN.			Moses Gilmore	1	16
Thomas Elder	6	0	John Elbert	1	16
Samuel Leard	6	0	Henry Bruner	1	4
Andrew Mitchel	6	0	George Hoyer	2	8
John Patterson	6	0	Christian Kunkle	1	10
Doctor Spangler	6	0	Michael Kapp	1	10
Joseph Wageline	6	0	George Reddich	1	12
William Wallace	6	0	Wm Maclay's land		
Jacob Bener	3	12	within the borough	2	14
Adam Brady	3	12	Peter Lyeth	2	20
Jacob Burkhart	3	12	Edward Burk's house	3	0
John Burkenbine	3	12	Wear's our house	6	0
Jacob Bretz	3	12	John Wear's house	4	16
Jacob Feger	3	12	Alexander Miller	2	8
Jacob Glass	3	12	Peter Pancake	6	0
Robert Hunter	3	12	James Ross	3	0
Philip Horing	3	12	Ritezel's house	3	0
George Hacker	3	12	Harris' Executors	}	6 12
Bryan Hooper	3	12	Snyder's house		
John Irwin	6	0	Mengel's Exect	7	4
Michael Krehl	3	12	Shouffler for		
Anthony Leyer	3	12	Shoch's house	5	8
Peter Reitzel	3	12	Henry Issets for		
James Shaw	3	12	Smith's house	3	12
William Wanless	3	12	Conrad Bombaugh for		
William Martin	3	12	Seyffort's house	9	6
William Brown	3	12	Brindle & Montgomery	4	10
Michael Kuntz	2	8	Haller's house	6	0

Robert Hill	1 16	Joshua Elder	22 10
Casper Smith	1 16	Col Shouffler	16 4
John Boyd	10 4	Michael Kapp	15 0
Thomas Grey	8 2	Samuel Berryhill	3 0
Leys	10 16	Edward Lynch	8 4
Rody Fraizier	6 0	Samuel Grimes	18 0
William Glass	1 18	Widow Witherold	18 0
LANDLORDS WHO DO NOT LIVE		Joseph Dritt	7 16
IN TOWN, OR IN OTHER HOUSES		Tobias Seyboth	3 0
Martin Gregor	£2 0	Welshoffer	5 8
Margaret Bolinger	2 0	County of Dauphin	72 0
Mar. Stiller	3 4	Bricker's house	8 8
Chamber's Executors	4 16	Dr. Fahnestock	8 14
William Wallace	7 4	Fred. Youse	9 6
Andrew Stewart	6 8	Rev Nathaniel Snowden	6 0
Henry Sailor	1 0	Rev Shaffer's house	8 0
Humes James	5 12	Rev. Hautz	8 0
John Steinmetz	12 0		

Mr. Graydon, in his Memoirs, alludes to this sickness and consequent great mortality, caused by the mill pond, speaking of the pestilential yellow fever that raged at Philadelphia: "Measures were taken, says he, in almost every town and village to prohibit the entry of persons suspected of infection; and even fugitives from the seat of it, though in health, were regarded with a jealous eye. Some of the people of Harrisburg were for following the example of their neighbors, though a malady not less fatal than that in Philadelphia, was raging among themselves. But the difference was, that one was called a plague, the other but a simple fever. It is somewhat remarkable, that if the yellow fever is of foreign origin as insisted upon by many, that a disease of a similar type, should make its appearance at the same time, on the banks of the Susquehanna, at the distance of an hundred miles. Shall we say, that the state of the atmosphere which generated the one, was favorable to the diffusion of the other? This, I believe, is the doctrine of those, who contend that the yellow fever is of exotic growth, and always imparted when it appears among us: I would venture, however, no opinion on the subject. With respect to the mortality produced by the two diseases, that at Harrisburg, was, I believe, in proportion to the population of the place,

as great as that at Philadelphia. I cannot take upon me minutely to describe the symptoms of the Harrisburg disease, nor were they the same in all that were sick, but a general one was, an *affection of the stomach*, or nausea with violent reachings and a yellowness of the skin. Some were ill a week, some longer, some died in two or three days from the time of their being seized, and others who were walking about with symptoms only of the ague, suddenly took ill and expired. The black vomit, which has sometimes been supposed peculiar to the yellow fever, appeared in some cases. I was attacked with a quartan ague about the middle of September, but had none of the grievous symptoms of the malignant fever which prevailed.

“The matter which produces agues, i. e. *miasmata*, caused by vapors from low and marshy situations and waters, rendered baneful from certain adventitious circumstances, may be pronounced to be the support or aliment of all diseases, more particularly of the latter perhaps, when the exhalations are rendered more than commonly noxious from the general state of the atmosphere,—this cause existed at Harrisburg. A mill dam had been erected the season before on the Paxton; rather a turbid and sluggish stream, within five or six hundred yards of the middle of the town on its eastern side. The obstruction must have spread the water over a surface of from eight to ten acres; and this co-operating with a state of the atmosphere unusually morbid this season in such situations, may fully account for the fear which prevailed.

“In the fall of the year 1792, there were some cases of it, and still more in that of 1794, equally malignant; after which the mill dam was removed. I have been the more particular on this subject, though without being able to offer any thing satisfactory, from knowing it to have been a matter of some interest with the physicians of Philadelphia to ascertain the nature of the Harrisburg disease, thence to deduce data towards the solution of the question whether the yellow fever, as appearing in our cities, be, or not, a malady of exclusively foreign origin.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

HARRIS' FERRY.

It is thought William Penn visited John Harris—Penn's proposals for a second settlement on Susquehanna river—Road from Harris' ferry, &c.—Indians leave their canoes at Harris' Ferry—Harris' or Paxton a public place—Conrad Weiser writes from Paxton, Nov. 28, 1747 touching public business—Half-King arrives here, sickens, dies, buried, &c.—Harris' letters touching Half-King's death, &c.—Notice of Monacatootha, &c.—Harris writes to Edward Shippen—Company of soldiers raised—Conrad Weiser at Harris' Sept. 1755—Governor, Hamilton at Harris' in 1755—Harris' letter to R. Peters, 1755—Harris cuts loop-holes in his house; erects a stoccade around his old house; Ed. Shippen mentions it in a letter April 17, 1756—Conrad Weiser at Harris' Dec. 1755, and held a council, &c.—The Revd. Barton writes from Harris'—Harris continued a guard, &c.—Harris recommended the use of batteaux in preference to canoes, on the river—Gov. Morris had an interview with some Indians at Harris', January 1756—Conrad Weiser at Harris', January 1756; his letter touching his meeting Belt in his cabin, and interview with some Indians, &c.—Governor Morris at Harris' in May 1756, where he signed several bills, acts, &c.—Fort at Harris'—George Croghan at Harris', in January 1757—Present at a meeting of the Six Nation Indians and their allies, April 1757—Refugees from Wyoming at Harris', July 1778—Matthew Smith's letter.

This chapter, composed of miscellaneous facts, "made up of shreds and patches," presented in chronological order, is intended as a continuation of *some things* mentioned in the preceding chapter. The facts and incidents noticed, in this connection, had happened before Harrisburg was laid out.—Those paragraphs marked with a W, have been taken from Watson's Annals.

Robert Harris thinks that John Harris (R's grandfather) saw William Penn here, or at Conois creek; he had always

heard that he (William Penn) visited him on the Susquehanna; and that he did much business for Penn's interest, and even talked of buying lands of him, over on the other side down to the Yellow Breeches creek.

Watson says that Mr. Harris and Miss Say, afterwards Mrs. Harris, were both born in Yorkshire, England, and came out to Philadelphia as first emigrants with William Penn.

Whether William Penn and John Harris came together to Conois creek, is not to be decided with certainty. It might be. In 1690, William Penn issued proposals for a second settlement or city in the Province upon Susquehanna river.

"It is now, says William Penn, my purpose to make another settlement, upon the river Susquehanna, that runs into the Chesapeake, and bears about fifty miles west from the Delaware, as appears by the common maps of the English dominion in America. There I design to lay out a plan for building another city, in the most convenient place for the communication with the former plantations in the east: which by land is as good as done already, a way being laid out between the two rivers, very exactly and conveniently, at least three years ago; and which will not be hard to do by water, by benefit of the river Scoukill; for a Branch of that river lies near the Branch that runs into the Susquehannagh river, and is the common course of the Indians with their skins and furs into our parts, and to the provinces east and west Jersey and New York, from west and north-west parts of the continent from whence they bring them."

The road from John Harris' on the Susquehanna, in or near Paxton, towards Philadelphia, by way of Lancaster and Chester counties, was procured, in 1736, by petition of sundry inhabitants in said counties.

In 1742, a party of Indians, consisting of twenty-one Onondagoes and seven Oniedas, under the command of a captain of the former nation, made an excursion against the Tallapoosas, resident in Virginia, and on arriving at Harris' Ferry they left their canoes here, and, procuring a pass, or letter of protection from a magistrate of Lancaster county, travelled peaceably through the province, obtaining provisions from the inhabitants. (Gordon's Pa. 245.) They obtained this pass from Jonathan Hoge (now Cumberland co.) through which they passed, in Virginia.—*Compiler.*

Harris' or Paxton, was repeatedly frequented by the Indians, Indian agents, &c., for the transaction of public business. Conrad Weiser, a distinguished Indian Agent, &c., from 1730, the year he arrived in Pennsylvania, till 1760, when he died, visited Harris' Ferry, repeatedly to transact business with the Indians and others.

PAXTON, Nov. 28, 1747.

To Richard Peters, Esq.

Sir :

Last night I arrived here with the Indians, all in good health but Canachquasy, the speaker, who took sick by the way to my house, and one of the women, but I hope not dangerously.

This day I delivered the goods to them, and they are well pleased for my adding two half barrels of powder to the four which they were to have. George Croghan was present, and he undertook to find men and horses to carry the powder and the lead with two casks of liquor for them to Ohio. I was obliged to allow them the liquor, because they all followed my advice, and did not get drunk, neither in town (Philadelphia) nor by the way.

Scaiohady, after they had received the goods, spoke to me in the following manner :

Brother :—

I am very glad that our brethren in Philadelphia took into their serious consideration what we have said to them. The French party is very strong among us, and if we had failed in our journey to Philadelphia, or our expectations would not have been granted by our brethren in Philadelphia, the Indians would have gone over to the French to a man, and would have received presents (or supplies) from the French, who have offered it; but now I hope we have got the better of them. Let me desire you to set out early in the spring with the supplies our brethren have been pleased to promise us, and send somebody before you, to give us timely notice, that we may meet, for we are scattered up and down the country, and we will send three or four men to meet you by the way, and to convey you to the place appointed.

Pray don't miss, and let us, that are for our brethren the English, not be ashamed; the French party who speak now under ground will speak above the ground, if you should miss, but if you arrive early in the spring, all the Indians will unite heartily, and the French party will be brought over to us."

Then he spoke to George Croghan and me, who must be my guide. I made answer that nothing should be wanting that I could do, and if I was alive and well, I hoped to see them in their country next spring before the grass comes out, or at farthest when they begin to plant their corn.

Scaiohady pressed upon me to put the government in mind of what he had said against the traders in rum, that it might be suppressed; for the Indians, said he, will drink away all they have, and not be able to do any thing against the enemy for want of ammunition; and if

rightly considered, death without judge or jury, to any man that carries rum to sell to any Indian town, is the only remedy to prevent that trade; and a just reward to the traders, for nothing else will do. It is an abomination before God and man, to say nothing of the particular consequences: it is altogether hurtful to the public, for what little supplies we can give them to carry on the war is not half sufficient, they must buy the greatest part with their hunting, and if they meet with rum, they will buy that before any thing; and not only drink away their skins, but their clothing, and even every thing they may get of us; in short, the inconveniences occasioned by that trade are numerous at this very time, the English and French party will fall out in their drunkenness and murder one another, and the English will be charged with the mischief thereof. I must leave off before I wear out your patience.

Sir,
Your very dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. Scaiohady told Shikalamy at my house, very privately, that Peter Chartier and his company had accepted of the French hatchet, but kept it in their bosom, till they would see what interest they could make in favor of the French.

Kalf-Hing, of whom frequent mention is made in the Provincial Records and Votes of Assembly, arrived sick at John Harris', the 1st of October, 1754, and died on the night of the 4th, and was buried by John Harris. During Half-King's short illness, the Indians present sent for a conjuror to inquire into the cause of his sickness and death—they believed the French had bewitched him.

John Harris wrote the following letter to Governor Hamilton, on the death of Half-King:

PAXTON, October 2, 1754.

May it Please your Honor:

At the earnest request of Monacatootha, one of the Chiefs of the Six Nations, I take this opportunity to inform your Honor of the death of Half-King, who departed this life last night. There are about twenty Indians here, who wait to see him buried, and then intend for Aughwick immediately; he likewise desired that the melancholy news might be forwarded with all possible despatch, to his Honor, the Governor of Virginia. Those Indians that are here, blame the French for his death by bewitching him, as they had a conjuror* to inquire into the cause a few days before he died; and it is his opinion, together with his relations, that the French had been the cause of this great man's death, by reason of his striking them lately, for which they seem to threaten immediate revenge, and desired me to let it be known.

All the Indians that are here are in great trouble, especially his rela-

* Conjuror. See Appendix G.

tions. I have sent an account to Conrad Weiser, at Shamokin, this day, who I expect will be down upon notice. I humbly presume, that his is a very great loss, especially at this critical time.

I am

Your Honor's most obedient
And most humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

Note.—Half-King also called Tanachrisson was a man of much note among the Indians. He had his residence at Loggs Town, on the Ohio, fourteen miles below Pittsburg on the opposite side. George Washington visited him in 1753. When Washington first called at his cabin, Half-King had been out at his hunting cabin, on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles off. As soon as he returned from his hunting place, Washington invited him privately into his tent, and desired him to relate some of the particulars of a journey he had shortly before made to the French commandant. He gave him the particulars as to the best way of going to the French commandant; and also informed him that he, Half-King, had met with a cold reception; that the French officer sternly ordered him to declare his business.

In a treaty held at Carlisle, with Indians, Belt alludes to this cold reception.—See Appendix L. and a note appended, where Belt speaks of Half-King's interview with the French commandant.

Mr. Harris enquired of Manacatootha, one of the Chiefs of the Six Nations, and others present, where they chused to bury him, and in what manner. They answered, that he might bury him as he thought proper, which Harris did, much to their satisfaction. The Government allowed Harris for his expenses and trouble in burying Half-King.

John Harris wrote the following letter afterwards to Richard Peters, Secretary, while at Philadelphia :

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 29, 1754.

Sir—

On the first of this instant, Monacatootha, and several others, the chiefs of the Six Nations, came to my house, and brought the Half-King and his family along with them, who were, in general, in a very low condition, particularly himself, who died in a few days; after which I asked Monacatootha* and others, where they chused to

* Monacatootha was an Indian of some note. Washington, in his expedition to the French on the Ohio, in 1753, called to see him, at

bury him and in what manner, or if they wanted any thing necessary for his funeral! Their answer was, that they looked upon him to be like one of ourselves, and as he died amongst us, we might bury him as we thought proper; that if he was buried well, it would be very good—which I did, much to their satisfaction.

Immediately after, Monacatootha and the chiefs set off for Aughwick, leaving the Half-King's family and relations under my care, saying that in some short time there should some horses and Indians come down for them, which they had not yet done, and I have been at expenses for their provisions and his funeral. My account I shall send down, which I hope you will be pleased to lay before the Assembly.—I shall continue to give his family provisions till they remove, and should be satisfied how soon that might be. I conclude,

Sir, your most obedient and
most humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

December 17, *Post Meridian*, 1754. The Committee of Accounts reported a balance of ten pounds, fifteen shillings and four pence, due to the said John Harris, for his expenses, and five pounds for his trouble, &c., in burying the Half-King, and maintaining sundy Indians that were with him.—*Votes of Assem.* iv. 342.

Half-King's family was still at Harris', at the close of December. In a letter addressed by Andrew Montour to Richard Peters, dated at Paxton, December 30, 1754, he makes mention of this fact:

Sir—I design to-morrow to march with my men, raised here, for Willis' creek, by way of Aughwick. I leave under the care of John Harris, two Indian families, one of which has been at his house since the death of Half-King, and has been so kindly treated that they don't care to move to Aughwick at this cold season, and they may be as cheap maintained here.

Logstown. "As soon as I came into town," says Washington, "I went to Monacatootha, as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin, on Little Beaver Creek, about 15 miles off, and informed by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do by a runner in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men to my tent, where they staid about an hour, and returned.

John Harris writes to Edward Shippen at Lancaster:

Paxton, December 28, 1754.

Sir:

This week Captain Andrew Montour has made his interest so good with my brother William Harris, as to persuade him to go with him to our camp, and he engages that he shall receive a Lieutenant's command under him, upon the strength of which, and the willingness to serve his king and country, he resolves to go. Their company of white men I expect to have completed by Monday next or day following, they expect to march for Wills' creek by the way of Aughwick, in order to take a number of Indians with them; some Indians that are here leave their families and set off with them with all cheerfulness: and I'll assure you, upon my brother's inclining to go, the young men about here enlisted immediately, with the small encouragement I gave them, which was but my duty, and I hope that this company will act their part so well as to be a credit to our *River Men*, of which almost the whole consists. It is rumored here that there are now taken prisoners lately at our camp, fifteen French Indians, upon what I hear our Indians at Aughwick are to go and determine their fate, either death or liberty. I only mention this, but am not yet certain of the fact.

[Excuse blunders.]

I am sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

Letter to Richard Peters from Captain Andrew Montour.

Paxton, December 30th, 1754.

Sir:

I design, to-morrow, to march with my men raised here for Will's creek by the way of Aughwick. I leave under the care of John Harris two Indian families, one of which has been at his house since the death of Half-King, and has been so kindly treated that they don't care to move to Aughwick at this cold season, and they may be as cheap maintained here. I ordered John Harris to provide for them after the frugalest manner. All the men of the aforesaid Indian families go to the camp with me cheerfully, and are of the Minnogois, and were at the skirmish when Laforce was taken and his men. I expect to take a number of Indians along with me from Aughwick to the camp, where I design to be with them. I'll assure you, John Harris's kind usage to the Indians this fall has been of much service, and ought to be properly recorded. I hope Monacatootha has before this time left your city on his way for the Six Nations. The good accounts from England lately will spirit up our Indians much, and I trust have its desired effect.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient

And humble servant.

In September, 1755, Conrad Weiser, in his letter to the Governor, states, that on the 7th inst., he went by orders to

meet the Indians at John Harris' ferry. He found several had gone up the river to settle about Shamokin. He found there, however, "the Belt" and Seneca George, and five or six other elderly men, and fifty or sixty others. The Belt said the Six Nations were now resolved to revenge the death of Braddock, and drive away the French, "which the great general could not do, because of pride and obstinacy, and for which the Most High had thus punished him."

Mr. Hamilton informed the council, that in Novem. 1755, he was at John Harris', and finding the people there collected in the utmost confusion, and in continual fear of being fallen upon by a large body of French and Indians, who were said to have passed the Alleghany hills, in their march towards this province, he was induced to offer a great reward to (Aroas) Silver Heels, to go up the east side of Susquehanna, as far as Shamokin, to ascertain the facts in the case, and he being since returned and now present, was asked to relate the facts of his journey. He had gone as far as Nescopecka where he found one hundred and forty warriors in their dance, and expressed much anger against the English, and an intention to fall upon them to the eastward.—*Watson's Annals*.

Paxton, October 28th, 1755.

Sir:

I received your letter, and shall observe the contents. Here is melancholy news, which I have wrote to his Honor, our Governor. If there was encouragement for 1000 or 1500 men to meet the enemy, and build a fort up Susquehannah, I imagine a number of men will go at their own expense to assist.

I am sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

P. S. I shall endeavor to keep out a few Mohawks that are here, as spies. The Belt of Wampum promised to send out some; but it was our river Indians and some scouts from the French army, attacked us at Penn's creek.

Yours,

J. H.

In a letter, dated October 29, 1755, he says, I have this day cut loop-holes in my house, and am determined to hold out to the last extremity, if I can get some men to stand by me.

John Harris erected a block-house and stocade during the French and Indian war, at Harris' Ferry. Robert Har-

ris, now living, saw the remains of the block-house and stoccade when he was young.

"Robert Harris' grandfather had a stoccade round his old house (in front of the present one). There an Indian came in with his gun, and fired upon the British officer therein;* his gun flashed. His grandmother, there then, blew out the candle for concealment. This was in the log-house, before the present residence.—*W.*

"Edward Shippen, in writing to Governor Morris, under date of April 19, 1756, says, John Harris has built an excellent stoccade around his house, which is the only place of security that way, for the provisions of the army, he having much good cellar room, and as he has but six or seven men to guard it, if the government would order six men more there to strengthen it, it would, in my opinion, be of great use to the cause, even were no provisions to be stored there at all—though there is no room for scarce any in Captain McKee's fort.

"The first old log-house was gone before Robert Harris was born: he was born in the present stone house in 1768.

"Robert Harris' grandmother rode once, on urgency, to Philadelphia, the same horse, in one day! At one time, when at Big Island,† on trade, and hearing of her husband's illness, she came down in a day and a night, in a bark canoe.—*Watson's Annals.*

To Governor Morris.

HEIDELBERG, Berks co. Dec. 22, 1756.

Honored Sir:

Last night I arrived from John Harris's Ferry, and herewith inform you that I did not reach my house in Heidelberg till the 14th inst. I sat out on the 16th for Harris's Ferry, where I found no Indians but the Old Belt and another Sinecker, called commonly "Broken Thigh," a lame man.

Their young men, about six or seven in number, being sent out by John Harris, to fetch scalps from Ohio, but stopt at Aughwick by Mr. Croghan. I sent for Thomas McKee, John Carson and Samuel Hun-

* Perhaps Watson alludes to the following:

We hear, says the editor of the Pennsylvania Gazette, July 20, 1758, from Harris' ferry that on Sunday night last, as Mr. Harris and some people were sitting in a room, a gun was attempted to be fired at them through a loop-hole, but luckily it happened not to go off, upon which the neighborhood was alarmed by some guns from the fort, and the next morning the track of an Indian was seen.

† On the West Branch of the Susquehanna river.

ter to John Harris's, to consult with them how to send your Honor's message to the Indians on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. They recommended one Hugh Crawford to me, on whom I prevailed to go to Aughwick with the message, and from there send Indians to the W. Branch of Susquehanna with it; and if the Indians thought it advisable, to go with them and conduct them down the river, either himself or James Patterson, who is to go along with him to Aughwick.

I had the two old Indians in council with me. They received the message from me and Hugh Crawford; the wampum I gave and necessities for them, and the written invitation from me, in presence of the above named gentlemen. I hope he will go through with it.

Upon my first arrival at John Harris's, I gave a string of wampum to the two old Indians above mentioned, requesting them to look upon me as a public messenger from their Brother Onas, and desired them in his behalf to let me know all that they knew about this war, and who it was that murdered Onas' people? And for what reason?

Next morning they made answer to the following purport:
Brother:

We are very glad to see you here once more at these troublesome times. We look upon you here as our Brother Onas' messenger as we always did. The author of the murder of the people of Pennsylvania is Onontio; he employs his children for that purpose, and they come to this river (Susquehanna) to murder. We are sorry to tell you that they have prevailed upon our cousins, the Delawares, living about half way from Shamokin to *Schantoweno* (Wayomack) in a town called *Nescopeckon*. Those Indians have given their town (in defiance of us their uncles) to Onontio's children as a place of their rendezvous, and had undertaken to join and guide them the way to the English. That thereupon the Shickalamys and others of the Six Nations, fled towards the Six Nation country. That a report was spread among the Delawares, on that river, that the Pennsylvanians were coming with thousands to destroy the Indians on Susquehanna, which had occasioned the Six Nation Indians before named to fly, because they would not fight against their Brethren, nor against the Indians, and that every thing was in a great confusion.

Honored Sir,

Your most obedient

And humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. Your Honor will have heard by this time that the Paxton people took an enemy Indian on the other side of the Narrows, above Samuel Hunter's, and brought him down to Carson's house, where they examined him. The Indian begged his life and promised to tell all he knew to-morrow morning, but (shocking to me) they shot him in the midst of them, scalped him, and threw his body into the river.

The Old Belt told me, that as a child of Onontio, he deserved to be killed; but that he would have been very glad if they had delivered him up to the governor, in order to be examined stricter and better.

Yours &c.

CONRAD WEISER.

The Rev. Thomas Barton writes from Paxton to the Governor, as follows:

At 3 o'clock in the morning, Nov. 2, 1755.

I am just come from Carlisle. You may see by the enclosed in what a situation I left it. The Great Cove is certainly reduced to ashes. Andrew Montour charged Mr. Buchanan last night (at John Harris's) to hasten home and remove his wife and children. I suppose by tomorrow there will not be one woman or child in town.

Mr. Hans Hamilton marches this morning with a party of sixty men from Carlisle to Shippenstown. Mr. McConaughy came over with me to raise reinforcements in order to join Mr. Hamilton immediately.

I intend this morning to return to Carlisle with a party of men to guard that town. The gentlemen there desire me to request your assistance without delay.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BARTON.

In Dec. 1755, John Harris of Paxton township, in consequence of instruction from George Croghan, continued a guard of thirty-two men upon the frontiers of said township for the space of eighteen days.—*Votes of Assem.* iv. 239.

Mr. Harris, to carry provisions and men up and down the river, for the defence of the frontiers, recommended the use of batteaux in preference to the common canoes. He wrote the following letter on this subject to Edward Shippen, at Lancaster:

PAXTON, April 17, 1756.

Sir:

The canoes that must be employed for the service on our river, are in general too small; therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have a small number of battoes (batteaux) immediately made, as they will carry a much larger burden, keep but the same number of hands employed in working them up the river as our small canoes will, and will certainly answer the people better, as the sides will be higher to keep out the waves in our falls, many of which will be always to pass thro', and in high winds, which may sometimes happen. There will not be the least danger of passing up and down this river in a battoe, when a canoe must be unloaded or damage her cargo; therefore, as I think myself a judge of our river navigation and the most necessary and serviceable vessels to be employed in it, I think it my duty to write you this letter, and also to inform you that William Chestnut will supply you with suitable plank, upon getting directions to make the battoes; the boards, I imagine, are not to be sawed after the common manner.

I am, in haste,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

P. S. Be pleased to write me a line, if your Honor may think to say,
you. J. H.

Governor Morris, came from Philadelphia, by way of Reading, and arrived at Harris' Ferry, and held a council at the house of John Harris, January 8th 1756. Present—the Hon. Robert Hunter Morris, Governor James Hamilton, Richard Peters, Joseph Fox and Conrad Weiser, interpreter; two Indians of the Six Nations, called "The Belt of Wampum," a Seneca; and "The Broken Thigh," a Mohock.

The governor finding here only two Indians and their families; he sent for them into council, and spoke as follows:

Brethren:

I am glad to see you and your families in good health. You have ever been esteemed our hearty friends, and you show you are really so by residing amongst us, at a time when so much mischief is done on every side of the Province.

I sent Mr. Weiser to acquaint you that I had kindled a council fire here, and had invited the Indians on Susquehanna to meet me the beginning of this moon, and that I expected you would stay here till I should come, and afford me your assistance in council.

I thank you for staying here. You see that agreeable to my message, I come at the time appointed, but I find no other Indians here than you two, and indeed, I expect no more, as I believe my messengers were prevented going to Wyomink by the ravages of the Indians, which began in their neighborhood at the time they were preparing to set out on their journey.

Brethren:

The public business requires my presence at Carlisle, where I am now going, and I invite you to go along with me. If you incline to take any of your families with you, I shall readily agree to it, and provide a carriage for them and you.

To this the Belt replied.

Brethren:

I thank you for sending for us to council, and for your kind speech. What you have said is very agreeable.

Brethren:

The sky is dark all around us. The mischief done to you, I consider as done to the Six Nations, and am sorry for what has happened, and heartily condole with you upon it; but be not disheartened. As the public business is committed to you, nothing should be suffered to lie on your minds that night, in any wise, impair your judgment, which is now more necessary than ever. Let me, therefore, by this string entreat you to put away all grief from your heart, and to dry up your tears, that you may think and see clearly when you come to council.

I accept your invitation, and shall follow you to Carlisle.

GAVE A STRING.

From the minutes of the treaty or conference held at that time, it appears there was but one single house and few conveniences to hold a treaty at Harris'—"Mr. Weiser was

called in and asked if it might not be better to hold it at Carlisle, where all the business of that county could be done at the same time, and proper entertainment provided, as well for the governor and his company, as for the Indians, should they prove numerous." They then went to Carlisle.—See Appendix L. for the minutes of the treaty.

Conrad Weiser wrote from Heidelberg township, Berks county, to Governor Morris.

January 29, 1756, I set out from my house with a hired man, arrived at Harris' Ferry the 30th, being rainy weather. Met the Indians that evening, acquainted them that I was sent by the governor of Pennsylvania with a message to them. Next morning was appointed for me to deliver it; Aroas being not at home.

January 31. Early in the morning we met in the Belt's cabin; there was present the Belt, Garisdoony, Jagrea, Newcastle. They desired me to repeat to them the speech the governor made to them in Carlisle a few days ago, laying before me the two belts they received there from the governor. I made answer that I could not depend on my memory, and that I had no copies of those papers relating to it; that they must excuse me till another opportunity; however, the principal beads they remembered. A messenger was immediately sent for Aroas, who arrived in a few hours after.

I then delivered the message from the governor, with the addition that I could not leave the place before I saw two of them set off. It was immediately agreed that Aroas, by us called Silver Heels, and David, a Mohock Indian, should prepare for the journey to *Neskopecta*,* &c. Accordingly, on the second day of February, they set off in the morning, being rainy weather; they desired me to send John Davis and Thomas Grimes along with them over Peters' Hill to Robert Armstrong's place, now the last settlement, to conduct them safe, which I did; I sent also a string of wampum, all white, to Jonathan and John Shicklamy, and his brothers, to invite them to come to my house, if they could be found. I gave a written pass to Aroas and David, and ordered them to carry a silk handkerchief upon a stick on their return, and that only two should come before, and keep the path. The Old Belt gave them a long lesson; they all looked very serious. Aroas said he would be back in ten days, or in fifteen at farthest; if not then, we might think he was dead. So far as to the message.

On the 31st of last month, one James Young came over from Tobias

* *Neskopecta* was on the Susquehanna, at the mouth of *Nescopecke* creek, Luzerne county, where the Moravians had missionaries laboring at the time. Von Zeit zu Zeit, says Cranz, thaten die Brueder von Bethlehem eine Reise nach Wajonick, Neskopaeko und andere Orte ander Susquehannah, besuchten die von ihnen getauften, wenn sie sich dort auf der Jagd befanden, und predigten denen daselbst wohnenden Indianern, welche auch oft nach Bethlehem zum Besuch kamen, das Evangelium zu hoeren. Cranz' Brueder Ges. 580. Loskiel, P. ii. p. 151.

Hendricks, and told me privately, in the presence of John Harris, that above fifteen men with arms, came that day to Tobias Hendrick's (now Bowman's) in order to come to this side of the river to kill the Indians at John Harris', judging them of being guilty, or privy to the murder committed a few days ago in Shearman's valley; and that he had much ado to stop them, and desired me to take all the care I possibly could. I thereupon sent a letter with said Young express to the magistrates and principal inhabitants in Carlisle, to desire them to caution the people of Cumberland against such imprudent behavior, of which nothing but a general war, with all the Indians, could be the issue. A copy of their answer is herenunto annexed. I took for granted what they said, and sent immediately another express by James English and Jagrea, now called Satacoroyies, to bring the Indians that remained in Carlisle, since the last treaty, away to John Harris' ferry,* there to remain with the rest till the governor's order should be known. I wrote to those gentlemen to hire a wagon for the Indians, if needful.

I thought it not prudent to inform the Indians of this affair, but several people that came from over the river knew of it, and the Indians came to hear of it. I had a good deal of trouble to quiet their mind (if I did at all). Satacoroyies and Newcastle went to Michael Taff's that night, and Newcastle got in the night light-headed; he looked upon every person as an enemy, and would persuade Satacoroyies to run away with him. He himself made off privately next morning, and had not been heard of when I left John Harris's, which was on the 2d of February in the afternoon.

Michael Taff and Satacoroyies declared before now that he had no liquor, and I am persuaded Satacoroyies would not have come back so sober in the morning as he did, if they had had any liquor. I sent word all about to the people to take care of the said Newcastle, if he should be seen any where; he had no arms with him.

I think it highly necessary that the said Indians should be taken care of, deeper within the inhabitants; for should they suffer by our foolish people, we should lose all confidence and honor with the rest of the Indians.

Submitted to his Honor the Governor, his council and the assembly, by their faithful Indian interpreter.

CONRAD WISEN.

Heidelberg, Feb. 4, 1756.

During the recess of the Assembly (having adjourned April 16, 1756) Robert Hunter Morris, Esq., Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, was at Harris' Ferry in the early part of May (1756), issued a message, dated Harris' Ferry, May 9, 1756, summoning the members of Assembly to convene immediately at Philadelphia; twenty-three of whom met on the 11th May—In the conclusion of his mes-

* At a conference held with the Indians at Carlisle, January, 1756, it was left to the Indians' choice, till a fort had been erected at Shamokin, to reside at one or other of the forts then building, or at Harris' or Conestoga Manor; they made choice of Harris'. See Appendix L.

sage, the governor says, "The affairs of the frontiers, and the particular expedition for building a fort at Shamokin, which is of great importance to the province, requiring my personal care and attendance here for some time longer, it gives me concern that I cannot be at Philadelphia at this time; but you may be assured, I will give all the dispatch imaginable to any bills you may propose, which the Secretary will send me from time to time by Express."—*Votes of Assem. iv. 558.*

The governor signed several bills at Harris' Ferry, having with him "and affixed the Great Seal to the transcribed copy." While here, he received letters from governor Dinwiddie and governor Sharpe, giving an account of the miserable situation of *their* frontiers, and the danger they were in from the numbers of Indians and French that had already penetrated as far as Winchester. These letters were laid before the Assembly by the Secretary, according to a message dated Harris' Ferry, May 12, 1756.

In the conclusion of his message to the Assembly, dated, Camp at Harris' Ferry, May 23, 1756, the governor says: "I propose to leave this place to-morrow, or on Tuesday at farthest, and hope to be with you by the time you can have any business prepared to lay before me."—*Votes of Assem. iv. 561.*

Abm. Smith of Carlisle, writes:

CARLISLE, May 20, 1756.

Sir—

On Monday last McConnaughy and myself arrived at Harris' Ferry, and delivered the bill to the governor, according to order, together with the message of the house; and the governor was pleased to say, he would immediately pass the bill into a law, in our presence. We asked if that would do; he said it would do well enough, and requested that we would stay and see him affix the Great Seal to it; and accordingly we did stay.

I am, sir, &c.

JOHN SMITH.

To Isaac Norris, Esq.

Votes Assem. iv. 561.

I have examined a number of letters dated Fort at Harris', one of many, directed to Gov. Morris, is given.

FORT AT HARRIS' July 14, 1756.

May it please your Honor:

The Col. has ordered me to go to Fort Halifax, at Armstrong's, to

take care of the stores there; but they are all taken up to the Camp at Shamokin, only what are left there to maintain that garrison—and if I go there it renders me incapable of taking care of the stores now at Harris', and hereafter to be sent there, by my being so far distant from them; and by your Honor's warrant, which you gave me, I am to go no farther than McKee's store; but if it be your Honor's pleasure that I shall go up there and leave these stores, I am still ready and willing, but as it extends farther than my warrant, I wait your Honor's orders.

I am your Honor's

humble servant,

WM. GALBREATH.

George Croghan, Esq., Deputy Indian Agent to the Hon. Sir William Johnson, writes to Gov. Denny.

HARRIS' FERRY, Jan'y 25, 1757.

Sir—

I have dispatched two of the Conestogoes to Ohio, with messages to the Six Nations, Delawares and Shawonese there. The messengers I sent to Diabogo are not yet returned, but as this river is now open, I suppose they will soon be down; as soon as they arrive, I will give your Honor notice, &c.—Prov. Rec. P. p. 149.

He writes again to Governor Denny.

HARRIS' FERRY, April 2, 1757.

Sir—

Thursday last, the 29th of March, I got here and found one hundred Indians, chiefly Six Nations. The messengers sent to Ohio are not yet returned. Teedyuscung was gone to the Seneca country, when these set out, and is expected soon in with not less than two hundred Indians, &c.—Prov. Rec. P. p. 196.

On this occasion Croghan had come to Harris' to attend a conference with the Indians. The following are the minutes of their proceedings here.

“At a meeting of the Six Nations and their allies, and George Croghan, Esq., Deputy agent to the Hon. Sir William Johnson, Baronet, his Majesty's sole agent and superintendent of affairs of the Six Nations, their allies and dependants, and by his special order, at John Harris', the 1st day of April, 1757. Present—The Revd. John Elder, Captain Thomas M'Kee, Mr. James Armstrong, Mr. Hugh Crawford, Mr. John Harris, William Prentup, Interpreter.

Mokawhs; Tihansorea, Connadagaughia, Sogehanna, Peter, with thirty-one others, men, women and children.

Oneidas; Thomas King, Scarroyady, Tawnaquanagis, with thirty others, men, women and children.

Tuscaroras; Reet King, with twenty-six others, men, women and children.

Onondagoes; Ossaratonqua, and his two brothers, with eighteen others, men, women and children.

Nanticokes; Robert White, Joshua, with fourteen more, men, women and children.

Cayugas; Ogarawtawrea, Orranoquare, Jenkasarone, with twenty others, men, women and children.

Delawares; Samuel, Joseph Peepy, Thomas Evans, Jonathan, with twenty men, women and children.

Senecas; George, with eight more, men, women and children.

Connestogoes; Sahays, Captain John, with twenty-nine men, women and children.

The greater part of the proceedings were at Lancaster—the following were at Harris' Ferry.

Brother :

You and our brother Onas wisely considered the ancient custom of our forefathers, in condoling with us, and mixing your grief with ours. And as we make no doubt but some of your wise connections are dead, since we were here, and many of our brethren have been killed by the evil spirit, we wipe the blood off your council seats, and put them in order with this belt of wampum. (Gives a belt.)

Brother :

After wiping the blood off your council seats, we, with those few skins, wrap up the bones of our brethren that died or were killed by the evil spirit, and cover their graves. (Gave a small bundle of skins.)

Brother :

We, by this belt of wampum, wipe the tears from your eyes, and desire you may mourn no more. (Gave a belt of wampum.)

Brother :

We, with this belt of wampum, disperse the dark clouds, that the sun may always shine upon us in friendship ; we heal your heart and free your mind from troubles, that we may meet each other in council, and brighten the chain of friendship made by our forefathers, and that the council fire may burn clear we throw a few chips on it. (Gave a belt.)

This evening I had a meeting of the Sachems, and proposed the going to Philadelphia, to hold the treaty ; but I could not prevail on any of them, to go there, except the Mohawks, the rest were afraid of sickness.

When I found they were not to be prevailed on to go there, I called a council, and, with a belt of wampum, I removed the council fire to Lancaster : to which place they all agreed to go, and wait the arrival of Teedyuscung, with the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanese. Gave a belt to remove the council fire to Lancaster.

April 7, arrived at Lancaster, from John Harris'.

George Croghan wrote to Governor Denny :

Harris' Ferry, April 2, 1757.

Sir—

Thursday last, the 29th of March, I got here, and found about 160 Indians. The messengers sent to Ohio are not yet returned, and Teedyuscung* was gone to the Seneca country when these set out, and is expected soon in with no less than 200 Indians. As it is not certain whether he will come in at Easton or here, I have sent a messenger to Bethlehem to meet him, with a message.

I have met with some difficulty in removing the Indians from here, as many of their chiefs are dead since they had a meeting in this Province, and several of their people have been carried off by the small pox in Philadelphia. I was obliged to condole with them, which ceremony took up three days; and I have just now prevailed on them to set off for Lancaster. They are much afraid of sickness, and say, they always lose many of their people in Philadelphia.

These Indians are in great want of clothes, and I am of opinion that they should have some ordered before the general present can be given.

GEORGE CROGHAN.

A report prevails that their families were cut off in Conocochege, near Colonel Chambers' mill. G. C.

—Prov. Rec. P. 196-'7.

In the month of July, 1778, refugees from the Wyoming Valley fled from the scene of the dreadful devastation of those settlements of murder, and sought protection at Harris' Ferry. Mr. Smith, in a letter to George Bryan, Esq., makes mention of these refugees here, and of the scenes of distress :

Paxtang, July 12th, 10 o'clock, 1778.

Sir—

I am this moment arrived at Harris' Ferry, and just now behold the greatest scenes of distress I ever saw, the numerous poor ran away from their habitations and left their all, and several families lost, part killed and scalped on their retreat; the most cruel butcheries ever known are practiced, wounded and others thrown into fires while yet living. The inhabitants, however, are much distressed; the Wyoming people are undoubtedly, by the last accounts, entirely defeated. Northumberland county is evacuated. Not more than one hundred men with Col. Hunter at Sunbury; the Blue mountain is now the frontier, and I am afraid Lancaster county will shortly follow the example of the other county. The stores at Carlisle are something very considerable. I doubt not their object is to destroy that place. I am informed there is not that care taken that should be. I think it would be neces-

* See Appendix H. Teedyuscung.

sary to appoint some careful officer at that place, that would do the duty more punctually.

This party is large, have Colonel Butler at their head, one hundred regular troops at first; about the same number of *Tories*, but is increased to two or three times that number; seven hundred Indians, all armed in a most formidable manner, every one of them, exclusive of guns and tomahawks; as usual, each one has a large *spontoon*, and as soon as engaged, rushes on in a most dreadful manner. It is said they have field pieces, or swivels; and a number of *light horse*.

It is the earnest request of all friends to their country, as well as your humble servant, that something shall be done in the greatest haste. Be pleased to send an order for what arms are ready at Lancaster and Hummelstown, also for ammunition, and I shall exert every nerve in forwarding matters to the spot the men shall collect.

I am

Your Honor's most obedient
And most humble servant,

MATTHEW SMITH.*

CHAPTER XIX.

HARRISBURG, AT PRESENT.

Situation—Population, males and females—General statistics of—Articles of consumption—Public buildings, viz: court-house, jail, school-houses, Masonic Hall, Bank and Savings Institution, Market-house, State-house, State Arsenal, Mount Airy Water-works, Bridges, —Harrisburg bridge; a number of interesting incidents, &c.—Education, &c.—Names of papers and editors—History of the churches.

Harrisburg, a post town, a borough, the seat of justice of Dauphin county, and the CAPITOL of the State of Pennsylvania, is very pleasantly situated on the left or east bank of the Susquehanna river, in north latitude 40 degrees, 16 minutes; east longitude from Washington city, 5 minutes and 30 seconds, and 76 degrees and 50 minutes west longitude from Greenwich, England; ninety-seven miles from Philadelphia; thirty-five from the city of Lancaster, and one hundred and

* See Appendix O. *Devastation of Wyoming.*

ten from Washington city. It was laid out, as stated above, in 1785, by John Harris, and made the seat of Justice of the county. It was then called *Harris' Ferry*. In 1786, the Supreme Executive council named it *Louisburg*, in honor of Louis, XVI. of France. This name, however, was changed for *Harrisburg*, in honor of John Harris, the original founder. In 1810, February 21st, it was by law, established as the seat of Government of Pennsylvania, and the public offices were removed from Lancaster, where the legislature had assembled for many years, October 12, 1812.

The population was in 1800, 1,472; in 1810, 2,287; in 1820, 2,990; in 1830, 4,311; in 1840, 6,020; in 1845, 6,193, whereof 712 are colored persons.

Harrisburg in 1840, had 6,020 of population, of the following ages: *White Males*, 360 under five years; 271 of five and under ten; 254 of ten and under fifteen; 293 of fifteen and under twenty; 664 of twenty and under thirty; 390 of thirty and under forty; 257 of forty and under fifty; 158 of fifty and under sixty; 47 of sixty and under seventy; 14 of seventy and under eighty; 4 between eighty and ninety. *White Females*, 328 under five; 278 of five and under ten; 280 of ten and under fifteen. 359 of fifteen and under twenty; 629 of twenty and under thirty; 312 of thirty and under forty; 213 of forty and under fifty; 129 of fifty and under sixty; 58 of sixty and under seventy; 26 between seventy and eighty; 9 above eighty and under ninety; one above ninety.

Coloured Population: *Males*, under ten, 85; ten and under twenty-four 74; of twenty-four and under thirty-six 81; of thirty-six and under fifty-five 44—twelve above fifty-five. *Females*, 81 under ten; 105 of ten and under twenty-four; 96 of twenty-four and under thirty-six; 54 of thirty-six and under fifty-five; 14 of fifty-five and under one hundred; one above a hundred.

Number of persons variously employed; one in mining, fourteen in agriculture, ninety-six in commerce, six hundred and sixty-one in manufactures and trades, one in the navigation of the ocean, thirty-four in the navigation of canals and rivers, fifty-nine in the learned professions and engineers, two revolutionary pensioners, whose husbands performed military services, Anna Maria Keefer, then aged seventy, and Justina Weiser, aged eighty-two, one blind person, three academics

and grammar schools, twelve primary schools. Five white persons above the age of twenty who could neither read nor write.

There are, according to the census of 1840, three commission houses in foreign trade, with a capital of \$23,500; seventy-six retail stores, with a capital of \$319,860; five lumber yards, capital \$25,000; six coal and wood yards, capital \$50,000; twenty-five butchers and packers, employing a capital of \$8,800; the manufacture of caps and bonnets, employed a capital of \$700; of leather, a capital of \$24,600; of beer and ale, a capital of \$10,000; eight printing offices, employed 113 hands, and a capital of \$73,500; two rope walks, employed a capital of \$2,800; thirty-nine hands occupied in making carriages, employed a capital of \$3,900; twenty-seven hands employed in making furniture, a capital of \$4,650; making a total amount of mercantile and manufacturing capital of \$553,660.

The following is the amount produced of the several articles of manufacture: Machinery, \$2,000; bricks, \$7,550; tobacco, \$4,500; hats, caps, and bonnets, \$10,750; boots, shoes, and other leather manufactures, \$48,650; candles and soap, \$8,000; beer and ale, 465,000 gallons, \$10,000; ropes and cordage, \$7,000; carriages, \$10,600; furniture, \$11,700; other manufactures, \$74,700; making the total amount of article produced, \$195,450.

The borough contained about 1300 families (in 1840) averaging six persons to each, who consume on an average, the following amount of articles, to which the cost is added: Butter, 338,000 pounds, cost \$50,700; lard, 65,000 pounds \$6,500; flour 9,100 barrels \$45,500; meat and poultry, 810,000 pounds \$73,450; potatoes and garden vegetables \$33,800; fruit and articles not enumerated \$38,800; milk and cheese \$19,500, corn, oats, and buckwheat \$16,00; tallow \$8,450; hay and straw \$6,500; wood 6,500 cords \$26,000; making a total of consumption in the borough, in families to the amount of \$321,100; to which should be added, for taverns and boarding houses \$38,900; so that the whole market of Harrisburg alone, amounts to \$360,000; the supply of which furnishes profitable employment to the inhabitants of the surrounding country.

The court house is a large and commodious edifice, which was erected in 1794. It is built of brick, two stories high,

surmounted by a cupola with a bell, and contains the halls of the courts and county offices. It was occupied for several years, by the State Legislature.

The county jail is a splendid affair of its kind, provided with solitary cells. The building is Gothic style; and having in the rear a spacious yard enclosed by a high stone wall. The cost of the jail, finished in 1841, is upwards of \$40,000.

The several public school houses are large, especially the Lancasterian school house. The Masonic Hall is a large and handsome building. The Harrisburg Bank, and the Harrisburg Savings Institution, are the two monied institutions in the borough. The Market-house, in an open square, at the intersection of the two principal streets, is quite commodious and kept cleanly.

The Borough contains twelve churches, of each of which, a detailed notice, so far as it could be obtained, is given in the sequel. There are within the limits of the borough, or near it, a steam grist and saw mill, rolling mill, and an extensive furnace. The rolling mill is owned by M. Pratt, & Co.; the furnace by David R. Porter, Esq., late governor of Pa., & Co.

THE STATE HOUSE is on an elevated spot, from which one has a commanding view of the Susquehanna, and surrounding country "studded thick" with houses and villages. It is a large, splendid building, yet modest in appearance, facing the river, to which there is a gradual descent. The main building is 180 feet front, by 80 feet deep, and two stories high; the lower story contains the vestibule and staircase, the chambers of the Senate and House of Representatives, and several smaller apartments for the accommodation of the members of Assembly and its officers. The second story is appropriated for a court room, in which the Supreme Court is held, Canal Commissioners' offices, several committee rooms of large dimensions, and two rooms appropriated to the State Library, comprising rising of eight thousand volumes.

The main entrance is by a circular portico, the whole height of the building, supported by six Ionic columns of red sand-stone painted white, four feet in diameter, and thirty-six feet high, the portico reaching thirty-seven feet to a circular wall. From the floor to the top of the cornice is 46 feet,

and the whole height of the front is 50 feet 6 inches. From the top of the cornice to the top of the dome is 57 feet 6 inches, making the whole height 108 feet. The wings, whose fronts stand somewhat in advance of the principal building, and range with the inner columns, are appropriated to the public offices. The Senate Chamber in the main building is 75 by 57 feet, and 21 feet high; and the Representative chamber is of the same length and height, and 68 feet wide. The whole are fitted up with convenient desks for the members, slightly raised one above another. The wings which are smaller than the main building, have porticos of a similar form, and present a symmetrical appearance; and the whole exterior, with its surrounding railing and ornamental grounds, presents a grand and imposing appearance, and is every way worthy to be the capitol of the "Key-Stone State."

The State Arsenal, also on the public ground, is a fine brick edifice.

Twenty years before the town was laid out, and nearly half a century before it became the seat of government, John Harris, the original proprietor, predicted that Harrisburg would become the capitol of the State; and in 1785 conveyed to the commissioners, "in trust for public use" the four acres on Capitol hill, on which the Arsenal now stands, south-east of the State-house, and public offices.

The Mount Airy Water Works, supply the borough with water. The water is taken from the Susquehanna river by a forcing pump worked by a steam engine, and thrown into a basin, ninety feet above the river, and north of the Capitol. The basin will hold, when filled, 1,532,195 gallons. The water is distributed through the borough in metal pipes, from twelve to two inches in diameter; seven or more miles of which have already been laid in the streets of the borough. The total cost of the Water Works was \$120,000.

The borough has several important bridges. The Harrisburg Bridge connects Market Street with Forster's Island, and the Island with Cumberland county.

I am indebted to Joseph Wallace, a gentleman ever ready to communicate when addressed, for the following, touching the Harrisburg Bridge. The Cumberland Valley Railroad Bridge will be noticed in connection with the Railroad in the sequel.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of the 13th inst., requesting me to inform you when, and by whom the Harrisburg Bridge was built; its first cost; the amount of stock held by the State; the annual cost of repairs, and the amount of tolls received annually: Also stating, that any "other facts of a general character connected with the Bridge, would be thankfully received."

In answer to your queries, &c., permit me respectfully to inform you that the company which erected this Bridge, was authorized and empowered by an Act of Assembly, passed April 3, 1809; was chartered under that act on the 6th day of July, 1812; and was duly organized on the 8th day of August in the same year, by electing officers to conduct its business.

The elections are required by law to be held annually on the first Monday in January.

On the 2d day of December, 1812, the first foundation stone of the Bridge was laid; and on the 16th day of October, 1816, the first toll was received.

The Bridge and Toll-houses were completed in 1817,
at a total cost of \$192,138 00

Of this sum the State paid, and received stock
in the company therefor, to the amount of 90,000 00

Individuals in like manner paid 57,700 00

Stock forfeited for delinquencies, upon which
was paid 5,277 42

The Balance, was a debt due by the company
upon the completion of the Bridge, viz: 39,160 58

\$192,138 00

This debt of \$39,160 58 was fully paid out of the tolls received previous to the declaration of any dividend to the stockholders.

The dividends are made and declared half-yearly. The first was declared January 1st, 1821, and the last, July 7, 1845. They have varied in amount during this time; but the average during this period of 25 years, is about 6½ per cent. per annum.

The average cost of repairs for the last 21 years, has been nearly \$2000 per annum.

At the first election, held August 8, 1812, the following named persons were duly elected to the offices annexed to their names respectively, viz:

Thomas Elder, President.

John Ritchey, Henry Beader, Jacob M. Haldeman, Jacob Boas, Geo. Brenizer, John Howard, George Hoyer, William Bryson, John Mytinger, John Lamb, Samuel C. Wiestling, and Michael Krehl—Directors.

John Downey, Secretary and Treasurer.

Two only of the above officers survive, the others are all dead; and at present those who hold, and have held by election for 33 years in succession, the same offices to which they were first elected. Those two are Thomas Elder, President, and Jacob M. Haldeman, Director.

The present officers of the company are

Thomas Elder, President;

Jacob M. Hummel, David Haldeman, John Geiger, John Saevely,

William Rutherford, Benjamin Eberly, William Allison, Michael Lebnicher, Jacob S. Haldeman, Samuel Pool, George H. Bucher, and William R. Gorgas—Directors.

Joseph Wallace, Treasurer and Secretary.

The foregoing contains the information you requested me to give, and is, perhaps, sufficient for the object you have in view; but, if time and circumstances would permit, I could greatly extend this communication, by stating a variety of other facts connected with the erection of this Bridge, which might be interesting to, at least, a portion of the public. But, I am admonished to be brief; I will therefore only mention a few of the *difficulties* which the original Board of Directors met and overcome, in the faithful discharge of their duties.

The great body of the people, at the commencement of this work, thought it entirely impracticable—altogether visionary: and even a goodly number of the subscribers for stock themselves never dreamed that they or their children would ever be called on to pay their subscriptions. They believed firmly that the project would fall through, and be abandoned as a matter of course. And when they were compelled to pay according to their written promises, they felt confident that their money might as well have been cast into the sea, for all the good that would ever come of it.

There were some who ridiculed the idea of attempting to build a permanent bridge over the river Susquehanna—a mighty mountain stream; others sneered at it; and there were not a few who considered the project and its advocates nearly allied to insanity.

But, they were all mistaken; and most happily disappointed. For, notwithstanding all the opposition which was arrayed against the enterprise and the Board of Directors who had it in charge, they pursued the even tenor of their way, and persevered therein until their efforts were crowned with triumphant success, in the completion of the Bridge, where it now stands a monument of their wisdom and foresight; and the public at large, for thirty years past, have been enjoying the benefit and convenience it affords.

However, the ridicule, the sneers, and the taunts which were heaped upon the President and Directors, formed but a part of their difficulties. Money, the grand mover, was wanting, and not so easily supplied at that early day as at present; and nothing could be done without it. Subscribers held back; the State only agreed to pay on certain conditions, and in four equal instalments. Then the great question for the Board to determine was, how can we raise money to do work enough to entitle us to these payments from the State? It may be said, why did not the Board borrow and pledge the corporation for payment. They tried that; but nobody would lend to a corporation engaged in a project that was considered by the great body of the people ridiculous, visionary and insane. Then, what was to be done? Just what was done, and nothing else. It was this; the President and other officers of the Institution borrowed large sums of money from time to time, as the work progressed, upon their own private credit and individual responsibility, in anticipation of the subscription money to be paid by the State and the individual stockholders; and when the subscription money was received, those officers redeemed their credit therewith. And thus they operated from the commence-

ment to the completion of the work, risking their means, credit and reputation, for the accomplishment of an object which they then believed would be, and which every body now knows has been, and is, of more real and substantial benefit and convenience to the community than any other improvement of the same magnitude and cost in the commonwealth.

Trusting that the foregoing may be satisfactory to you,

I am, very respectfully,

Yours,

J. WALLACE,

Harrisburg, Oct. 22, 1845.

P. S. The State is not a stockholder in the company at present, having sold out her stock in the year 1843, for about one-fourth of its original cost.

J. W.

STREETS AND ALLEYS.

The following Streets and Alleys run parallel with the Susquehanna river, and are given, beginning at the river, in their regular order, to the canal.

Front street, River alley, Second street, Raspberry alley. Third street, Dewberry alley, Fourth street, Fifth street, Back alley, or Sixth street, Canal street.

East of the Capitol—High street, Tanner's lane, Short street, Cranberry alley. The streets and alleys named above, are crossed, by the following :

North street, State street, South street, Barbara alley, Pine street, Cranberry alley, Locust street, Walnut street, Strawberry alley, Market street, Blackberry alley, Chestnut street, Cherry alley, Mulberry street, Mary's alley, Harris' alley, Vine street, Paxton street, Meadow lane.

Since Harrisburg has been laid out, many interesting and thrilling incidents have taken place within its limits. During the *Western Insurrection* of 1794, President Washington, and other distinguished individuals, tarried a night here. The following extracts, it is believed, will be read with interest.

"On Friday afternoon, three companies of horse, containing in all, 130, arrived from Philadelphia, the whole under

the command of Capt. John Dunlap. The company of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. John Irwin, of this town; the corps of Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. George Fisher, with the most distinguished officers of the county, were paraded, all in complete uniform, in order to receive them. After the usual ceremonies, the dragoons dismounted to refresh themselves, and yesterday morning they proceeded on to Carlisle.

"Tuesday last, passed through this on their way to Gen. Wayne's army, (O. T.) about 80 regular troops, commanded by Capt. Lyman. They were from the State of Massachusetts, and in good spirits.

"Thursday evening, arrived here from New Jersey, under the command of Richard Howell, Esq., governor of that State, about 370 dragoons, completely mounted and equipped—all volunteers. It raining very rapidly on their arrival, the citizens of Harrisburg, with their usual degree of affection to the sons of liberty and patriotism, voluntarily opened their doors for their reception. The next morning they crossed the Susquehanna, on their way to Carlisle, after expressing their satisfaction in the following manner:

"The commander of the Jersey militia detachment, feels himself bound to acknowledge the politeness of the citizens of Harrisburg, to his company, and requests that their gratitude and his own, joined with the highest respect, may be signified in a proper manner. RICHARD HOWELL, Comm't Jersey Detachment.—Harrisburg, Sept. 25, 1794."

On Friday last, (Oct. 3,) the President of the United States arrived in this town. The pleasure excited, in beholding for the first time, our beloved Chief, in this borough, is not easily described. The following address was delivered to him, by the burgesses, in behalf of the inhabitants of the town:

To His Excellency, George Washington, Esq., President of the United States of America.

Sir—

We, the the Burgesses and citizens of Harrisburgh, rejoice in the opportunity of presenting our respects to a character, so justly revered and dear to Americans, we cannot but lament that we should owe it to an interruption of the peace and prosperity of our country, those constant objects of our public cares. We trust, however, that the just indignation which fires the breasts of all virtuous citizens, at the un-

provoked outrages committed by those lawless men, who are in opposition to one of the mildest and most equal of governments of which the condition of man is susceptible, will excite such exertions, as to crush the spirit of disaffection wherever it has appeared, and that our political horizon will shine brighter than ever on a dispersion of the clouds, which now menace and obscure it.

Though our sphere of action is too limited to produce any important effects, yet we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that so far as it extends, our best endeavors shall not be wanting to support the happy constitution, and wise administration of our government.

Signed in behalf of the borough.

CONRAD BOMBACH,
ALEX. BERRYHILL,

Burgesses.

Harrisburg, Oct. 3, 1794.

To which he was pleased to return the following answer :

To the Burgess and other citizens of Harrisburg.

Gentlemen—

In declaring to you the genuine satisfaction I derive from your very cordial support, I will not mingle any expression of the painful sensations which I experience from the occasion that has drawn me hither. You will be at no loss to do justice to my feelings. But relying on that kindness of Providence towards our country which every adverse appearance hitherto has served to manifest, and counting upon the tried good sense and patriotism of the great body of our fellow citizens, I do not hesitate to indulge, with you, the expectation of such an issue, as will serve to confirm the blessings we enjoy, under a constitution that well deserves the confidence and support of virtuous and enlightened men. To class the inhabitants of Harrisburg among this number, is only to bear testimony to the zealous and efficient exertions which they have made towards the defence of the laws.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Oct. 4, 1794.

“ Harrisburg, October 27, 1794 : On Sunday Se’nnight, arrived in this town; the last draft of militia, from the state of New Jersey, under the command of Col. Crane, consisting of 300 foot and cavalry. A gentleman just arrived in town from Bedford, informs, that the troops marched from that town, on Thursday last (Oct. 23) on their way to Pittsburgh. About 20 of the malcontents had been brought in, and committed to prison, at Bedford, and four, said to be noted leaders of this motley crew, called Lucas, Husbands, Wisecarver, and another, whose name our informant cannot recollect, were sent off to Philadelphia. The troops were in good spirits and anxious to reach the place of destination. A melancholy accident took place, a few days since, while several companies were at exercise—One of the men, who

the day before, loaded his piece with shot, in order for hunting, and forgetting to remove the same, discharged the contents, by which a young man belonging to the militia of York county, was mortally wounded in the head, and another slightly in the shoulder."

Mr. Graydon, who then resided at Harrisburg, and who was for many years a close observer of men and things, speaks of this occurrence as follows :

The western expedition, as it was called, gave me an opportunity of seeing a number of my old friends from Philadelphia ; and it afforded also a momentary triumph to the poor handful of Harrisburg federalists, who were stated by their opponents to amount to only five.

A *French flag*, which had been flying at the court house, then building, had been the cause of some squabbling in the newspaper ; and this flag was peremptorily ordered to be taken down by the troops from the city. Had I been disposed for revenge, I might upon this occasion, have been fully gratified, as I was repeatedly asked, who had caused it to be put up, and impliedly censured for giving evasive answers to the questions ; which, from their manner, evinced a disposition to treat the authors of it much more roughly than would have been agreeable to me.

Conspicuous among the crowd that rolled on to the eastward, was Governor Mifflin. On the day of his arrival, he convened the people at the market house, and gave them an animated harangue, in which there was nothing exceptionable, save a monstrous suggestion, that the British had stirred up the discontents to the westward, and been the cause of the present opposition to government.

In a few days after the Governor, General Washington, accompanied by Colonel Hamilton, came on. After waiting on them, I prevailed upon the Burgesses to present an address to the President, which I sketched out, and which, from the cordiality of the answer, appeared to have been well received."

Other incidents of recent occurrence, still fresh in the memory of thousands, for the want of space, are passed by.

Education receives more than an ordinary share of attention. The several well conducted schools of advanced standing, and the attention paid to the public schools, in the borough of Harrisburg, is proof sufficient. In the Harrisburg

Academy, under the care of Mr. Armstrong, the Latin, Greek, the Natural Sciences, Geography, English Grammar, &c., are thoroughly taught.

The Ladies' Seminary, conducted by Mr. Gad Day, an experienced teacher, and another Harrisburg Female Seminary, taught by Miss Brown, sustain a fair reputation; and are worthy of a liberal patronage.

The Pennsylvania Literary, Scientific and Military Institute, opened April 15, 1845, and under the direction of Cap. Partridge, favorably known to the community, is a school, considering that it is yet in its incipency, which has excited some interest. The course of instruction embraces the English, Latin and Greek languages; Mathematics, theoretical and practical, &c. Besides a thorough literary course; the arts of war are taught.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—emphatically the public schools—are well managed, by an efficient Board of Directors, and competent teachers. In 1844, there were twenty schools in successful operation in the borough; ten male and ten female teachers were employed, giving instruction to 564 male and 596 female scholars. The borough levied for school purposes the same year, the sum of \$6,151.76. The State appropriation amounted to \$1,329. Cost of instruction \$5,681.80; fuel and contingencies \$212.00. Cost of school rooms, &c., \$246.62. The average salary paid to male teachers \$31 per month; to females, 17 dollars.

Important, as these several institutions are in their legitimate sphere, they derive essential aid from a well conducted press. Several ably edited papers are published in this borough. The following are their titles, names of editors, as furnished by an esteemed friend, William Lewis.

"Pennsylvania Reporter & Home Journal,"—Democratic—Isaac R. Diller, Editor and Proprietor.

"Pennsylvania Intelligencer,"—Whig—by C. M'Curdy.

"Democratic Union,"—Democratic—Isaac G. M'Kinley & J. M. Lescure, Editors and Proprietors.

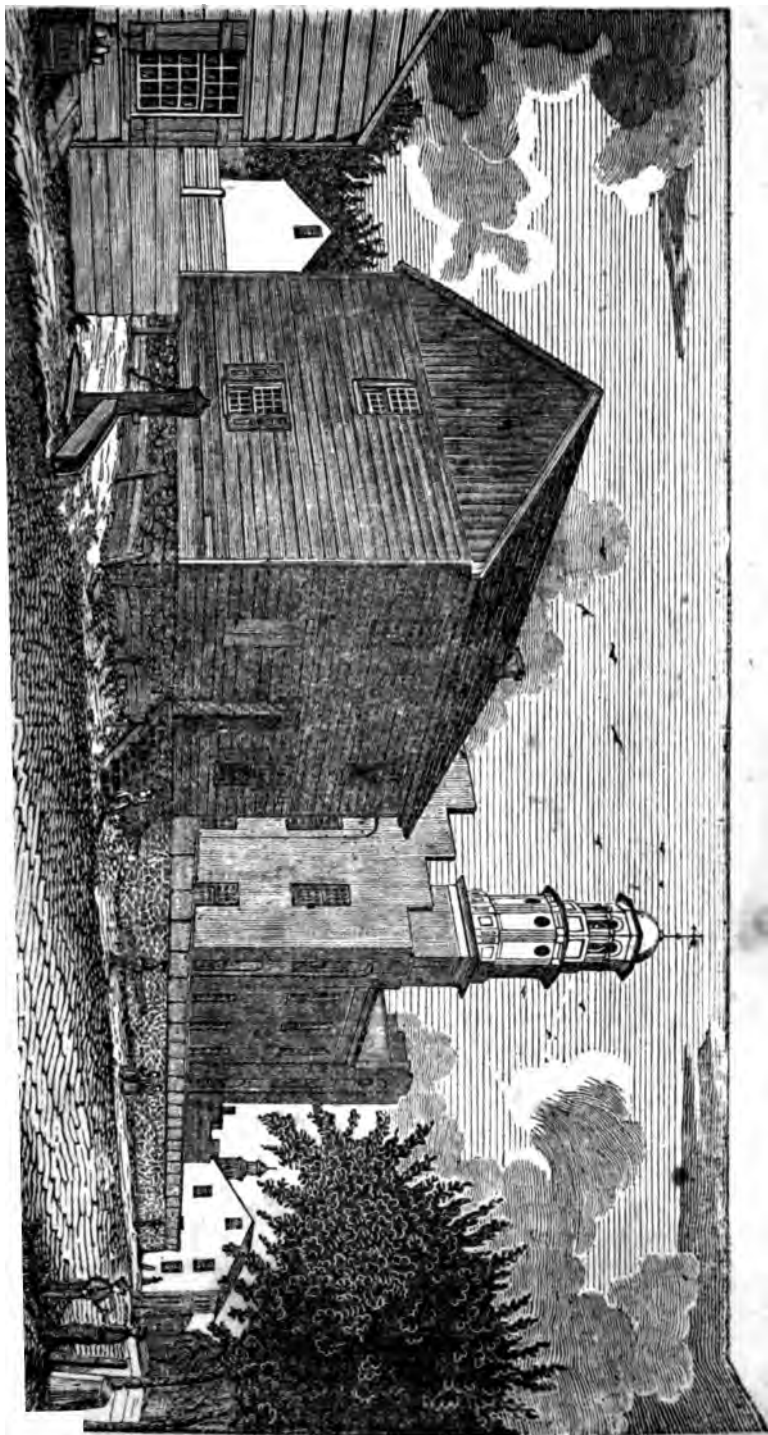
"Pennsylvania Telegraph,"—Whig—by Theo. Fenn.

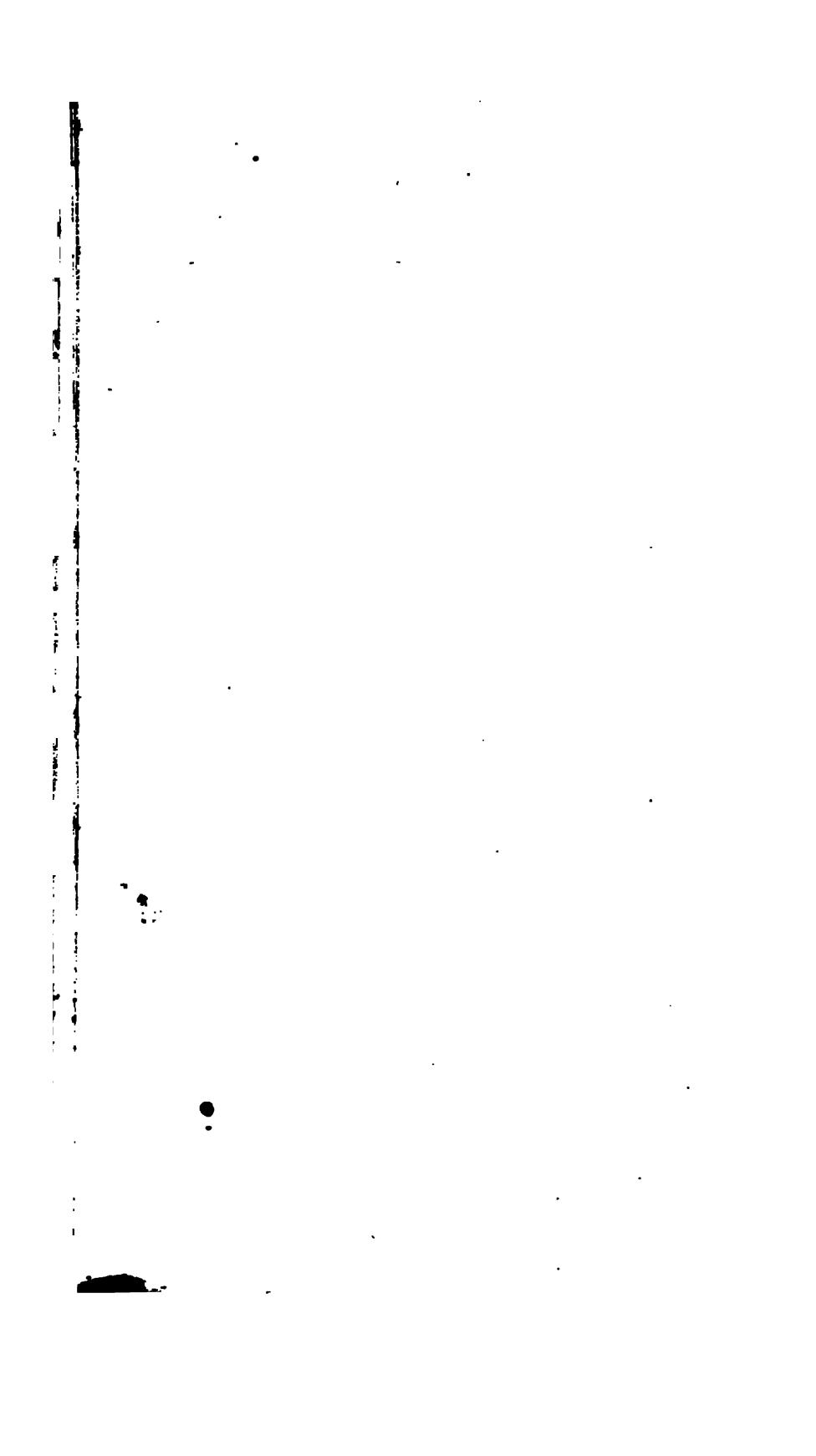
"Harrisburg Argus,"—Democratic—by J. J. C. Cantine.

"American Reformer,"—devoted to the cause of Temperance—by J. M. Willis Geist.

"American Sentinel,"—by P. H. McWilliams.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH AT HARRISBURG.





"*Pennsylvanische Staats Zeitung*,"—Democratic—by Jacob Baab und Comp. Herausgeber und Eigenthümer.

"*Der Vaterlands-Waechter*,"—Whig—Gedruckt und herausgegeben von Geo. Bergner.

CHURCHES OF HARRISBURG.*

Previous to the erection of the first Church building in Harrisburg, the early settlers often held divine worship in a one story log school house, which then stood at the foot of Capitol Hill, on the North corner of Third and Walnut sts. This building has since been removed, and is now (1845) standing on the South side of Walnut street, near Meadow lane, and is occupied as a dwelling house. Soon after the laying out of the town, the settlers took measures to build a church. The community, at that early day, being made up of all denominations, the original subscription papers for the "first church," read "*for the use of the subscribers*," and long after the erection of the house, clergymen of different denominations officiated in it; by permission, as opportunity occurred. The undertaking was, however, by those who professed the doctrines of Ulric Zwingli and Martin Luther: and the church was owned and occupied, statedly, only by the German Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran congregations, and was erected on a lot, given by John Harris to them for that purpose. This lot is No. 187, in the plan of the borough, situated on the corner of Chestnut and Third streets: it is fifty-two feet and six inches on Chestnut, and extends two hundred and ten feet on Third street to Cherry alley. The "first church" is built of logs, was erected and is still standing on the corner of Third street and Cherry alley—fronting on Third street thirty-five feet five inches, and extending back on Cherry alley thirty feet and five inches. As much interest is attached to this building, on account of its

* The Compiler is indebted to Rudolph F. Kelker, son of Mr. Frederick Kelker, an old inhabitant of Harrisburg, for this account of the churches of Harrisburg.

being the "first church in Harrisburg"—an engraving is inserted here, which is faithfully executed by Mr. Jacob M. Beck, after a drawing taken by Mr. Charles Burton, in 1845, by order of the vestry of the German Reformed Church.—[See engraving].

On the 12th of March, 1787, a subscription was commenced for the erection of the church; and the original subscription papers are here copied in full, as they will exhibit names of most of the original settlers of the town, and will doubtless be satisfactory to their numerous descendants, who still look with interest to "*the church which their father's built.*"

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL ENGLISH SUBSCRIPTION PAPER.

"We, the subscribers, do, each of us, promise to pay, or cause to be paid, unto John Norton, Christian Gunckel, Geo. Redig and Henry Brunner, or their order, on demand, the sums annexed to each of our names, respectively, to be held and appropriated by the said John Norton, Christian Gunckel, George Redig and Henry Brunner, in purchasing materials for, and in building a Church and School house, in some convenient part of the town of Harrisburg, for the use of the subscribers. In witness, whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, with the sums annexed, this 12th day of March, Anno Domini, 1787.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Christian Gunckel	2	0	0	Henrich Eilman		5	0
J. Montgomery		15	0	Benjamin Bomberger		7	6
Moses Gilmor		10	0	Michael Ausbach		2	6
John Hamilton	1	10	0	Geo. Rabsom		15	0
John Brooks		10	0	William Gleht		7	6
John A. Hanna		15	0	Andrew Forrest		7	6
John Kean		15	0	Jacob Henning		7	6
Michael Capp		15	0	James Duncan		7	6
John Joseph Henry	2	12	6	Andw. Armstrong—			
John Titsworth		15	0	(<i>hart gelt</i>)	1	0	8
Samuel Berryhill		7	6	Jacob —		5	6
Henry Fulton		10	0	George Hartman		5	0
Robert Stevenson		7	6	Hanes Flickinger		15	0
Alexander Power		17	6	F. Lang		5	0

	£	s	d		£	s	d
George Dieffebach	15	0		Charles Bauermeister	5	0	
Stephen Stevenson	10	0		John Boyd	7	6	
George Fackler	15	0		Richard Dixon	7	6	
F. O'Ferral (run off)	10	0		McClelland & Reynolds	7	6	
Samuel Grimes	7	6		Adam Natcher	7	6	
Richard R. King—				Martin Bundlagel	7	6	
his † mark	7	6		William Crabb	7	6	
Adam Boyd	7	6		J. Hubley	15	0	
John Hoge	7	6		John MaChesney	7	6	
Samuel Boyd	15	0		Joseph Smith	7	6	
John Ebert	1	10	0	Johannes Herse	1	2	6
Michael Bohl	3	9		Charles Stewart	10	0	
Christian Schwink	6	0		Peter Hershey	7	6	
Henrich Bohl	5	0		David Montgomery	7	6	
James McNamee	7	6		John Wilkes Kittera	15	0	
Alexander Graydon	15	0		Jasper Yeates, Esq	15	0	
Alexander Barr	5	0		Haben wir Empfangen			
James Sawyers	7	6		vonder Kord (court)			
Robert Barr	5	0		vor die Kirch in			
George Eriher	5	0		Harrisburk	4	10	0
Jeremiah Rees	10	0		John Spayd	7	6	
Due in cash	2	6		Frederick Kleckner	9	0	
Thomas Hartley	7	6		Johans Koeller	5	0	
Dec. 21, 1787, Mr. Hen-				George Hoyer	2	0	0
ry paid, in part, his				George Benedick	11	3	
subscription, three dol-				William Kelso	5	0	
lars remains				M'Luebb Pfarrer	6	2	
Jacob Zimmerman	3	9		Frederick Schweitzer ein			
Thos. Hartley, upon re-				Tag Holz geschleift	15	0	
flection, in addition	7	6		habe ich emfangen vor			
Stephen Chambers	15	7		den ueberrest von Stein			
Peter Hoofnagle	15	0		und Kalck vor die			
Jonathan M'Clure, Esq	8	4		Kirch zu bauen	5	0	

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL GERMAN SUBSCRIPTION PAPER.

Zur errichtung und Anbauung eines Schulhauses und Kirche auf einen der besten und tauglichsten plazes allhier in Harrisburg, versprechen wir unterschriebenen die von uns bey gesetzte summe zu bezahlen an George Rettich, Johannes Norton, Christian Kunckel und Henry Brunner, davon der gebrauch allein vor die Unterschriebenen seyen solle, zur begraeftigen dieses haben wir unsere Nahmen nebst der summe welches wir zu diesem Gottes werck widmen wollen bey gesetzt, und wollen solches ohne fehl auf die erste anfrage an gemeldete Georg Rettich, Johannes Norton, Christian Kunckel and Henry Brunner richtig und ohne widerrede ubertraegen, so geschehen, Harrisburg den 12ten Mertz 1787.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Henrich Brunner	1	10	0	Franz Leru	1	2	6
Jacob Zollinger	1	10	0	Michael Wolf			2 6
George Fritley	1	10	0	Cornelius Cox			7 6
Vallentein Horter	1	10	0	Thomas Forster			5 0
Karl —		7	6	Georg Schuetz			7 6
Henrich Henninger (off)	15	0		Michel Kab			15 0
John Phul		15	0	Conrad Bombaugh			15 0
Johannes Dentzel	1	15	0	Peter Bollinger (run off)			
Georg Schoederin	1	10	0	Jacob Welschans			5 7
Frederick Clackner		9	0	Henrich Boeder			5 0
Sacob Silsel (run off)	15	0		Jacob Weber			15 0
John Hocker		15	0	Jacob Weber darauf be-			
Michael Filbi		15	0	zahlt			12 6
Johannes Huessner	15	0		Michael Kab empfangen			12 6
George Leru		15	0				

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL PAPER,

For extra expenses incurred by erection of School House, and completion of the same.

“Da zum Nutzen und gebrauch der heranwachsenden Deutsche Jugend ein Schulhaus neben die Kirche erbauet worden und in dasselbige, auch ein stuben ofen gesetzt worden, und nun mehr auch bequem ist Winters zeit Gottes dienst darin zuhalten und da es eines jeden Christen sein

Pflicht ist, vor seine Kinder zu sorgen damit sie in gutem unterwiesen kommen werden, so werden alle diejenigen freundlichst ersucht einen gefaelligen Beytrag zu thun, damit die dadurch verursachte Unkosten des Baues bezahlt werden koennen. Harrisburg den 19th December, 1791.

TRUSTEES—John Dentzel, Georg Rettig, Georg Huyger, Henrich Brunner.

	£	s	d		£	s	d
George Hoyer hat 3 tag				Hannes Zin		3	9
geschaft 3-9	11	3		Peter Nueger ein Tag		3	9
George Rettig hat 4 tag				geschaft		3	9
geschaft 15 0				Georg Feirstein	1	10	
50 Backenstein 1 3 —				Andreas Rihm	2	6	
	16	3		Tobias Seyboth	2	6	
Friederich Pflieger gibt				Adam Hocker	2	6	
ein paar Baender	2	9		Christoff Hacker	2	0	
Michael Derstein ein				Johannes Hacker	5	0	
Tag geschaft	3	9		John Romge	1	0	
Georg Pfriemmer hat				Valentine Wanger	2	6	
ein tag geschaft	3	9		Jacob Zollinger hat 3			
Peter Walter vor ein				Tag geschaft	11	3	
Fuss zum Ofen ge-				John Pool 15 Lits, sash			
macht	5	0		for the school house	5	0	
Jacob Ehebrecht gibt in				Andreas Krausse	1	10½	
gelt, bezahlt vor der				Jacob Reitzel	3	9	
Rechnung	3	9		Michael Yaene	1	10½	
John Dentzel gibt in gelt	7	6		John Luther	5	7½	
Johannes Ebert	11	3		Michael Kopp	7	6	
Joseph Dritt	4	2		Carl Miller	2	9	
Georg Leber	2	6		Henrich Beder	1	10	
Jacob Welshans hat ein				John Comfort ein Tag			
tag geschaft	3	9		geschaft	3	9	
George Ziegler ein tag				George Hartman	3	9	
geschaft	4	0		Johannes Schneider	3	9	
Georg Frientley	3	9		Johannes Heiss 14 lb.			
Peter Denig	110			Naegel gemacht 5			
Georg Jauss	3	9		Bens das Bund	5	10	
Conrad Bombach	2	6		Stephen Horning	1	0	
Friederich Jauss	3	9		Christopher Suess	5	0	
Henrich Conrad	3	9		Balser Suess	5	0	
Schlurlott	2	0		Jacob Schirly	5	0	

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Georg Hess		2	6	John Deffer		2	0
Philipp Blimuth		2	6	Martin Kapp		1	10
Philipp Ebbreit		1	10	Henrich Ruthraff		3	9
Conrad Tresenreider hat				Abraham Huy		5	7
geben 15 Licht (illegible)		6	3	Frantz and Georg Leru			
Christian Kunckel		12	6	in gesaegt Holtz	1	5	7
Valentein Horter		3	9	Endorsed on outside of sub-			
Jacob Bucher		1	10½	scription paper, viz:			
Caspar Smith		2	0	Es ist zusammen in			
				Geld	7	19	10½

THE GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.

From the first church book in possession of the German Reformed Church, it appears that the first pastor of the said church was Rev. A. Hautz, and that the Rev. F. D. Schaeffer, who then resided in, or near Carlisle, preached **statedly** for the Lutheran congregation of Harrisburg. The first date in the book alluded to is, October 18th, 1788, and is in the handwriting of the Rev. F. D. Schaeffer: and the entries on the second page are apparently in the handwriting of Rev. A. Hautz. Both congregations appear to have been united in their temporal affairs, and all church regulations from the year 1787 to 1795. Rev. A. Hautz was the first stationed pastor of the German Reformed Church, and the first resident pastor settled in Harrisburg.* They chose, by mutual agreement, their own Church officers, as appears by the first record of an election, which took place September 12, 1790, and is as follows—

On the German Reformed side. On the Lutheran side.

TRUSTEES.

George Haeyer,
Henrich Brunner.

TRUSTEES.

John Denzel,
George Rettig.

* Rev. A. Hautz owned and occupied the same house which is now owned and occupied by Rev. J. F. Mesick, the present pastor of the same church. It is situated on Chesnut street—the third house south-west of the church.

ELDERS.

Jacob Zollinger,
George Hatz.

DEACONS.

Jacob Staely,
Jacob Welschans.

ELDERS.

Christian Kunkel,
John Hacker.

DEACONS.

Michael Von Keuen,
John Ebert.

The elections of 1792 and 1793 are also recorded.

The next congregational entry in the church book, is in 1795, and is as follows:

“Im Jahr 1795, wurden die zwey Gemeinden in Harrisburgh naemlich die Reformirt und Lutherisch von einander *Sebarirt*, und waelhten auf Reformirter Seite zum Kirchenrath.

“TRUSTEES—George Haeyer, Henrich Brunner, Aeltesten Jacob Shultz, Simon Schneider, Vorsteher Henrich Liphart, Johannes Pfeiffer.”

The fact of the separation of the two churches in 1795, is further established by the Lutheran Church Book, which commences in the year 1795—the first entries in which, are made by Rev. Henry Mueller, who then settled in Harrisburg as the first stationed pastor of the Lutheran church.

The two congregations, however, still continued to occupy the same building for public worship until 1814, when the Lutherans purchased ground in Front, between Market and Chesnut streets, and erected a handsome brick church and school house adjoining.

In 1795, the old church was wainscoted, and sundry repairs made; and in 1804 the vestries of the churches did much to render the building comfortable; a pulpit was erected, and galleries put up, on three sides; the sides were plastered and the exterior weather-boarded and painted white.—These improvements were finished in 1805. On the 28th of March, 1812, Rev. Philip Gloninger, George Hoyer, Frederick Kelker, Nicholas Ott, and Frederick Boas, purchased Lot No. 186, adjoining the old church property, from Joseph Allen, for \$1400, for the exclusive use of the German Reformed Church. On the 13th July 1813, the Lutherans formally proposed a division of the church property, upon certain conditions, to which, however, their Reformed Brethren would not agree.

June 17, 1815, a second proposition was made by the Lu-

therans, that the German Reformed Church should purchase an undivided half of the new Lutheran Church, which had been built in Fourth street, in 1814. This occasioned considerable discussion, but the majority of the Reformed opposed the measure, and the result was, that on the first of April 1816, the German Reformed congregation purchased for \$1000, the whole interest of the Lutherans in the church lot and buildings thereon erected. On the 3d day of July A.D. 1818, the members of the German Reformed congregation became a body corporate under the name and title of "The German Reformed Salem Church of Harrisburg." The following are the signers to the articles of incorporations:

Vestry: *Trustees*, Christian Shaeffer, John Zinn; *Elders*, George Wetherholt, John Kelker; *Deacons*, John Horter, John S. Wiestling, George Kunkel, Jacob Hise; *Members*, M. Rahm, A. Dorsheimer, George Hoyer, Henry George, Jacob Miesch, Jacob Cunkle, Jacob Hoyer, Jacob Bucher, George Snyder, Fred. Beisel, Joseph Doll, John Henning, Henry Frey, Henry Weltshover, Jacob Balsley, Frederick Kelker, David S. Forney, Jacob Steinman, Jacob Greenawalt, Peter, Bachman, Jacob Kunkle, Samuel C. Weistling, jr., Samuel Swartz, Conrad Knepley, Michael Derstein, Nicholas Ott, John Horn, David Beissel, Peter Snider, Daniel Snider, John A. Stehley.

On the 15th January 1821, a meeting of the members was held in the old church at which Frederick Kelker presided, and John Wiestling acted as Secretary, at which it was resolved to erect a new church of suitable dimensions, to front on Chesnut street. The following persons were appointed to collect subscriptions for the purpose.

Jacob Bucher, John Kelker, John Zinn, John S. Wiestling, Rev. John Winebrenner, John Horter, Frederick Kelker and Conrad Knepley. Three weeks afterwards, viz: Feb. 5, 1821, the committee reported six thousand and six dollars in cash and subscriptions, and the vestry were requested to contract for the erection of a new church.

On the 8th of March 1821, the vestry contracted with Messrs. Samuel Pool and Henry V. Wilson, for the erection of a Brick Church, sixty feet front and seventy-five feet deep, and with a tower one hundred and ten feet to the top of the wood work, to be completed by July 1, 1822, for the sum of eight thousand dollars. To carry the plan into exe-

cution, the old log school house, and the brick house, both of which stood on the church lots, were taken down and removed. The church building was immediately commenced, and carried on with despatch, and on the 11th June 1821, the Corner Stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies; on the 21st June 1822, the bell weighing six hundred and sixty-seven pounds, which had been procured in London, at an expense of \$346,56½ cents, was taken to the church and placed in the tower. The following inscriptions are upon it: "T. Mears of London, Fecit 1822," "May all whom I may summon to the grave, the blessings of a well spent life receive." The church was finished Aug. 1, 1822, and on the 4th day of the same month dedicated to *Jehovah*. Total cost of church per settlement made Feb. 15, 1823, was \$8537.54, exclusive of bell.

No repairs or additions were made to the church property of any importance until 1827, when the old church was altered by extending an upper floor from the eastern to the western gallery, thus converting the interior into two large rooms. The upper one was used for a long time by the Sabbath School, and the lower as a day-school. They are now, 1845, both occupied by the Common Schools. In the summer of 1841, the pulpit of the Brick Church was removed and its place supplied by one of modern style; the walls painted and sundry other improvements made in the interior; the same year (1841) the congregation also erected a spacious lecture room, one story high, 27 by 54 feet, with 13 feet ceiling; this building stands a little in the rear of the new church.

The following are the names of the stationed pastors of the German Reformed Church, from its foundation to the present time.

Rev. Anthony Hautz, from probably 1791 to 1797; in the Tax Duplicates of Dauphin county, it seems that Mr. Hautz was first taxed in 1792 and the last year in which he is noted as a resident of Harrisburg, is in 1797.

Rev. Jonathan Helfenstein, from September 7th, 1805 to 1808.

Rev. Philip Gloninger, from July 17, 1808 to June 26, 1814.

Rev. Frederick Rahauer, from April 5, 1816 to April 5, 1819.

Rev. John Winebrenner, from October 22 1820, to March 23, 1823.

Rev. Albert Helfenstein, from March 1, 1824 to September 8, 1829.

Rev. Daniel Zacharias, from February 21, 1830 to February 23, 1835.

Rev. Joseph F. Berg, from November 1, 1835, to November 6, 1836.

Rev. John H. Smaltz, from November 1, 1838 to November 1, 1840.

Rev. John F. Mesick, the present pastor, settled in Harrisburg December 17, 1840.

The present number of communicant members, 200.

The Sabbath School numbers 225 scholars, and teachers, and has a library of 800 volumes, and is under the superintendence of Hon. John C. Bucher.

It is worthy of mention that the "Confirmation table" which in days of old, stood before before the pulpit in the first church, now constitutes the altar in the present sabbath school room, and is in good preservation; around this table were confirmed many of the grandfathers and fathers of the present generation; it has witnessed the union of our fathers with the church, by the solemn rites of baptism and confirmation; and their descendants of the third generation now gather before it on each returning Sabbath, to hymn the praises of their Creator. It is made of black walnut and has been in use for more than half a century.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

This congregation worshipped in the same church, which, with their German Reformed brethren, they had united in erecting in 1787, from the period of its erection until 1814, when they purchased a Lot on 4th, between Market and Chesnut streets, and erected thereon a handsome brick church, and adjoining the same, in 1822, a large two story brick school house. In 1816, they sold their interest in the old church property on Third street, to the German Reformed Church, for one thousand dollars. The first record in their oldest church book is in 1795, by the Rev. Henry Mueller, who was their first stationed pastor. To the articles of

church government, written out at length in the first part of said book, the first few pages of which are unfortunately lost, the following signatures appear. These persons are, therefore, to be considered as the founders of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Harrisburg, viz :

Benjamin Kurtz, Henry Saylor, George Pfeiffer, Mathias Hutman, George Jauss, Georg Hartman, Frederick Youse, Johanness Ebert, John Shoch, Georg Ziegler, Martin Krieger, Georg Seidel, Georg Scheile, Georg Emerich, Peter Walter, Caspar Shmidt, Stephen Horning, Georg Buks, Balthazer Sees, John Fager, Peter Bricker, Christoff Suess, John Mytinger, Bernhard Geiger, Peter Brua.

At this time, December 1845, but two of the number remain; John Fager and George Youse. All the rest have descended to the tomb. Fifty years ago they assisted their first pastor, Rev. Henry Mueller, in his laudable efforts to gather together members, and permanently organize the Lutheran church, and God, in his providence, has spared them to behold their then small number increase from time to time, until they now constitute the largest and most influential congregation in Harrisburg.

The church and school house erected in 1814, were destroyed by fire on Sabbath evening, October 21, 1838. It is worthy of note, that on the morning following, viz : Oct. 22, before the smouldering ruins were extinguished, the then pastor, Rev. Samuel Sprecher, together with the vestry and a number of the members of the church, met on the spot, appointed committees and adopted other measures for the speedy erection of the large and beautiful church which they now occupy. Universal sympathy was felt and liberal donations were made by sister denominations. In 1839, the building was finished and dedicated to the worship of God on the 10th day of November of that year.

The building is 64 feet front by 84 feet deep, and has a large Lecture and several Sabbath School rooms in the basement story. It is of brick, covered with composition and painted white. The cupola contains two fine bells.

The following is a list of the stationed pastors of the church since its foundation, viz :

Rev. Henry Muller, from 1795 to 1803.

Rev. J. Peterson, from 1803 to 1812.

Rev. J. C. Shaeffer, from 1812 to 1815.

Rev. George Lochman, from 1815 to 1826.

Rev. Augustus H. Lochman, from 1827 to 1836.

Rev. Samuel Sprecher, from 1836 to 1840.

In 1840 the present pastor, Rev. C. W. Shaeffer, settled in Harrisburg.

All of these pastors preached both in the German and English languages, with the exception of the first two, who ministered in the German language alone. The present pastor continued the German service for two years subsequent to his taking charge of the church. In consequence of the increase of both the German and English branches of the church, an amicable separation was effected in the year 1843, when the German portion organized a new church, as will be seen by reference to the latter part of this article.

Present number of communicant members under the pastoral care of Charles W. Shaeffer, is 417. The Sabbath School has 412 scholars, 55 teachers, and has a library of about 800 volumes. It is under the superintendence of Mr. Peter Bernheisel.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Previous to the year 1796, those inhabitants of Harrisburg, who believed in the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, attended at, and were to a great extent, united with the Paxton church, a short distance from the town. Paxton church and Derry church were organized in 1720, which was a number of years before the settlement of Harrisburg. The first pastor of these two churches was the Rev. William Bartram, of Ireland. In 1736 or 8, he was succeeded by Rev. John Elder, also from Ireland, who continued their pastor until his death, in 1792. In 1793 the Rev. Nathaniel R. Snowden, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, was ordained and installed pastor of the United Congregations of Derry and Paxton. Although Harrisburg was at this time visited statedly by Rev. Mr. Snowden for preaching, yet no congregation separate from the Paxton Church was organized until the year 1796, when Mr. Snowden's connection with the Paxton and Derry congregations was dissolved, and he became the pastor exclusively of the

congregation then organized in Harrisburg. A formal organization of the Presbyterian church in Harrisburg then took place by the election and ordination of Mr. Samuel Weir and Mr. John Wilson, as Ruling Elders, and installing them together with Mr. Moses Gilmore, previously a Ruling Elder in the Paxton Church, as Ruling Elders of the Church in Harrisburg. Before the Court-house was built, the congregation worshipped in the loft of the old Jail, afterwards in the upper room of the Court-house.

Soon after Mr. Snowden became pastor of the church, the importance of a church building was greatly felt. As it was very customary in those days to raise money for benevolent purposes, by means of lotteries—application was made to the Legislature of Penn'a. for permission to raise by lottery, a sum not exceeding \$5,000, for the purpose of purchasing a lot and building a house of worship for the use of the Presbyterian church of Harrisburg. Accordingly, March 16, 1798, a law was passed, appointing, Robert Harris, Geo. Whitehill, Christian Kunkel, William Graydon, Geo. Brenizer, Adam Boyd, Archibald McAllister, and Samuel Elder, Commissioners for that purpose. The law provided that before a ticket should be sold, the scheme should be laid before the Governor of Penn'a. and approved by him; that the commissioners should take an oath diligently and faithfully to perform their duties, and that at least three of them should attend at the respective drawings of each day, until completed, so that, considering the strict provisions of the law, and the great respectability of the men charged with its execution, there can be no doubt, the law was faithfully and honestly executed, however much the principle of lotteries is now reprobated. The scheme was completed and the drawing which was commenced on the 1st June, 1803, was finished on the 7th of July following.

The minutes of each meeting are signed by John Wright, Chief Clerk.

On the 7th of June, 1804, the commissioners purchased the lot on which the church stands, for £400, and contracted soon after for the erection of the church, with Mr. William Glass. When the corner stone of the first edifice was laid, or when it was dedicated to the worship of God, cannot now be definitely ascertained. The house was built of brick 45 by 60 feet. In 1816, a gallery was constructed around three

sides of the house, and in 1816 an addition of about 22 feet was added to the front, which was occupied by the Sabbath School and as a lecture room.

On the 25th of June, 1805, the pastoral relation between Rev. Nathaniel R. Snowden, and the congregation was dissolved on his application to the presbytery. (Rev. Mr. Snowden is alive and at present, Dec. 1845, residing in Harrisburg.) April 13, 1808, Mr. James Buchanan, a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle, received a call from the Harrisburg congregation for two thirds of his time, and from the congregation of Middle Paxton for one third. On the 29th of Sept. following he was ordained, and February 12, 1809, was installed as pastor of the two congregations above named. He continued pastor until Sep. 10, 1815, when on his application, his connection was dissolved. In the language of the Rev. Dr. Dewitt, "Mr. Buchanan was much esteemed by his congregation as a man of intelligence, piety and an excellent preacher; he wrote his sermons with great care and committed them accurately to memory; his style was remarkably sententious and his sermons short.

"Under his ministry, the church was enlarged; it became established in the doctrines of the gospel; after Mr. Buchanan closed his ministry in Harrisburg, he remained for some years without a charge, in consequence of ill health; when sufficiently restored he took charge of a congregation in Greencastle, Franklin county, Pa.; afterwards he removed to Logansport, Indiana; where he ceased from his earthly labors, greatly beloved and respected."

After Mr. Buchanan's resignation, the Harrisburg congregation remained vacant for three years. On the 5th of October, 1818, the Rev. William R. Dewitt, a licentiate of the Presbytery of New York, received a unanimous call, to become their pastor; he shortly after signified his intention to accept their call, and removed to Harrisburg in December, 1818, and commenced to preach statedly to the congregation; on the 26th October, 1819, he was ordained to the gospel ministry, and on the 12th of November 1819, he was installed as pastor of the congregation.

The congregation did not obtain a legal charter until 1818. During the winter of 1840-'41, the Trustees re-purchased of the heirs of Robert Sloan, a part of the original church lot, which had been sold to Mr. Sloan, and on which he had

erected a three story brick house. In the spring of 1841, the old church was torn down, and the present church edifice was commenced. It was dedicated to the worship of God, on the 13th of February, 1842. It is constructed of brick, covered with white cement. Its dimensions are 63 feet by 84—adorned in front with a Grecian portico, supported by pillars of the Corinthian order. The basement story is above ground, and contains a lecture room, sabbath school room, and a studio, designed for the pastor. The audience chamber of the church is large and commodious, and with the galleries, will seat over one thousand persons. The pulpit front is of finely polished Italian marble, and the whole building is regarded as one of the handsomest churches in the county. The present number of communicant members is about 300. There is, in connection, a sabbath school, containing about 225 scholars and 24 teachers, and has a library of about fifteen hundred volumes. It is under the superintendence of Mr. James W. Wier. The temperance roll of the sabbath school, which was drawn up some years since by the superintendent, now contains upwards of 400 names.

The following is a list of the ruling elders elected, ordained and installed since the foundation of the church, viz :

Moses Gilmore, John Wilson, Samuel Wier, Adam Boyd, John Stoner, William Graydon, Joseph McJimpsey, Robert Sloan, Samuel Agnew, Richard T. Leech, John Charles Capp, Alexander Graydon, James W. Wier, Alexander Sloan, Samuel W. Hays, Alfred Armstrong, William McLean, and William Root.

Messrs. Agnew, Leech, Capp and Graydon, are alive, but having removed from Harrisburg, the six last named gentlemen constitute the session of the church.

Pastors of the church since foundation, viz ;

Rev. Nathaniel R. Snowden, from 1796 to June 25, 1805.

Rev. James Buchanan, February 12, 1809, to September 10, 1815

Rev. William R. Dewitt, D. D. November 12 1819—who still continues the pastor of the church.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The records of this church show that in 1802, this place

was visited in circuit, statedly, by Rev. Jacob Gruber. In 1810, the first society was formed. In October, 1818, the following persons constituted the church, viz: John Funk, — Mitchell, Jane Mitchell, John Bond, Rebecca Bond, Harriet Henry, Amelia Henry, William Musgrave, B. Barret, John Hosler, Alex. Buffington, John Rigg, Jane Wood, E. Wood, Louisa Power, Jacob M. Awl, Aurora Callender, Mary McMichael, Geo. Linkletter, John Burkett.

In 1820, the society erected the brick building on the corner of South and Second streets; in size 38 feet front by 40 feet deep, at an expense of fifteen hundred dollars. Trustees at that time, John Bond, James Gallaher and John Funk. This church was dedicated in December, 1820. Preachers then on this circuit, Rev. J. Gruber and H. G. King. It continued to be a circuit church until 1834, when Reverend Francis Hodgson became the first stationed pastor: the society then consisted of one hundred and seventy-five members. The old church being inconveniently small, the society which continued to increase rapidly, in 1837 commenced the large and commodious church on Locust street: size 60 feet 6 inches front, by 73 feet deep, cost \$9,459 24. It was dedicated in August, 1838, the society then numbering 209 members. The old church was disposed of to the "United Brethren," who, after occupying the same for a few years, sold it to the "Sons of Temperance," who greatly enlarged and improved it, and now occupy it for their usual meetings.

Pastors in charge since 1834, viz:

Rev. Francis Hodgson, Robert Gerry, Thomas J. Thompson, William Barnes, Joseph Lybrand, Anthony Atwood, Joseph Castle.

Present number of communicant members, 370. The Sabbath school contains 215 scholars and 25 teachers. Library, 500 volumes.

THE ST. STEPHEN'S (EPISCOPAL) CHURCH.

This congregation was founded on the 16th day of May, 1826, by the following persons, who then constituted its members, viz:

George B. Fisher, John B. Cox, William Mileham, William Putnam, James Woodman, James S. Buchanan, James

Woodman, James S. Buchanan, James Peacock, Samuel Bryan, Alexander C. Wilson, John E. Forster and John De Pui.

In 1827 they erected a very neat and substantial building of the Gothic order, on Front below Pine street; in size 40 feet front, by 60 feet deep, at an expense of \$5000. In this church there is an organ of superior tone, and in the tower, one of the finest church bells in Harrisburg.

The following is a list of its pastors, from its foundation to the present day:

Rev. Messrs. Clemson, Curtis, Reynolds, Stern, Kelly, Major, and Coit.

Present number of communicant members, 71. The sabbath school contains one hundred scholars, and has a library of about 550 volumes.

THE FIRST BAPTIST MISSION CHURCH.

The Rev. Dyer A. Nichols, under the direction of the Pennsylvania Baptist Board of Missions, arrived in Harrisburg, on the 19th of February, 1830; he sought out a few of the same faith. After sundry meetings in private houses, they agreed in council, on the 22d of March, A. D. 1830, to hold a meeting in the Unitarian church, which then stood where the Methodist church now stands in Locust street, near Third street, for the purpose of constituting themselves into a church; that meeting was held on the 2d of April, 1830—But nine persons attended, viz: Rev. Dyer A. Nichols, Griffith E. Roberts, Mary Berry, Abigail Rittenhouse, Ann Wilkinson, Thomas Corbitt, Julia Thompson, and Fanny Phillips; the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. D. A. Nichols, and these individuals constituted themselves the "First Baptist Mission Church of Harrisburg;" the first baptism took place on the 4th July, 1830—persons baptised, Levi L. Tate and Linn Banks; by the 19th Sep. following, their number increased to twenty-one; Rev. Dyer A. Nichols continued in pastoral charge until Sept. 30th, 1830.

In the fall of the same year (1830) this little congregation commenced the erection of a church on Front street, between Walnut and Locust streets, which was completed in August 1831; it is a neat edifice of brick, 40 feet by 50 feet deep;

having a fine school room in the basement. The original founders were William Griffith, Rev. D. A. Nichols, Griffith E. Roberts, and Jeremiah Rees; cost of lot and erection of building \$6,700; a large portion of which was contributed by a worthy member of the church; on the 18th day of August, 1831, the house was dedicated to the worship of God; on the 30th Sep. Rev. George J. Miles of Centre county, Pa. took pastoral charge of the church which he retained until Feb. 24, 1835.

The following is a list of the pastors since that time.

Rev. Samuel Wilson, from April 24, 1835 to November 22, 1835.

Rev. Thomas G. Keene, a few months in 1836.

Rev. Edward Kingsford, from Nov. 28, 1837 to December 31, 1839.

Rev. Matthew T. Semple, from Sept. 29, 1841 to April 1846.

Rev. Edward Connover, from August 11, 1844 to May 21, 1845.

At present, Dec. 1845, the congregation is without a pastor; though the number of communicant members has reached 77, it is now reduced to about 40. The Sabbath School attached to the church, contained in the summer of 1845, sixty scholars, and fourteen teachers, have a library of about five hundred volumes, and is under the superintendence of Mr. Adam Fahnestock.

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

The difficulties in relation to Divine Services, in the English and German languages, existing in the Evangelical Lutheran Zion's Church of Harrisburg, led, (as has been previously stated in this article) to an amicable separation between the English and German members, in the fall of 1842. After a number of preliminary meetings, the German portion who seceded from the church, formally organized and founded on the 8th of January, 1843; the present "German Lutheran St. Michael's Church." At this meeting, the Rev. G. Mertz, was chosen pastor of the congregation; on the 22d Feb. following, a committee was appointed to draft rules for their government which were adopted on the 6th of July 1843.

As the congregation had no church building of their own, they worshipped at times in the Court-house, old Methodist church, and in the German Reformed church, and Lecture Room.

The congregation soon took measures to secure a building and having purchased a lot in 2d street, below Meadow lane, of Thomas Elder, Esq., appointed a building committee, consisting of John G. Jauss, Christian Maeyer, Jacob Boyer, Jacob Reeve, and John Gastrock, with authority also to collect funds; with their accustomed liberality towards all good objects, the citizens of Harrisburg assisted their German Brethren, and several mechanics generously contributed in work and materials. Rev. G. Mertz's term having expired, the congregation called the present pastor, Rev. J. Vogelbach, then residing in Philadelphia, who was installed on the 21st July, 1844. Soon after this the building committee contracted with Messrs. Jones and Zimmerman, for the erection of the church; the corner stone was laid on the 4th of May, 1844, and on the 15th of Sep. following, the house was dedicated to the worship of God. During the building of the church, extreme difficulties were experienced, and often it was supposed that the enterprise would have to be abandoned: At this juncture, with a praiseworthy self-denial and dependence on God, four of the members, viz: Messrs. John G. Jauss, Christian Maeyer, Jacob Boyer and Frederick Gauch, advanced each one hundred and fifty dollars, making six hundred dollars in all, to enable the church to succeed.

The church is a handsome brick building, 38 feet by 60 feet, with basement story, has a front gallery, organ, and Gothic windows, did cost together with the lot about \$4000.

A flourishing sabbath school is attached to the congregation, under the superintendence of Mr. Nickerkis. In 1844 the congregation was incorporated, and by their articles of incorporation, it is ordained that divine service shall be performed in the German language only. Present number of communicant members, 200.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Saint Patrick's Church was built in the year 1826 by the

Rev. Michael Curran. It is a beautiful edifice, with a handsome tower and large bell, situated on State street, between 2nd and 3rd streets. It was consecrated on the 2nd October, 1827, by the Right Rev. Henry Conwell, then Bishop of the diocese of Philadelphia. Its size is about 50 by 75 feet, and cost from 6 to 7000 dollars. Rev. Michael Curran was its first pastor, and was succeeded by Rev. John Foley, who held charge of it only a few months. The latter was succeeded by the present incumbent, the Rev. Pierce Maher, who has been pastor nearly nine years. The congregation numbers about 350 members, including from 50 to 60 children, who attend catechism, on Sundays, throughout the year.

THE UNION WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH.

Composed of colored citizens, in Harrisburg, was organized under the pastoral care of the Rev. Jacob D. Richardson, on the 20th August, 1829. The organization took place in the old African church, a log building, still standing on the corner of 3d and Mulberry streets. The founders of the church were John Baptist, David Jennings, David Dadford, Thomas Stewart, Joseph Williams. Members in 1829, 70.

The following persons have since officiated as pastors of the church, viz :

Revd. David Stevens, John P. Thompson, George Galbreath, Solomon T. Scott, Samuel T. Gray, and at present, 1845, Rev. Basil Mackall.

The congregation, after struggling through many difficulties, succeeded in erecting a plain, but neat church, on Tanner's alley, to which they removed on the 24th November, 1839. Present number of communicant members, one hundred and eighty-five. The sabbath school contains nearly one hundred children, and has a library of about one hundred and fifty volumes.

THE UNION BETHEL.*

This is a neat brick edifice, with a basement story, 40 by 55 feet, situated on Mulberry street, between Front and Second streets. A congregation, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Winebrenner, erected this house in 1827. The Rev. Winebrenner was the pastor of this church for 6 years, when he was succeeded by Rev. David Crall.

The following is a list of the stationed pastors of the church, since its first organization.

Rev. John Winebrenner, from 1827 to 1833.

Rev. David Crall, from 1833 to 1835.

Rev. Edward West, from 1836 to 1838.

Rev. E. H. Thomas and J. Keller, for 1839.

Rev. John Winebrenner, for 1840 and '41.

Rev. E. H. Thomas, for 1842 and '43.

Rev. George M'Cartney, for 1844 and '45.

The members of this church number about one hundred. The Sabbath School connected with it, numbers about fifty scholars, and has a library of between 100 and 200 volumes.

RECAPITULATION OF THE HARRISBURG CHURCHES.

The German Reformed Church was founded in 1787: Present number of communicants, 200. Present Pastor, Revd. John F. Mesick. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 225. Library, 800 volumes.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church was founded in 1787: Present number of communicants, 417. Present Pastor, Rev. C. W. Sheaffer. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 225. Library, 800 volumes.

The Presbyterian Church was founded in 1796: Present number of communicants, 300. Present Pastor, Rev. W. R. Dewitt, D. D. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 249. Library, 1500 volumes.

* Repeated efforts had been made, by Mr. Kelker, to obtain a fuller account than this, which I gleaned from authentic sources, a few days before this part was put to press. COMPILER.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1810: Present number of communicants, 370. Present Pastor, Rev. Joseph Castle. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 240. Library, 500 volumes.

The Episcopal Church was founded in 1826: Present number of communicants, 71. Present Pastor, Rev. J. Coit. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 100. Library, 550 volumes.

The Baptist Mission Church was founded in 1830: Present number of communicants, 40. They have no Pastor, at present. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 60. Library, 500 volumes.

The German Lutheran Church was founded in 1843: Present number of communicants, 200. Present Pastor, Rev. J. Vogelbach. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 100.

The Roman Catholic Church was founded in 1826: Present number of communicants, 350. Present Pastor, Rev. P. Maher. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 50.

The Union Wesleyan Church was founded in 1829: Present number of communicants, 185. Present Pastor, Rev. Basil Mackall. Pupils and teachers of Sabbath School, 100. Library, 150 volumes.

The Union Bethel Church was founded in 1827: Present number of communicants, 100. Present Pastor, George M'Cartney. Pupils and Teachers of Sabbath School, 40. Library, 200 volumes.

CHAPTER XX.

FORT HUNTER, FORT HALIFAX, &c.

A number of Forts erected during 1752-'59—Fort Hunter, or McAllister's—Extract from Shippen's letter touching Fort Hunter—Brainerd's visit here—Petition, &c. touching the evacuation of Fort Hunter—Commissary Burd here—Conrad Weiser here (then Chambers') and delivers a message to the Indians from Shamokin; proceedings at, &c.—Present condition of—Duke de la Rochefoucault visits McAllister's—Brushy Rockville, notice of—Halifax—Fort Halifax—Indian conference at—Gov. Morris' orders and instructions to Col. Clapham to build a Fort at Armstrong's camp—Clapham's letter to Gov. Morris—Clapham's orders to Captain Miles—David Jameson's letter—McKee's Fort or trading house noticed—Shamokin or Fort Augusta.

During the French and Indian war a number of forts, blockhouses and stoccades were erected along the frontiers of the upper part of Lancaster county, (now Dauphin and Lebanon), for the defence and protection of the settlers.—Fort Hunter, of considerable importance, was situated at the mouth of Fishing creek, originally settled by the Chamberses;* but now well known as McAllister's.

There was a line of forts and blockhouses built by the provincial government between 1752 and 1760, extending from the Delaware river to the Potomac. Those on the east side of the Susquehanna were Fort Hunter[†], Fort Swatara, 24 miles from the former; Fort Henry, fourteen miles from Swatara; Fort Williams, twenty-two miles from F. Henry; Fort Everit, twelve miles from F. Williams; next was a

* When the Rev. David Brainerd was a missionary among the Indians he lodged all night at Chambers's. In his *Memoirs and Journal*, he says, under date of August 20th (Wednesday) 1746; Rode this day to one Chambers's, upon the Susquehanna, and there lodged. Was much afflicted in the evening with an ungodly crew, drinking, swearing, &c. Oh what a *hell* would it be to be numbered among the *ungodly*! —*Brainerd's Memoirs*, p. 376.

Blockhouse, ten miles from Fort Everit; Fort Allen, at Weisport, twenty miles from the Blockhouse; Fort Lehigh, ten miles from F. Allen; Depui's Fort, twenty-eight miles from F. Lehigh. Up along the Susquehanna were Fort Halifax, McKee's Fort, and Fort Augusta at Shamokin, all garrisoned according as the exigencies of the times demanded it, and when the men were to be had. Forts westward of the Susquehanna will be noticed in the sequel.

The following letter from Colonel Weiser to the Governor, shows the disposition of the forces in the several Forts, mentioned in the communication.

Heidelberg, in Berks county, July 11, 1754.

Honored Sir:

Immediately after my return from Philadelphia, I sent orders to the captains Busse, Morgan and Smith to meet me at Fort Henry on the 9th inst. to consult together on certain measures how to oppose the enemy from killing the people in reaping and gathering in their harvest. The evening before, 8th inst. Mr. Young arrived with your Honor's orders to me; I therefore set out next morning about 5 o'clock for Fort Henry in company with Mr. Young, as far as Benj. Spycker's. I arrived at Fort Henry at 10 o'clock; Capt. Busse met me with an escort of eight men on horseback about six miles on this side of Fort Henry; about 11 o'clock Capt. Morgan and Smith arrived. I immediately made your Honor's orders known to them; and the disposition was made. That eight men of Capt. Smith's company shall assist the people in the *Hole* (the place where murders have twice been committed) to gather in their harvest, and stay over night in the Moravian House. Eight of his men are to range westward of his Fort under the Hill, and if occasion require to be stationed in two parties to guard the reapers. Sixteen men are to be in, and about the Fort, to help and protect the neighbors; but constantly ten out of the sixteen are to stay in the Fort; and six men to range eastward from Manady towards Swatara; and six men to range westward towards Susquehanna; each party is to advance so far, that they may reach their Fort again before night. Capt. Busse's company, stationed as follows: ten men at Bernhard Tridel's, next to the Moravians; eight men at Caspar Snebelies; six men at Daniel Shue's or Peter Klop's. All these are westward of Fort Henry. Eastward, Capt. Busse is to post four men at Jacob Stein's; three men at Ulrich Spies; six men at the widow Kendal's; the rest, consisting of nineteen men, to remain in the Fort. Capt. Morgan's company as follows: Six men to range from the Little Fort on Northkill, westward to Emerich's; and stay there if the people unite to work together in their harvest. Six men to range eastward on the same footing. Eight men to stay in that Fort. Fifteen men are to stay in Fort Lebanon; eight to protect the people over the Hill in harvest time. Ten men to range constantly eastward or westward; and if the people return to their plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work.

All the aforesaid men are posted as much in a range as was possi-

ble, and would suit the settlements best. Your Honor will observe that there are not men enough left in the Forts to change or relieve the men on duty; but scarce sufficient to keep the Forts and send provisions to the several posts.

I did propose to the captains to make a draft of about twenty-five men out of the three companies, and send them over the hills to a certain place on Kind creek, to lie in ambush there for the enemy about ten days; but the large frontier which they have to guard with their men would not admit of it at this time; I was therefore obliged to give up that point. A great number of the back inhabitants came to the Fort that day and cried out for guards. Their situation is indeed desperate; about forty men from Tulpehocken have been out for their protection; but they soon got tired; and raised disputes and quarrels in order to get home again.

I hear that the people over Susquehannah will have protection, cost what it will. If they can't obtain it from the English, they will send to the French for it. I believe, from what I heard, that some on this side of the river, are of the same opinion; at least there is much *mumbling* among the back inhabitants.

I must mention to your Honor that when the people about Swatara and the Hole heard of Capt. Smith's being accused for neglect of duty, they wrote a letter to me in his favor, which I sent by Sammy Weiser, who can translate it if your Honor orders him to it. I also sent a letter from Capt. Busse, which contains the particulars of the last murder. I received it by the way coming from Philadelphia, and stopped the Express, as it was only directed to me, in order to save charges.

As I had no clerk for some time, I wrote a general letter yesterday to all the commanding officers eastward from Fort Henry to Easton, with a copy of your Honor's orders inclosed. I could not send every one a copy, but ordered them to take it themselves and send it forward immediately.

Just this moment, my son Sammy arrived from Fort Henry and tells me that there had been an engagement at Caghnecachecky, where twelve on our side were killed, and six Indians; that our people kept the field and scalped the Indians, and that the Indians ran off without any scalps. As bad news as it is, I wish it may be true. I have at present no more to trouble your Honor with, but am,

Sir, your very obedient

and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. I should have told your Honor that I keep a sergeant with nine private men of my company at Fort Henry under Capt. Busse, with the proviso that they shall stay in the Fort and defend it when the Captain's men are on their several posts or ranging. The Captain must keep a ranging party all along. To-morrow another sergeant marches from Reading with nine men to relief those of my company that have been out now two weeks.

C. W.

The precise locality of Fort Hunter is now not "*exactly*" known. It stood, according to a letter from Edward Shippen, April 19, 1756, "five or six hundred feet from Hun-

ter's house." It was surrounded by an entrenchment ; which however, in 1763, was level with the ground. The Revd. John Elder, then also Col. Elder, in writing to Gov. Hamilton, under date of October 25, 1763, says, "I have always kept a small party of men stationed at Hunter's, still expecting they would have been replaced by 18 or 20 of the Augusta troops, as your honor was pleased once to mention; and, if that post is designed to be maintained, as the entrenchment thrown up there, in the beginning of the late troubles, is *now level with the ground*, it will be absolutely necessary to have a small stoecade erected there to cover the men, which may be done at an inconsiderable expense."

From all the facts, now to be found on record, it appears, though the situation was a desirable one for a fort, it was not a well built one.

According to the Commissary general's return in November 1756, the state of the garrison at Fort Hunter, was as follows, viz: Two Sergeants, 34 privates; *Ammunition*, 4 pounds of powder, 28 pounds of lead; *Provisions*, 1000 weight of flour, 2000 pounds of beef:—two men's time up.

In council, 25th of August, 1757, a petition was received from the inhabitants of the township of Paxton, setting forth that the evacuating of Fort Hunter is of great disadvantage to them, that Fort Halifax is not necessary to secure the communication with Fort Augusta, and is not so proper a station for the Batteaux parties as Fort Hunter, and praying the governor would be pleased to fix a sufficient number of men at Hunter's under the command of an active officer, with strict orders to range the frontiers daily.

The Rev. John Elder addressed the following letter to Richard Peters, Esq., Secretary in relation to this subject:

PAXTON, 30th July, 1757..

Sir—

As we of this township have petitioned the Governor for a removal of the garrison from Halifax to Hunter's, I beg the favor of you to use your interest with his Honor in our behalf. The defence of Halifax is no advantage; but a garrison at Hunter's, under the command of an active officer, will be of great service; it will render the carriage of provisions and ammunition for the use of Augusta, more easy and less expensive; and by encouraging the inhabitants to continue in their places, will prevent the weakening of the frontier settlements; we have only hinted at these things in the petition, which you will please to enlarge on in conversation with the governor, and urge in such a manner as you think proper. 'Tis well known that representations

from the back inhabitants have but little weight with the gentlemen in power, they looking on us, either as incapable of forming just notions of things, or as biassed by selfish views: however, I am satisfied that you, sir, have more favorable conceptions of us; and that from the knowledge you have of the situation of the places mentioned in our petition, you will readily agree with us and use your best offices with the governor, to prevail with him to grant it; and you will very much oblige,

Sir, your most obedient
and humble servant,

JOHN ELDER.

While this question was pending in council, Commissary Young attended and informed the governor and council that Fort Halifax is a very bad situation, being built beyond two ranges of hills, and no body living near it, none could be protected by it; that it is no station for Batteaux parties, having no command of the channel, which runs close on the western shore, and is, besides, covered with a large island between the channel and the fort, so that numbers of the enemy may, even in day time, run down the river, without being seen by that garrison—he further said, that, though the fort or blockhouse at Hunter's was not tenable, being hastily erected and not finished, yet the situation was the best upon the river for every service, as well as for the protection of the frontiers.—Prov. Rec. Q. 134.

The Indians made several incursions near to Fort Hunter and killed a man in the fall of 1757. Bartram Galbreath, says, in a letter dated, Hunter's Fort, October 1st, 1757—“Notwithstanding the happy condition we thought this place in, on Captain Busse's being stationed here, we have had a man killed within twenty rods of Hunter's barn. We all turned out, but night coming on so soon, we could make no pursuit. We have advice from Fort Henry by express to Captain Busse, that the Indians are seen in large bodies, sixty together.

When Colonel James Burd visited Fort Hunter, in Feb'y 1758, he says, “he found Captains Patterson and Davis here with eighty men. The Captains informed me that they had not above three loads of ammunition a man—I ordered, he says, Mr. Barney Hughes to send up here a barrel of powder and lead answerable; in the meantime, borrowed of Thomas Gallagher four pounds of powder and one hundred pounds of lead. I ordered a review of the garrison to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

"Sunday 19—Had a review this morning of Capt. Patterson's company, and found them complete, fifty three men, forty-four province arms, and forty-four cartouch boxes—no powder, nor lead. I divided one half pint of powder, and lead in proportion, to a man. I found in this fort 4 month's provision for the garrison.

"Captain Davis with his party of fifty-five men was out of ammunition. I divided one half pint of powder and lead in proportion to them. Captain Davis has got twelve hundred weight of flour for the batteaux. Sundry of the batteaux are leaking, and must be left behind. Captain Patterson cannot scout at present for want of officers; I ordered him to apply to the country to assist him to stoccade the fort agreeable to their promise to his honor, the governor. There are three men sick here."

Fort Hunter (or Hunter's Mills) was a place whence much provision was taken up and down the Susquehanna for provincial purposes, in canoes or batteaux. The following is a list of canoes hired, June 23, 1763, for the transportation of provisions and ammunitions, from Fort Hunter or Hunter's mills to Fort Augusta.

From Alexander Laferty one, at 17 shillings and 6 pence; Robert Samuel one, at 12 shilling; James Chambers two, at £1; John Simpson one, at 10 shillings; Thomas Chambers one, at 10 shillings; George Allen one, at 10 shillings; John Likens one, at 10 shillings; James Patterson, at 10 shillings; and Jaames Barkens one, at 10 shillings; besides two batteaux belonging to the Province.

This place was of some note even while Joseph Chambers resided here. In 1749, Conrad Weiser delivered a message to the Indians who had come from Shamokin.

Memorandum of the message delivered to the Indians of Shamokin, at the house of Joseph Chambers, in Paxton, by Conrad Weiser.

There were present—Shickelimy, Taghneghdorrus, Caniadarogan, Scaienties, (a man of note among the Cayjokers.) Brethren:

You that live at Zinachson (Shamokin) I am sent to you by your brethren, the President and his council of Philadelphia, to pay you a visit and to acquaint you of what passes among the white people, also to inform myself how you do, and what passes among the Indians in these critical times.

Gave a string of wampum.

Brethren :

In the first place I am to acquaint you that your friend and countryman, *John Penn, the eldest son of Great Onas*, died last winter in England on his bed, and with a contented mind, and as his death must needs affect you, as it did us, being you are sensible he always has been a true friend to the Indians—I give you these handkerchiefs to wipe off your tears.

Gave twelve handkerchiefs.

Brethren :

I also inform you that your brother Gov. Thomas, has left us and is gone to England; not out of any ill will or disgust; but for the sake of his health; he has been ill ever since the treaty of Lancaster. The doctors of this country could do no good to him. He is in hopes that the air of his native country, and the assistance of some skillful doctor there will give him ease; he went away a good friend of the people of Pennsylvania and of his brethren the Indians, and will do them what service he can when in England.

Laid a string of wampum.

Brethren :

Notwithstanding the governor is gone, the same correspondence will be kept up with all the Indians, by the President and council of Philadelphia; they resume the same power with their President as if the governor were here; and the body of the people heartily joins them to keep up a good correspondence with all the Indians. According to the treaties of friendship subsisting between us, your old and assured friend, James Logan, is also in being yet, although he laid aside all public business as to the white people, in Indian affairs, he assists the council, and will not lay that aside as long as he is alive and able to advise; in confirmation thereof

I laid as string of wampum.

Brethren :

There was a trunk found in one of the rooms where your friend John Penn used to lodge when in Philadelphia, with some clothes in it, and as he has been gone for several years and the clothes were not spoiled, your friend, the Secretary, changed them for new ones, and sent them up to me to give to the Indians at Zinachson (Shamokin) to wear them out in remembrance of their good friend and countryman John Penn, deceased.

Gave ten strowed match coats and twelve shirts.

Brethren :

I have at present no more to say.

January the 17, 1747.

After about fifteen minutes Shickelimy made answer—Directed his discourse to the President and council of Philadelphia, and said :

Brethren :

We thank you for this kind visit; we longed to hear of you, and to inform ourselves of the truth of things reported among us. Some few of us intended a visit to Philadelphia this summer for that purpose; we are pleased with what has been said; and will give you a true account this day of all what passes among the Indians.

We then broke up for about an hour.

Then Shickelimy informed me in the presence of the others before mentioned, that in the beginning of last spring, some of the Zistage-

chroanna came to treat at Oswego, with a message from their whole nation, joined by the rest of the Indians, about the lakes of Canada, to the Six United Nations—To the following purport, viz :

Brethren :

The United Nations—We have hitherto been kept like prisoners on the othe side of the Lake, Onontio,* our father told us that if we should treat with the English, he could look upon it as a breach of the peace with him. Now we come to let you know that we will no more be stopt from treating with your brethren, the English. We will join with you to support the House of Oswego, when the goods that the Indians want, are so plenty—all the Indians about the Lakes will join, and if need, take up the hatchet against our foolish father Onontio, whenever you require it ; his goods are very dear, and he is turned malicious ; because he sees our women and children clothed fine in English cloths bought at Oswego. We have already let him know, that we want no more of his advice, as we did formerly, when we were young ; but that we became now men and would think for ourselves, so let the consequence be what it will. In confirmation of the above speech, the said deputies *laid several fine tobacco pipes adorned with wampum and fine feathers.*

They had an agreeable answer from the Six Nation council. The Six Nations have received messages from other nations to the same purport, all promising to engage in favor of the Six Nations and the House of Oswego.

Note.—The Zistagechroann are a numerous nation to the north of the Lake Frontenac, they don't come by Niagara in their way to Oswego but right across the Lake.

Shickelmy told me further that of late a council was held at Onondago, by the Six Nations, in which it was agreed to send a message to Canada, of the last importance ; and that also a message was sent to Albany to desire their brethren, the English, to tie their canoes or bateaux for a few days to the bushes, and not to proceed in their expedition against Canada, till their messengers came back from Canada, which would clear off the clouds, and the United Nations would then see what was to be done.

Scalenties informs me that a few days before he came away from Cayuckquor (which was about the twentieth day of May last) a message arrived at the Cayiucker county, and the Senickers, from the commanding officer at the French Fort of Niagara, inviting those two nations to come and pay him a visit, and to receive a fine present which their father Onontio had sent those two nations. He having understood that the large presents he had made to the Six Nations from time to time were withheld by the Onondagoes and Mohocks, of whom he had been informed that they are corrupted by the English, by which, and what they had received from Onontio they had enriched themselves, and cheated the other nations in union with them.

That some of the two nations were actually gone to Niagara to receive the presents and were set out the same day when Scalenties came away.

War against the French, in Canada, was not declared by the Six Na-

* The Indians called the French Onontios.—*Compiler.*

tions when Scaienties came away, and as yet uncertain when it would be done, at least not before the arrival of their messenger, and perhaps not this summer. The Sinickers and Cayiuckers are against it; the Mohocks are for it very much; the Onontagers have declared in open council last spring never to leave the Mohocks their eldest brother and founder of the Union—The Oneiders and Tuscarroras will follow the Onontagers example.

This is what Shickelimy assures not to be true.

The Mohocks engaged themselves in the war against the French, on their own accord, without the approbation of the Six Nations council, they having been over-persuaded by their brethren, some of the white people at Albany, and by the force of presents prevailed upon the council of the Six Nations, does not altogether like it, but think it too rashly of the Mohocks.

Shickelimy and Scaienties wonder at the dexterity of the French to have intelligence of the declaration of the Onontagoes in council, and so soon had presents at Niagara, and a message in the Sinickers country, but both say, the Six Nations will after all stick together notwithstanding the presents received from the French.

The five French Indian traders that were killed on the south side of Lake Erie, have been killed by some of the Six Nations (then called Accquanushioony, the name which the Six Nations give their people, signifies a Confederate). Another French trader has since been killed in a private quarrel with one of the Jonontatochraanu, likewise between the river Ohio and the Lake Erie. The Frenchman offered but one charge of powder and one bullet for a beaver skin to the Indian, the Indian took up his hatchet and knocked the Frenchman on his head and killed him on the spot,

This is all the news that can be depended on—several more stories I heard not worth while to trouble the council with, as there was no confirmation of them.

CONRAD WEISER.

The above report was read in council July 9, 1747.—Provincial Records.

McAllister's or McAllister's town, the name by which the place is now known, in Susquehanna township, contains some twelve or fifteen dwellings, a grist mill, two saw mills, a church and a school house.

McAllister, after whom the place is called, purchased a farm of 300 acres about the year 1785; and kept for some time a public house. Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt,* a French traveller, on a tour to see the country, who passed

* *Mr. Graydon*, in his *Memoirs*, speaks of the Duke—"In the spring or summer of 1795, a letter was delivered by a gentleman at my house (in Harrisburg) which gave me the opportunity of a transient acquaintance with the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, who, being on a tour to see the country, was recommended to my attentions."—*Graydon's Memoirs*, p. 346.

up the Susquehanna in 1796, speaks of McAllister's place—"McAllister owns about 300 acres—about 120 cultivated.—Price of lands near him is \$8 for woodland; \$50 for cleared. The houses, all of wood except the Inn which stands on the Susquehanna and in the precincts of Fort Hunter, erected many years ago."

Brushy Rockville, a post village, on the Susquehanna river, is of recent origin—of a few years growth—laid out by a Miss McAllister at the base of the Kittaning or Blue mountain, between the river and canal. It consists of some thirty or more dwellings, principally weatherboarded and painted white—three stores, one tavern. Formerly, Mr. Baldwin carried on an extensive foundry contiguous to the village. One has a commanding view of the Susquehanna from here, and of a very romantic scenery.

Halifax is on the Susquehanna river, seventeen miles, in a direct line from Harrisburg. It was laid out by Messrs. George Sheaffer and Peter Rise, in 1794, and named after Fort Halifax, which had been erected by Colonel William Clapham, according to the instruction of Governor Morris, in June 1756. The fort was built at the mouth of Armstrong's creek, about half a mile above the town. "There is, says W. Mitchell, nothing remaining to mark the place except that the ground is a little raised, and there is a well at the place—it was on the farm now owned by Mr. Joseph Geiger of Halifax." The town is in Armstrong Valley, and pleasantly situated; the Wisconisco canal passing between it and the river; it contains ninety dwellings, and twenty-seven shops of all kinds, one church, Methodist; two school houses, an "Odd Fellows Hall," four stores, four taverns—Mechanics of "various trades," viz: cabinet makers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, coopers, segar makers, saddlers, a gunsmith, a wagon maker, a broom maker, a chair maker; one Printing office, from which the "Halifax Herald" is issued; two justices of the peace, two physicians, two preachers of the gospel, Methodist and German Reformed.

Opposite the town is an island occupied by Leonard Clemson, noted for an "Indian Mound," which, it is said to contain the remains of Indians.

The following, from the Public Records, is here introdu-

ced, to afford the reader some idea as to the plan &c. of the Fort at the mouth of Armstrong's creek.

Col. William Clapham had been here some time before he received definite instructions to erect a Fort. He held a conference with an Indian chief of the Iroquois nation, June 10, 1756, as appears from the following minutes :

At a conference held at the camp at Armstrong's, June 10, 1756, between Col. William Clapham, and Oghaghradisha, an Indian chief of the Iroquois on the waters of Susquehanna.

Present—Captains Lloyd and Shippen; Interpreters, James Lowry and Lewis Montour.

My Brother,

Col. Johnston at my departure told me, thus brother, I find great difficulties in governing and supplying the wants of the Six Nations, in connection with me, 'tis therefore impossible I should also take charge of those seated at a distance on the waters of the Susquehanna, for which reason, I have recommended them by you, and this string of wampum to Col. Clapham (or Ugearunthiunth) for that purpose.

Brother,

The Iroquois living on the North Branch of Susquehanna have sent me as a representative of the whole, to treat with you (producing a belt of wampum) and will ratify all my contracts. Brother, they agree to your building a Fort at Shamokin, but are desirous that you should also build a Fort three days journey, in a canoe, higher up, the North Branch, in their country, at a place called "Adjouquay," and this belt of wampum is to clear the road to that place.

Brother,

If you agree to my proposals in behalf of my nation, I will return and immediately collect our whole force to be employed, in protecting your people while you are building a fort in our country at Adjouquay, where there is a good situation and fine soil at the entrance of a deep creek on a level plain five miles extending, and clear of woods. "Adjouquay is fourteen miles above Wioming, and an old woman may carry a heavy pack of skins from thence to the Minisink, and return to Adjouquay in two nights.

My Brother—

The land is troubled, and you may justly apprehend danger, but if you will grant our request we will be together, and if any danger happens to you, we will share it with you. My Brother, I have known this young man a good while (pointing to James Lowry) and have travelled far with him: he is a proper man, and knows the country well. I should be glad to recommend him as a companion on the march.

My Brother, (laying down a belt of wampum folded in the middle) this describes your path to Shamokin; (unfolding the belt and extending it to its full length) this is your road to Adjouquay.

Upon which he presented a belt, and offered his little son as a pledge of his fidelity, insisting at the same time that Col. Clapham should visit their town, escorted by their warriors, who desiring to turn out of their

way, would conduct him thro' the Delaware town, to their village, in defiance of all opposition whatever. [Prov. Rec. O.]

Orders and Instructions to Col. W. Clapham.

1. With these instructions you will receive a number of blank commissions, under my hand and seal, for subaltern officers in your regiment, which you are hereby empowered to fill up, with the names of such men as you judge most fit for the service, having regard to the merit and services of those already employed; taking care that they be of the Protestant religion, and well affected to his Majesty's government, and you will administer to them the oaths to the government, as your name is inserted in the General Dedimus for this Province, under the Great Seal, or cause Major Burd to do it.

2. Herewith you will also receive two plans of Forts; the one a Pentagon, the other a square, with one Ravelin to protect the curtain where the gate is, with a ditch covered way and glacis; but as it is impossible to give any explicit directions to the particular form of a fort without viewing and considering the ground on which it is to stand, I must leave it to you to build it in such form as will best answer for its own defence, the command of the river, and of the country in its neighborhood; and the plans herewith will serve to show the proportion that the different parts of the works should bear to each other.

3. As to the place upon which this fort is to be erected, that must be in a great measure left to your judgment; but it is necessary to inform you it is must be on the east side of the Susquehanna; the lands on the west, at the Forks, between the branches, not being purchased from the Indians; besides it would be impossible to relieve and support a garrison on that side in the winter time: from all the information I have been able to collect, the land on the south side of the east branch, opposite to the middle of the island, is the highest of any of the lowland thereabout, and the best place for a fort. The guns you have with you will form a rampart of a moderate height, commanding the main river. But as this information comes from persons not acquainted with the nature of such things, I am fearful they are not much to be depended on, and your own judgment must therefore direct you.

4. When you have completed the fort, you will cause the

ground to be cleared about it, to a convenient distance, and openings to be made to the river, and you will erect such buildings within the fort, and place there in such a manner as you shall judge best.

5. Without the fort, at a convenient distance, under the command of the guns, it will be necessary to build some log houses for Indians, that they may have places to lodge in, without being in the fort, where numbers of them, however friendly, should not be admitted, but in a formal manner, and the guard turned out; this will be esteemed a compliment by our friends, and if enemies should at any time be concealed under that name, it will give them proper notions of our vigilance, and prevent them from attempting to surprise it.

6. In your march up the river you will take care not to be surprised, and always to have your forces in such a disposition that you may retreat with safety.

7. You will make the best observations you can of the river and the most difficult passes you meet with in your way as well by land as water, which you will note upon the map I gave you, that it may be thereby amended, and furnish me with your opinion of the best manner of removing or surmounting those difficulties.

8. If you should be opposed in your march, or gain any intelligence of the approach of an enemy, for that or any other purpose, you will inform me by express of such intelligence or opposition, the situation you are in, and every thing else material that I may send you proper assistance, and be prepared for any thing that may happen, and in the meantime you are to use your best endeavors to oppose the enemy and to secure yourself.

9. As soon as you are in possession of the ground at Shamokin, you will secure yourself a breast work in the best manner you can, so that your men may work in safety, and you will inform me of your arrival there, and let me know what you will have occasion for, that I may apply to the commissioners to supply it.

10. You will order the company and others in whose hands you may trust any of the public provisions, or stores, to be careful and exact in the distribution thereof, and to keep exact accounts of every thing committed to their care.

11. Having suspected hostilities against the Delaware Indians on the east side of the North East Branch of Susque-

hanna, in order to enter into a treaty with them, I send you herewith a Proclamation for that purpose to which you will conform, and any friendly Indians that may join you in your march, or at Shamokin you will treat with kindness and supply them out of the Province stores with such things as they want and you are able to spare.

12. Having sent the Indians, New Castle and Jagree again to the town of Diahoga, accompanied with some of the Jersey Delawares, all our friends, who may and probably will return by the Susquehannah, you will in about a fortnight after this, cause a look out to be kept for them, and if they return that way, you will receive and assist them in their journey. Their signal will be a red flag with "union" in the corner, or if that should be lost, they will carry "Green boughs" or "Club'd muskets," will appear open and erect and not approach you in the night.

R. H. MORRIS.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms Philadelphia, this 12th day of June, 1756.

Camp at Armstrong's, June 20, 1756.

To Gov. Morris :

Sir—I received your Honor's of the 12th inst., together with your Honor's instructions, your Honor's answer to the Indian Sachem, six blank commissions, and two plans of fortification. Your instructions I shall obey with the utmost pleasure and punctuality. Your answer I delivered with due solemnity. In filling up the commissions I shall be particularly careful to regard your Honor's directions; when arrived at the ground I shall conform as near as possible to the plans, and hope I shall find no difficulty in the execution which industry and application may not surmount, and shall rely on your Honor for the supplies necessary during that time. The progress already made in this Fort renders it impracticable for me to comply with the commissioners desire to contract it, at which I am more surprised, as I expected every day orders to enlarge it, it being as yet, in my opinion too small. I shall leave an officer and thirty men with orders to finish it when I march from hence, which will be with all possible expedition after the arrival of the blankets, the rum and the money for payment of Battoe-men, for want

of which, I am obliged to detain them here in idleness, not thinking it prudent to trust them on another trip, for fear of their desertion, which may totally impede the service. I could wish the commissioners would invent some expedient to pay these men without money, or at least without the danger of trusting me with their money, the charge of which I am not ambitious of, or the much envied honor and trouble of expending it—this far is certain, that without such expedient, or the money, we cannot stir.

I have, pursuant to your Honor's command, sent down two Indian Sachems properly escorted, and committed particularly to the care of Mr. Shippen, and hope his coming will fully answer the ends proposed by your Honor and your council. I have found Capt. McKee extremely useful, and have sent him also at the Sachem's particular request.

The carpenters are still employed in building Battoes and carriages for the canoes, and every body seems disposed cheerfully to contribute their services towards the public good, if there ever was any any prospect or assurance of being paid for it. From your Honor's character of Capt. Busse, I am extremely sorry the Commissioners have not thought proper to comply with your Honor's proposal. I assure myself, your Honor, will omit no opportunity of extricating me from embarrassments arising from the want of money, both for the Battoe men and the soldiers; twenty-six of whom being Dutch (German) are now in confinement for mutiny on that very account. I am with all respect, your Honor's obedient humble servant.

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

P. S. The Fort at this place is without a name till your Honor is pleased to confer one.

☞ Philadelphia June 25, 1756.—Geo. Morris writes:—"The Fort at Armstrong's, I would have it called, **FORT HALIFAX.**"

Immediately on receiving instructions, Col. Clapham proceeded to erect fort, as appears from the following:

Camp at Armstrong's, June 15, 1756.

Sir:—On the 13th inst., I received your Honor's proclamation enjoining a cessation of hostilities for thirty days, and shall, as far as my judgment extends, pay all due deference to

it, but it not being accompanied with a single line of instructions, I am vastly at a loss how to proceed, not being able to determine whether only marching into that country may or may not be deemed an act of hostility, and must in order to acquit myself, leave the decision of that matter to the opinion of a council of war. I am the more uneasy as the Fort is not in a condition to be left, the river daily falling, and this perhaps the only opportunity this season may afford of a water carriage to Shamokin.

Having received a letter from the commissioners, I have transmitted to them copies of what I wrote to your Honor, except your Honor's private letter. Inclosed is an exact copy of what intelligence is communicated to me by Ogaghadarirah, the Indian messenger now at camp, a copy of which I have also inclosed the commissioners. I wait the return of the courses with the utmost impatience, and am sir, with all respect your Honor's most obedient and humble servant,

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

To Gov. Morris.

Hon. Gov. Morris:

Halifax, July 1, 1756.

Sir: I received your favor by Commissary Burd and the £100 which I distributed among the Battoe men in proportion to their several demands, in not being sufficient to discharge the whole. The ship carpenters have finished the carriages for the canoe, and as soon as they have finished the Battoes in hand which I expect will be done to-morrow, I shall give them a certificate of their services and discharge them all except one who will be absolutely necessary in the passage and without whose assistance we may probably lose more than his pay can cost the Province; now if my people are to be depended on in case of an accident on the water, and I can assure your Honor that I find fatigue and difficulties enough to conduct so amphibious an expedition, with all the assistance I can possibly command. I shall leave a sergeants party at Harris' consisting of twelve men, twenty-four at Hunter's Fort, twenty-four at McKee's store, each under the command of an ensign; and Captain Miles with thirty men at Fort Halifax, with the inclosed instructions, as I have removed all the stores from Harris' and McKee's to this place; Mr. Galbreath's presence does not seem very ne-

cessary at either of those two places, and his refusal to attend here has laid me under the necessity of appointing a person to act in that capacity under the direction of Commissary Burd till your pleasure shall be known. I am at present extremely engaged in embarking the regiments, stores, &c., for Shamokin, expecting to march time enough to night on the west side of Susquehanna, about five miles above Fort Halifax; and promising myself the pleasure of congratulating your Honor from Shamokin—and in the meantime very respectfully your Honor's most obedient, humble servant.

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

P. S. There are still one hundred blankets wanting in the regiment.

Orders to Captain Miles.

Sir:

Fort Halifax, July 1, 1756.

You are to command a party of thirty men at Fort Halifax, which you are to finish with all possible expedition, observing not to suffer your party to straggle in small numbers into the woods, or to go any great distance from the Fort unless detached as an escort, or in cause of special orders for that purpose. You are to build barracks within the fort for your men and also a store house thirty feet by twelve—in which you are carefully to lodge all provisions, stores, &c. belonging to the province: if the boards purchased for that purpose are not sufficient to finish the banquette and execute the other designs herein recommended, your men are to be employed in sawing more out of the pine logs now lying near the fort. You are to keep a constant guard, and relieve regularly, to have continual one sentry in each bastion, and in case of an attack to retreat to the fort and defend it to the last extremity.

If any thing extraordinary occurs you are immediately to dispatch notice thereof to his Honor, the Governor, and to signify the same to me, if any relief or instruction may be necessary.

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

To E. Shippen, Lancaster: Fort Halifax, Oct. 13, 1756.

Sir: As Col. Clapham is at Carlisle, and it being reported here that his Honor, our governor, has gone round by York, and therefore not knowing when he will receive an express that is sent to him from Shamokin, I have thought fit

to send an abstract of Maj. Burd's letter to me that arrived here at day-break this morning, that the gentlemen and militia of Lancaster county might take such steps as they think most prudent.

I thought it proper to acquaint you with a piece of intelligence that I have received by old Ogaghradariaha, one of the Six Nations chiefs, who came here yesterday in the afternoon, and is as follows—That about ten days ago before he left Tioga, there were two Delaware Indians arrived there who had just come from Fort Du Quesne and informed him, that before they left said fort, there were one thousand Indians assembled there, who were immediately to march in conjunction with a body of French, to attack his fort (meaning Fort Augusta) and he, Ogaghradariah, hurried down here to give us the information. He says further, that the day before he came in here, he saw upon the North Branch a large body of Delaware Indians, and spoke with them, and they told him, they were going to speak with the governor of Pennsylvania. Whatever intentions they have, they are marching towards our inhabitants.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

DAVID JAMESON.

P. S. The Major's letter is dated the 12th instant, in the afternoon.

Besides Fort Halifax, there were other forts above Fort Hunter, viz: McKee's Fort or Trading House, where Thomas McKee, the Indian trader was stationed. This place was about twenty-five miles above Fort Hunter. Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, makes mention of this place, in a letter dated April 17, 1756; and Fort Augusta, at Shamokin.

Hon. Gov. Morris:

Lancaster, April 19, 1756.

I have been at Captain McKee's Fort where I found about ten Indians, men, women and children; three of the women lying very ill in bed. The Captain tells me that Johny Shekallimy* is greatly dissatisfied with being there; and has several times been much out of temper, which he would hope was owing to nothing but the sickness of the Indians; and to their being often insulted by the fearful ig-

* John Shekallimy was a son of Shekallimy of Shamokin, who died in 1749.—*Compiler.*

norant people who have sometimes told Shekallimy to his face, that they had a good mind to scalp him. Shekallimy let me know that he wished the Indians would be moved down to Barney Hughes', where Capt. McKee's woman and children live; and afterwards if the governor thought proper he would go to Wyoming, and endeavor to bring down Buckshenoath, a great man, a Shawanese Captain, who would have come with him, but the Delawares would not permit it; he says that at the council at Wyoming, whither your Honor sent Silver Heels and the Belt, to know why the Indians struck their brethren, the English; this Shawanese Captain observed, that it was not more than one night and a haf (meaning a year and a half) since he had taken the Governor by the hand, and heard every thing that he said, which was very kind and loving, and why should he forget him so soon? That he was then sitting between the Six Nations, and the Governor, takes one in each hand.—That council consisted of Shawnese, Chickasaws, Mohickans and some of the Six Nations, and Shekallimy was appointed to give the answer, who spoke and said: You, our young brothers, the Shawanese it may be, know the reason of striking the English, as you are always in council with the Delawares; no, answered the Shawanese, directing their discourse to the Six Nations, saying: Old Brothers, we cannot tell why the hatchet was taken up against the English, but you know the reason of it who were always with them at General Braddock's battle.

Shekallimy says there are about 400 Indian warriors at Tiaogo of the Six Nations, Delawares, Munsees and Shawanese, and about 40 more at Wyoming, viz: ten Mohickans, ten Mingoos, and 20 Shawnese; he says if we attempt to go up to Shamokin to build a fort, we may expect to be attacked by a body of 500 Indians in our march.

According to your Honor's instructions to Mr. Burd, I have prevailed with Shekallimy to stay where he is till we can hear again from your Honor. I pity the sick Indians much, because there is neither sheep, calves or poultry to be got in that part of the country, and tho' game is very plenty, yet the Indians dare not venture out of the Fort for fear of being murdered; and the Captain informs me that the garrison has been but poorly served; the provisions having been very ordinary; but they are now a little better used;

yet he would fain believe, the persons employed about them did their best; he finds that one pound of Burlington pork will go as far as two pounds made in that country.

John Harris has built an excellent stoccade around his house, which is the only place of security that way, for the provisions for the army, he having much good cellar room, and as he has but six or seven men to guard it, if the government would order six men more there to strengthen it, it would in my opinion, be of great use to the cause, even were no provision to be stored there at all, though there is no room for any scarce in Capt. McKee's fort: Hunter's house indeed would answer such a purpose were it stoccaded, but as it is quite naked, and stands five or six hundred feet from the Fort, the enemy may surround it in the night and kill the people, and set the roof on fire in three or four places at once; and if the sentry should discern the fire as soon as it begins to blaze, it might be too difficult a task for them to quench it without buckets or pails. I speak with submission; but this stoccade at Harris' ought by all means to be supported, for if for want of this small addition of men above mentioned, the Indians should destroy it, the consequence would be the most of the inhabitants within twenty miles of his house would immediately leave their plantations. The enemy can come over the hills, at five miles distance from McKee's fort. But notwithstanding all I have said on this head, I am convinced that the number of stoccades set up and down the country do more hurt than good.

By the best intelligence I can get, it will be best for Colonel Clapham to march his regiment on the west side of Susquehanna, after first marching 8 or 9 miles on this side; the only difficulty will be in crossing the river. I know there are several bad passes, as far as Capt. McKee's plantation where I have been; it is but twenty-five miles from Hunter's mill.

I ought to have acquainted your Honor before, that I have cautioned Capt. McKee against suffering any body to abuse the Indians for the future; and by all means advised him to keep a strict watch over the young Frenchman whom he has under his care.

Inclosed is a letter from Mr. Harris, and also a memorandum. At the request of a poor neighbor of his, who has but one hand to work with for his living, I send an account

of some losses which he assures me he has sustained by the Indians, whom Mr. Harris maintained at the charge of the government.

Please pardon my prolixity, and permit me to say, that I am, your Honor's &c.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.*

In 1749, Conrad Weiser, on his way to Shamokin with a messenger from the government to the Indians there, met the sons of Shickelimy at the Trading House of Thomas McKee and delivered them the messages there; because he had been informed that all the Indians were absent from Shamokin.—In a letter addressed to Richard Peters he mentions these facts:

Sir—By these lines I let you know that I returned from Shamokin on the 18th inst. I happened to meet the eldest and the youngest son of Shickelimy at the Trading house of Thomas McKee, about twenty miles this side Shamokin, by whom I was informed that all the Indians had left Shamokin for this present time, for want of provisions; so I thought best to deliver my message there to the sons of Shickelimy. There were also present three more of the Six Nations Indians; one of them was Toyanogow, a noted man among the Cayukers. All what I had to do was to let the children and grand-children of our deceased friend Shickelimy know that the governor of Pennsylvania and his council condoled with them, for the death of their father; which I did accordingly, and gave them a small present, in order to wipe off their tears, according to the custom of the Indians. The present consisted of six stroud match coats, seven shirts, with a string of wampum to Taghneghdoarus, Shickelimy's eldest son, and desired him to take upon him the care of a chief, in the stead of his deceased father, and to be our true correspondent, until there should be a meeting between the governor of Pennsylvania and some of the Six Nation chiefs, and then he should be recommended by the governor, to the Six Nation chiefs, and continued if he would follow the footsteps of his deceased father. He accepted thereof, and I

* Col. Clapham, mentioned by Mr. Shippen, seems to have fully understood Indian warfare: See his instructions to Capt. Hambricht. Appendix I.

sent a string of wampum by Toganogan (who was then setting out for Caynikgno) to Onondago to let the council of the Six Nations know of Shikelimy's death, and my transaction by order of the governor. There was a necessity for my so doing.

The Indians are very uneasy about the white people settling beyond the Endless mountains, on Joniady (Juniata) on Sherman's creek and elsewhere. They tell me that about thirty families are settled upon the Indian lands this Spring, and daily more go to settle thereon. Some have settled almost to the head of Joniady river along the Path that leads to Ohio. The Indians say (and that with truth) that, that country is their only hunting ground for deer, because farther to the north, there was nothing but spruce woods and the ground covered with Kalmia bushes (laurel), not a single deer could be found or killed there. They asked very seriously whether their brother Onas had given the people leave to settle there. I informed them of the contrary, and told them that I believed some of the Indians from Ohio, that were down last summer, had given liberty (with what right I could not tell) to settle. I told them of what passed on the Tuscarora Path last summer, when the sheriff and three magistrates were sent to turn off the people there settled; and, that I then perceived that the people were favored by some of the Indians above mentioned; by which means the orders of the governor came to no effect. So far they were content, and said, the thing must be, as it is, till the Six Nation chiefs would be down, and converse with the Governor of Pennsylvania, about the affair.

I have nothing else to add; but remain, sir, your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, April 22, 1749.

The provincial government erected a fort at Shamokin in 1756, called Fort Augusta, and was garrisoned during the French and Indian war. James Young commissary general visited this place in July 1756, and speaks with much doubt of the success of building a Fort at that important place under the uneasiness of the officers and men that prevailed. A fort, however, was erected, and in 1756, '7, and at a later

period several companies were stationed here, as will appear from the following letters.

Carlisle, July 18, 1756.

To the Hon. Gov. Morris.

Sir—I did myself the honor to write to you on my arrival at Shamokin. I staid there four days, in which time I was greatly perplexed to know how to act, there being a general dissatisfaction among the officers concerning my instructions from the commissioners to pay them, for therein I am commanded to pay Lieut's 5s. 6d. and the Ensigns 4 shillings per day, whereas they expected 7s. 6d. and 5s. 6d. I am likewise ordered to pay 384 private men and 16 sergeants. I find seven more in the camp besides Ensign Meyers, with twenty men at McKees' store; Ensign Johnston with 23 men at Hunter's mill; and a Sergeant with 13 men at Harris's, all ordered there by Colonel Clapham, and above his number of 400; I therefore did not pay, neither could muster them, the certificates of enlistment being disposed among the officers. At Shamokin the people are extremely uneasy for their pay. The Colonel is highly displeased, I had not orders to pay him for his Captain's commission, likewise that I brought him no money to pay the *Battoe men*; he talks loudly of his ill usage and threatens to leave the service; that he will go and join the Six Nations, whether they side with the English or French. This I thought my duty to acquaint your Honor with. I was informed that he is to charge the Province with 116 *Battoe men* at 2s. 6d. per day; at the same time, I was credibly informed that the greater part of them are soldiers in his regiment, and are now daily employed in the *battoes*, and are very capable to work them.

The officers in general seem not at all pleased under their colonel's command, all of them, but three or four, have been confined by him, and continued so during his pleasure, and released without trial by the same authority.

I am sorry to say, I much doubt the success of building a fort at that important place, Shamokin, under the present uneasiness of the officers and men. I was ordered by the commissioners to pay all the men up to the 1st of July, deducting half their pay for their clothing; but the captain refused to receive it on such terms, and presented me a paper, setting forth their reasons, of which I sent you a copy. I being ap-

prehensive of a general desertion, and considering that the Province had the same security for the clothing complex with their demands, and thereby have broken my order from the commissioners. I shall be extremely sorry if I am blamed for so doing; for nothing but the good of the service (and so I judged it to be) would have induced me to act contrary to my instructions. The subalterns would not ~~give~~ me receipts for their full pay, but in part. If I have done wrong, I beg your pardon, and that you will continue that friendship to me, I have already so largely experienced, and shall ever gratefully acknowledge.

Capt. Loyd was to set out soon after me for Philadelphia, to lay their grievances before your Honor.

I left Shamokin early on Friday morning in a battoe; we rowed her down to Harris's before night, with four oars. There is but one fall above those you saw, not so bad as those at Hunter's; it is about 4 miles from Fort Halifax. I came here yesterday noon, hoping to find money sent by the commissioners, to pay the forces on this side the river, as they promised; but as yet none is come, neither is Colonel Armstrong come, and I find but 16 of his men here, the rest are gone to Shearman's valley, to protect the farmers at their harvest; so when the money comes, I shall be at a loss for an escort. I am informed that a number of men at the Forts, whose time of three months is expired, agreeable to their enlistments, have left their posts, and expect their pay when I go there, this may be of bad consequence, and I heartily wish there were none enlisted for less than twelve months. I am persuaded the officers would find men enough for that time.

I am with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JAMES YOUNG.

From the following, furnished by a great grand son* of the writer of the letter, it appears that John Carson was sent, by the governor of the province, in the autumn of 1756, to open a trade with the Indians at Shamokin.

* John Carson, a clerk in the Secretary's office of Pennsylvania.

Fort Augusta, December 17th, 1757.

May it please your Honor :

I beg leave to acquaint your Honor that I arrived at Fort Augusta on the 30th of November, and on the 8th current opened a trade with the Indians, the store not being fit to receive the goods sooner, and I have disposed of some of the goods and received a small parcel of skins, the amount of which I now enclose for your Honor's perusal. According to the best of my judgment I have calculated the prices of the goods that the profits may defray the charges of the Trade. I have not been able to put an equal profit on all the goods, the Indians having heretofore had stroud blankets and match coats at a very low rate, therefore I have charged the other goods something higher. If it appears to your Honor that I have over-charged any of the goods or sold at too low a rate, please to favor me with your sentiments for my future direction, and I shall act agreeably thereto.

I am your Honor's most humble servant,

JOHN CARSON.

The following letters written at Fort Augusta are here introduced in connection with the preceding, as having relation to the same subject, and containing some important facts.

Fort Augusta, July 1st 1758.

May it please your Honor.

Your favor of the 21st past was delivered me by Mr. Holland, agent for the Indian affairs, who arrived here last Wednesday evening, and observe what your Honor says with respect to supplying such Indians as Tedyuscung shall direct with provisions, Indian corn, powder and lead, and conforming to the orders you gave to the commandant officer respecting the friendly Indians that came to trade with provisions, all which I shall punctually observe.

Capt. Trump has received no orders from Col. Bouquet or any other person concerning a flag to be used by our friendly Indians or our own people ; neither have any such flags been sent here. Agreeable to your Honor's orders I wrote down to George Allen, master of the batteaux, by a man that went down yesterday morning, and acquainted him, that you had ordered me to take all the batteaux men into the service again, and that they were to be paid by the general,

and ordered him immediately to set about collecting them together ; but I understand, as soon as they were discharged, a great many of them engaged with Sir John St. Clair to go upon the expedition, some as horse drivers, and others with wagons, &c.

I do not doubt but Capt. Allen will pick up a sufficient number of them. It is not every man that is fit for that service, they ought to be well acquainted with the river poleing. I understand Croston is expected this night at Harris's with a drove of cattle ; a party goes down from here to-morrow to escort them and the batteaux up ; if the latter should be ready and not wanted below to ferry over troops, &c., if that should be the case, I have desired Capt. Allen to get as many of them as can be spared to bring up the cannon, powder, ball, and sundry other necessities, which are much wanted here, and have lain there a long while. When I was coming up, I asked Sir Allen McClain, who was then at Harris's, if he could not spare four of the batteaux to bring up some necessities that were much wanted at Fort Augusta, he said, by no means, as there were troops, baggage, &c., coming daily, and that they must not be detained. If the batteaux can't come up at present, the party is ordered immediately to escort up the bullocks, as so many men cannot be spared long from this weak garrison.

We have now about two hundred men here ; seventy of them came up with me, and are part of Captain Eastburn's and Capt. Jackson's companies ; thirty of their men were left at Hunter's fort, and what were here before we came—one hundred and twenty odd are the callings of the whole battalion, and several of them sick and lame ; so that we have but a very weak garrison.

Your Honor has doubtless heard of the French building a fort upon the West Branch of this river, at a place called Shingelaclamoos. And by a letter Capt. Trump has received from Col. Burd, wherein he acquainted him that from the intelligence he has had, he has great reason to believe the French intend to attack this fort. I desired Capt. Young to acquaint your Honor that there was neither surgeon nor doctor here ; since which he informs me there is one appointed for us, I hope he will be here soon, as several of our men are suffering for want of one. I believe Doctor Morgan left us but few drugs, as the shop looks very thin.

Agreeable to your Honor's orders by Mr. Peters concerning a flag that Tedyuscung took from Bille Sock, I enquired of Capt. Trump, whether he knew how he came by it; he said he did not; that he came here with his brother and a Mohawk Indian man and a squaw on the 26th of May, and brought with him cags of rum which he said he got from the inhabitants; but would not say from whom: he went away the next day and said he was going to Tyahogah to see his friends and sell his rum; that he should return here in the fall to hunt—this is all the conversation passed between Capt. Trump and him; but upon enquiring of Lieut. Broadhead, if he knew any thing about it, he informed me, that he was down at Hunter's fort and saw Indian Jegra have such a flag as Mr. Peters, in his letter to me, describes, and he thinks that the word "union" was written with ink in the middle of it; and Capt. Patterson, the commander of the fort, informed him he gave them to Jegra; Bill Sock, his brother, and another Indian were there at that time and they all that evening went away, and the next morning Jegra returned to the fort, beaten in a most cruel manner, of which he died the next day. Lieut. Broadhead saw no more of the flag. Your Honor's most obedient humble servant,

PETER BARD.

P. S. Just as I had finished my letter, nine Indians came here in two canoes from Wyoming, for Indian corn—there is none yet come up—they desire to have some flour for the present which shall be given them.

To Hon. Wm. Denny, Esq.

CHAPTER XXI.

MIDDLETOWN, PORTSMOUTH, HUMMELSTOWN, &c.

Middletown laid out by George Fisher, Esq., 1755 ; First settlers ; Place of note during the Revolution ; Kreider appears at, with the first ark ; Town incorporated. Portsmouth ; George Frey ; Notice of Germans from New York bound for Tulpehocken. Hummelstown laid out in 1762, &c.; Rocktown, Franklin, Cox's Town, Highspire, Linglestown, Greensburg, Millersburg, &c.; Berrysburg, Gratztown, Wisconsin, Snyderstown, Oak Dale, Duncan's Island, &c., Present condition of; Indian relics discovered; Settled by Huling; Visited by the Rev. Brainerd in 1745; Incidents touching it; Clark's Ferry.

Middletown, post town and borough of Swatara township, is the oldest town in the county, having been laid out thirty years before Harrisburg, and seven years before Hummelstown, and is nine miles by the turnpike road south-east of Harrisburg, near the junction of the Susquehanna and Swatara, at which the Pennsylvania and Union canals unite.

It was laid out in 1755 by George Fisher, Esq., (father of George Fisher, Esq., who resides near the place on a well cultivated farm*) "in the centre of a large tract of land, bounded by the Swatara and Susquehanna, conveyed to him by his father John Fisher, a merchant of Philadelphia. The site was that of an ancient Indian village, founded by the Susquehanna Nation. Middletown derived its name from its local position, mid-way between Lancaster and Carlisle.

"The proprietor being a Friend, several of this denomination from the city and the lower counties followed him; and these, with several Scotch and Irish merchants, formed the first inhabitants of the village, who enjoyed, up to the period of the revolution, a very extensive and lucrative trade with the nations and others settled on the Susquehanna and Juniata, and also with the western traders. Several of the

* George Fisher, Esq., prepared this interesting, early history of this town originally for the "Historical Collections of Pa."

Scotch and Irish merchants entered the army, whence few returned. During the war a commissary department was established here, when the small boats for General Sullivan's army were built, and his troops supplied with provisions and military stores for his expedition against the Six Nations.

"After the war, trade again revived, and flourished extensively until 1796, after which it gradually declined.—Until then, the mouth of the Swatara was considered the termination of the navigation of the Susquehanna and its tributary streams. So far down, it was considered safe; below this it was believed to be impracticable, on account of the numerous and dangerous falls and cataracts impeding its bed. In 1796, an enterprising German miller by the name of Kreider, from the neighborhood of Huntingdon on the Juniata, appeared in the Swatara with the first ark ever built in those waters, fully freighted with flour, with which he safely descended to Baltimore, where he was amply compensated for his meritorious adventure. His success becoming known throughout the interior, many arks were built, and the next year, many of them, fully freighted, arrived safely at tide-water. This trade increasing, a number of enterprising young men were induced to examine critically the river from the Swatara to tide, by which they became excellent pilots. The enterprise of John Kreider thus diverted the trade of this place to Baltimore, where it principally centred, until the Union canal was completed in 1827, when it was again generally arrested at its old post. It would probably have so continued, if the Pennsylvania canal had not been continued to Columbia, by which the principal obstruction in the river, the Conewago falls, was completely obviated. Middletown, or rather Portsmouth, laid out in 1814, by the son of the original proprietor, at the junction of the Union and Pennsylvania canals, again declined. A large trade, however, in lumber and other articles of domestic produce, is still intercepted here, supplying the valleys of the Swatara, Quitapahilla, Tulpehocken, and the Schuylkill. It may fairly be presumed, from the local advantages enjoyed by this town, that it is destined ere long to become one of much importance."

The town was incorporated in 1829, and contains about 150 dwellings, several stores and taverns, a bank, four churches, Lutheran, German Reformed, Methodist, and

"Church of God" or Bethel, several school houses; the usual number of handicrafts. The first settlers, were Irish, English and some Scotch; but the present population is principally German.

Portsmouth, between Middletown and the Susquehanna, was laid out, as stated above in 1814, by George Fisher, Esq., son of Mr. Fisher, who laid out Middletown. The Union canal, the Pennsylvania canal, the Harrisburg and Lancaster railroad, all intersec there. Close by these are 2 blast furnaces, one foundry, two extensive flouring mills, and three saw mills, all propelled by the waters of the Swatara.

Between Portsmouth and Middletown, on the plain, stands the Emmaus Institute, devoted to the education of poor orphan children, where, it is said, the children "are to be carefully trained in the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Instruction is given in the German and English languages, and the charter has been so altered by the legislature as to permit the establishment of a literary and scientific department in connection with the orphan house, in which all the branches of modern learning are taught. The institution owes its origin to the liberality of Mr. George Frey, formerly a distinguished citizen of Middletown. It has only been recently erected, after many years of expensive and vexatious litigation, since the death of the donor, some forty years since. The life of Mr. Frey was marked with not a little of romance. His name, by the way, was not Frey, but Everhart."

"When Mr. Fisher, the founder of the town, first came to the place, he used to hire George, who was then a penniless German lad, to assist in ploughing his fields and clearing up his new land. George lived with Mr. Fisher some years until he had saved a little fund; but his ambition looked above the plough, and investing his money in a stock of trinkets, finery, and other articles for Indian traffic, he mounted his pack, and started up the Susquehanna. Passing the mountains, he encountered a party of soldiers from the garrison at Fort Huyster, who arrested him as a runaway redemptioner, (a servant who had been sold for a time to pay his passage from Europe,) a character common in those days, and far more consistent with George's appearance and language than that of a pedler; for what pedler, said they, would risk life and property thus alone, and on foot, on this dangerous

frontier? "Ich bin frey, ich bin frey," (I am free,) repeated George earnestly, in German, in reply to their charges. He succeeded in convincing them of his independence, and went with them to the garrison, where he became quite a favorite, the soldiers knowing him by no other name than "Frey," which they had caught from his first reply to them. He sold out his pack at a fine profit, and continued to repeat his adventures, still passing as George Frey, until he was able to start a little store in Middletown, and he afterwards erected a mill. Near the close of the revolution, when the old continental money was gradually depreciating, George, who always kept both eyes open, contrived to be on the right side of the account, so that, instead of losing, he gained immensely by the depreciation; and, in short, by dint of untiring industry, close economy, sharp bargains, and lucky financiering, George at length became, on a small scale, the Stephen Girard of the village, and owned a great part of the real estate in and around the town. He had not, however, *all* the good things of this life; although he was married, heaven had never blessed him with children—a circumstance which he bitterly regretted, as certain worthy fathers of the Lutheran Church can testify. The property, therefore, of the childless man, was destined to cheer and educate the fatherless children of a succeeding age. He died in 1807 or 1808, and a splendid seminary, erected about the year 1840, is the monument of George Frey's benevolence."

The reason why Middletown was so noted a mart for the sale of grain, brought down the Susquehanna in keel bottom boats and canoes was, the Conewago falls prevented their further descent. Much of the grain that was sold here, was ground into flour at Frey's mill, or stored up, and sold to the millers in Lancaster county. In 1790, there were 150,000 bushels of wheat brought down the Susquehanna, and passed through Middletown for the Philadelphia market.—HAZ. REE. II. p. 131.

About the year 1794 or '95, the first vessel, in the shape of an ARK, but of small dimensions, arrived at Harrisburg, from Huntingdon, on the Juniata, the Conewago falls were run with safety by it. About the same time that arks were introduced, the Conewago canal at York Haven was commenced, and on its completion in 1797 or 1798, keel bottom boats were passed through; then Columbia became a mart

of some importance, and a great portion of business, in the sale and purchase of wheat, was drawn away from Middletown. But in a few years afterwards, boats ventured beyond the rapids below, and reached tide water, and thus this kind of trade was measurably diverted from both Middletown and Columbia.

It is worthy of remark here, that in the year 1723, some Germans, from the province of New York, leaving Schoharie, wending their faces in a southwestern direction, traveling through the forest, till they reached the Susquehanna, where they made canoes, freighted them with their families, &c., and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara creek, thence worked their way up, till they reached a fertile spot on Tulpehocken creek, where they settled amidst the Indians. The names of some of those families are still preserved, viz: Yans, Ritt, Schitz, Serbo, Sab, Shaver, Shart, Pacht, Cricht, Pisas, Falborn, (Walburn) Filler.—*HIS. OF BERKS*, p. 99.

Hill Island and *Shelly's Island*, are immediately below Portsmouth. Passing, it might be remarked, that in November, 1844, a number of "Millerites," dressed in Ascension robes, spent a cold night on this Island, waiting to go heavenward!

Hummelstown was laid out October 26th 1762, by Mr. Frederick Hummel, and was long named Frederickstown; but the name has been changed to Hummelstown. It is situated in Derry township, nine miles east of Harrisburg, on the turnpike road leading to Reading; seated in a fertile limestone region, highly cultivated by wealthy and industrious Germans.

It contains about one hundred dwellings, five stores, two taverns, one Lutheran Church, one "Union Meeting house," three school houses, the town being divided into three school districts, each of which contains one large school. The present (1845) population is about five hundred and thirty.—There are, says Mr. George Fox, who has furnished the facts, twenty-five different kinds of mechanics in this place, engaged in the following occupations, viz: 3 butchers, 3 saddlers, 3 blacksmiths, 1 watch and clock maker, 5 tailors, 4 cabinet makers, 6 shoe makers, 2 lumber merchants, 3 physicians, 1 tobacconist, 3 coopers, 5 joiners and house carpenters, 1 barber, 3 wheelwrights and chair makers, 3 plas-

terers, 3 blue dyers and weavers, a coverlet weaver, 3 drovers, 2 stone cutters, 1 wagon maker, 1 coach maker, 3 painters.

"The following are a few of the oldest settlers of the town now living: Jacob Hummel, sen., John Fox, Frederick Hummel, George Gish, George Fox, Christian Spade, Frederick Richert, Daniel Baum, Adam Dean."

During the Revolution of '76, Hummelstown was made a place of deposit for arms, ammunition, &c., whence the garrison on the west branch were supplied.

The Swatara creek, along which the Union canal lies, runs close by the town. On the banks of the Swatara, a short distance from town, is a remarkable cave, about half a mile in length; it is much visited in the summer season; The visiter, as in all subterranean caverns, receives, on entering it, in summer, "a cold reception." It abounds with stalactites and stalagmites. Not far from this cave, rises the lofty isolated mountain called Round Top, from whose height a fine prospect of the surrounding scenery can be had.

High Spire, post town of Swatara township, on the bank of the Susquehanna, was laid out about thirty years ago; it contains about thirty houses, a store and two taverns, two churches and a mill. It is on the turnpike road leading from Harrisburg to Middletown, six miles from the former and three from the latter. The Pennsylvania canal and the Harrisburg and Lancaster railroad pass through it. The inhabitants are distinguished for industry.

Rocktown, appropriately named, is a small town in Londonderry township, on the "Conewago Hills," two miles south of Middletown, on the turnpike road, and consists of a few houses.

Franklin, also Londonderry township, is a small village, consisting of four or five dwellings, and tavern. The election is held here.

Coxtown, a pleasant little village, in Susquehanna township, on the bank of the Susquehanna, containing ten or twelve houses, a Methodist church, a school house, two taverns and several mechanic shops. The village received its name from Mr. Cox, the proprietor. It is on the turnpike road four miles north of Harrisburg.

Linglestown, a post town of Lower Paxton township, laid out by Mr. Lingle, after whom it is called, is a small village

but pleasantly situated, south of the Blue mountain, on the road leading from the Susquehanna to Jonestown, in Lebanon county. It contains between twenty and thirty dwellings, a Lutheran church, meeting house and several houses, two stores and two taverns. Paxton creek rises a few miles north-east of it, and passes near it.

Greensburg or *Dauphin*, formerly called Port Lyon, is a post village in Middle Paxton township, was laid out about twenty years ago by the late Hon. Innis Green, it is on the turnpike road from Harrisburg to Clarks Ferry, eight miles from Harrisburg, at the confluence of Stoney creek, with the Susquehanna. It is a thriving village, consisting of about one hundred dwellings, many of which are commodious, and substantially built. It contains two stores, four taverns, two churches, a Methodist, and a German Reformed, two school houses, and one of the most extensive tanneries in the interior of Pennsylvania. It is on the south side of the creek. In 1830 it was carried on by Eldridge and Birch, of Philadelphia—now owned by Mr. Patton, & Co. of Phila.

Four miles above this place is Emaline Furnace, at the mouth of Clarkes creek, in a fine valley, pretty well improved.

Millersburg, a post town of Upper Paxton township, north of Berry's mountain, at the confluence of the Wisconsin creek with the Susquehanna, twenty-three miles north of Harrisburg, on the road leading to Sunbury. It was laid out by Daniel Miller, formerly of Lancaster county, in 1805 or '6. It stands on an elevated spot, a short distance from the river; contains between seventy or eighty dwellings, two stores, two taverns, three churches; a Methodist, a Lutheran, and an Evangelical; one mill; and three mills near it.

Millersburg will, ere long, become a place of some importance, being situated near the coal regions, with which it communicates by the Lykens valley railroad, and with Harrisburg by the Wisconsin canal, and the "Main Line."

The first settlers of this region were Huguenots. Francis Jacques, or Jacobs, resided some time at Halifax, but afterwards located here, where he had taken up several thousand acres of land. Among others, Kleim Larue, (Laroi) Shorra or Jury, Werts, Stoever,* (Stoeverling) Shutts,

* Daniel Stoever shot a wolf (1817) from his porch, that was in pursuit of his cattle; two miles above Millersburg.

were early settlers here. Lycans, William, Revalt, Ferrees, and others, settled higher up the valley.

At Lycan's, on the Wisconisco creek, the Indians fired upon Lycan and Revalt, (March 7, 1756,) while foddering the cattle. For the particulars, see chap. vii.

Berrysburg, a post town, in Mifflin township, on the road leading from Millersburg, through Lykens' valley into Schuylkill county; it is 35 miles from Harrisburg; contains between 20 and 30 dwellings, several stores and a tavern.

Gratztown, a post village of Lykens township, was laid out by Mr. Gratz, after whom it is named, between 30 and 40 years ago. It is on the road leading from Millersburg to Reading, and contains between 40 and 50 dwellings, several stores and taverns, and the usual number of handicrafts, found in country villages. It is 30 miles from Harrisburg.

Wisconisco is a small village, started since the mining operations have commenced at Bear Gap. It contains 20 or more miner's houses, mechanics' shops, &c. It is quite a bustling place.

Snyderstown, in Mahantango township, is a very small village.

Oak Dale was laid out in 1830 or '31, and is contiguous to the coal-mines: in 1831 it had an excellent public house, called "Oak Dale," opened by Mr. Burr, son of the celebrated bridge builder.

Duncan's Island, as the place is now called, remarkable for many interesting incidents in the early history of this county, is at present a flourishing settlement, at the mouth of Choniata, Juneauta, or as now spelled Juniata river, fourteen miles above Harrisburg. This island and Haldeman's are near the western shore of the Susquehanna, which is here nearly a mile wide, and is crossed by a substantial wooden bridge—the second one erected here—the first having been destroyed by a remarkable freshet seven or eight years ago. A dam across the river just below the bridge, creates a pool, on which boats cross by means of a double or two story towing path attached to the bridge. The canal continues up Duncan's Island—at the junction it diverges into the Juniata and Susquehanna divisions.

Duncan's Island is nearly two miles long, at the lower point of which the small village is situated.

"This Island says Watson was the favorite home of the

Indians, and there are still many Indian remains. At the angle of the canal, near the great bridge, I saw the mound covered with trees, from which were taken hundreds of cart loads of human bones, and which were used with the intermixed earth, as filling materials for one of the shoulders or bastions of the dam. What sacrilege! There were also among them beads, trinkets, &c."—*Watson's Annals*, ii. 192, '3.

The Swedish family of Huling came originally from Marcus Hook, and settled this fine island—"Mrs. Duncan's (late proprietor of the Island) grandfather to Marcus Huling, was one of the earliest settlers in this section of the country.

He settled, (possibly as early as 1735,) on the upper end of the island. Her other grandfather, Watts, was also another settler in this vicinity. Mr. Hulings established a ferry across the mouth of Juniata, and built a causeway at the upper end of the island for pack-horses to pass. A Mr. Baskin established a ferry across the Susquehanna at the foot of the big island, (Haldeman's.) The trade was at that time carried on entirely with pack-horses. When the hostile Indians broke in upon the frontier in 1756, Mr. Hulings left here and went out to Fort Duquesne, and afterwards became proprietor of the point where Pittsburg now stands. Becoming discontented with his situation in that disturbed frontier, he sold out for £200, and returned to Duncan's island, where he re-established his ferry and made further improvements. A bloody fight occurred on the island between the whites and Indians about the year 1760. On one occasion news came to Mr. Hulings that the Indians were coming down the river to attack the settlement. Hulings packed up a few of his valuables in great haste, and putting his wife and child upon a large black horse, fled to the foot of the island, ready to cross over at the first alarm. Thinking that perhaps the Indians might not have arrived, he ventured back alone to the house to try to save more of his effects. After carefully reconnoitering the house, he entered and found an Indian up stairs, coolly picking his flint. Stopping some time to parley with the Indian so that he might retreat without being shot at, his wife became alarmed at his long delay; and, fearing he had been murdered by the Indians, she mounted the black charger, with her child on her lap, and swam the Susquehanna.* This was in the spring when the river was up. Our modern matrons would scarcely perform such an achievement. Her husband soon arrived, and in his turn, became alarmed at her absence; but she made a signal to him from the opposite side, and relieved his anxiety.—*Day's His. Col.* p. 290.

David Brainerd a distinguished missionary among the Indians visited them here and elsewhere on the Susquehanna in the autumn of 1744; again in May 1745, when he visited many towns and settlements of the Indians; some seven or eight tribes, and preached to different nations by different interpreters. On the 17 May he left Shamokin. The 19

* She came down to Fort Hunter, now McAllister's. A Mrs. Berryhill got safe to the same place; but her husband was killed and scalped.—*Watson*.

he visited an Indian town called Juneauta situated on an island in the Sasquehanna. Was much discouraged with the temper and behavior of the Indians here ; although they appeared friendly when I was with them the last spring, and then gave me encouragement to come and see them again. But they now seemed resolved to retain their pagan notions, and persist in their idolatrous practices.

Sept. 20.—Visited the Indians again at Juneauta island, and found them almost universally very busy in making preparations for a great sacrifice and dance. Had no opportunity to get them together, in order to discourse with them about Christianity, by reason of their being so much engaged about their sacrifice. My spirits were much sunk with a prospect so very discouraging ; and especially seeing I had this day no interpreter but a pagan, who was as much attached to idolatry as any of them, and who could neither speak nor understand the language of these Indians ; so that I was under the greatest disadvantages imaginable. However, I attempted to discourse privately with some of them, but without any appearance of success : notwithstanding, I still tarried with them.

In the evening they met together, nearly 100 of them, and danced around a large fire, having prepared ten fat deer for the sacrifice. The fat of the inwards they burnt in the fire while they were dancing, which sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height ; at the same time yelling and shouting in such a manner that they might easily have been heard two miles or more. They continued their sacred dance nearly all night, after which they ate the flesh of the sacrifice, and so retired each one to his own lodging.

I enjoyed little satisfaction ; being entirely alone on the island, as to any Christian company, and in the midst of this idolatrous revel ; and having walked to and fro till body and mind were pained and much oppressed, I at length crept into a little crib made for corn, and there slept on the poles.

Lord's day, Sept. 21.—Spent the day with the Indians on the island. As soon as they were well up in the morning I attempted to instruct them, and labored for that purpose to get them together ; but soon found they had something else to do ; for near noon they gathered together all their powaws, or conjurers, and set about half a dozen of them playing their juggling tricks, and acting their frantic, distracted postures, in order to find out why they were then so sickly upon the island, numbers of them being at that time disordered with a fever and bloody flux. In this exercise they were engaged for several hours, making all the wild, ridiculous, and distracted motions imaginable, sometimes singing, sometimes howling, sometimes extending their hands to the utmost stretch, and spreading all their fingers ; they seemed to push with them as if they designed to push something away, or at least keep it off at arm's end ; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurring water as fine as mist ; sometimes sitting flat on the earth, then bowing down their faces to the ground ; then wringing their sides as if in pain and anguish, twisting their faces, turning up their eyes, grunting, puffing, &c.

Their monstrous actions tended to excite ideas of horror, and seemed to have something in them, as I thought, peculiarly suited to raise the devil, if he could be raised by anything odd, ridiculous, and frightful

Some of them, I could observe, were much more fervent and devout in the business than others, and seemed to chant, peep, and mutter with a great degree of warmth and vigor, as if determined to awaken and engage the powers below. I sat at a small distance, not more than thirty feet from them, though undiscovered, with my bible in my hand, resolving, if possible, to spoil their sport, and prevent their receiving any answers from the infernal world, and there viewed the whole scene. They continued their horrid charms and incantations for more than three hours, until they had all wearied themselves out; although they had in that space of time taken several intervals of rest; and at length broke up, I apprehended, without receiving any answer at all.

After they had done powawing, I attempted to discourse with them about Christianity; but they soon scattered, and gave me no opportunity for anything of that nature. A view of these things, while I was entirely alone in the wilderness, destitute of the society of any one who so much as "named the name of Christ," greatly sunk my spirits, and gave me the most gloomy turn of mind imaginable, almost stripped me of all resolution and hope respecting further attempts for propagating the gospel and converting the pagans, and rendered this the most burdensome and disagreeable Sabbath which I ever saw. But nothing, I can truly say, sunk and distressed me like the loss of my hope respecting their conversion. This concern appeared so great, and seemed to be so much my own, that I seemed to have nothing to do on earth if this failed. A prospect of the greatest success in the saving conversion of souls under gospel light would have done little or nothing towards compensating for the loss of my hope in this respect; and my spirits now were so damped and depressed, that I had no heart nor power to make any further attempts among them for that purpose, and could not possibly recover my hope, resolution, and courage, by the utmost of my endeavors.

The Indians of this island can, many of them, understand the English language considerably well, having formerly lived in some part of Maryland, among or near the white people; but are very drunken, vicious and profane, although not so savage as those who have less acquaintance with the English. Their customs, in various respects, differ from those of the other Indians upon this river. They do not bury their dead in a common form, but let their flesh consume above the ground, in close cribs made for that purpose. At the end of a year, or sometimes a longer space of time, they take the bones, when the flesh is all consumed, and wash and scrape them, and afterwards bury them with some ceremony. Their method of charming or conjuring over the sick, seems somewhat different from that of the other Indians, though in substance the same. The whole of it among these and others, perhaps, is an imitation of what seems, by Naaman's expression, (2 Kings v. 11,) to have been the custom of the ancient heathen. It seems chiefly to consist in their "striking their hands over the diseased," repeatedly stroking them, "and calling upon their god;" except the spurting of water like a mist, and some other frantic ceremonies common to the other conjurations which I have already mentioned.

When I was in this region in May last, I had an opportunity of learning many of the notions and customs of the Indians, as well as observing many of their practices. I then travelled more than 130 miles

upon the river, above the English settlements; and in that journey met with individuals of seven or eight distinct tribes, speaking as many different languages. But of all the sights I ever saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful, or so near akin to what is usually imagined of *infernal powers*, none ever excited such images of terror in my mind, as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous reformer, or rather restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his *pontifical garb*, which was a coat of *bear-skins*, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear-skin stockings, and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of the Indians' skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced towards me with the instrument in his hand which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his appearance or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me I could not but shrink away from him, although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was; his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful. He had a house consecrated to religious uses, with divers images cut upon the several parts of it. I went in, and found the ground beat almost as hard as a rock, with their frequent dancing upon it. I discoursed with him about Christianity. Some of my discourse he seemed to like, but some of it he disliked extremely. He told me that God had taught him his religion, and that he would never turn from it, but wanted to find some who would join heartily with him in it; for the Indians, he said, were grown very degenerate and corrupt. He had thoughts, he said, of leaving all his friends, and travelling abroad, in order to find some who would join with him; for he believed that God had some good people somewhere, who felt as he did. He had not always, he said, felt as he now did; but had formerly been like the rest of the Indians, until about four or five years before that time. Then, he said, his heart was very much distressed, so that he could not live among the Indians, but got away into the woods, and lived alone for some months. At length, he said, God comforted his heart, and showed him what he should do; and since that time he had known God, and tried to serve him; and loved all men, be they who they would, so as he never did before. He treated me with uncommon courtesy, and seemed to be hearty in it. I was told by the Indians, that he opposed their drinking strong liquor with all his power; and that, if at any time he could not dissuade them from it by all he could say, he would leave them, and go crying into the woods. It was manifest that he had a set of religious notions which he had examined for himself, and not taken for granted upon bare tradition; and he relished or disrelished whatever was spoken of a religious nature, as it either agreed or disagreed with his *standard*. While I was discoursing, he would sometimes say, "Now that I like; so God has

taught me," &c.; and some of his sentiments seemed very just. Yet he utterly denied the existence of a devil, and declared there was no such creature known among the Indians of old times, whose religion he supposed he was attempting to revive. He likewise told me that departed souls went *southward*, and that the difference between the good and bad was this: that the former were admitted into a beautiful town with spiritual walls, and that the latter would for ever hover around these walls in vain attempts to get in. He seemed to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way, and according to his own religious notions; which was more than I ever saw in any other pagan. I perceived that he was looked upon and derided among most of the Indians as a *precise zealot*, who made a needless noise about religious matters; but I must say that there was something in his temper and disposition which looked more like true religion than any thing I ever observed among other heathen. But, alas! how deplorable is the state of the Indians upon this river! The brief representation which I have here given of their notions and manners is sufficient to show that they are led captive by Satan at his will," in the most eminent manner; and methinks might likewise be sufficient to excite the compassion and engage the prayers of God's children for these their fellow-men, who, "sit in the region of the shadow of death."—*Memoirs*.

On the 23d of September Brainerd left the Indians and returned to the Forks of Delaware, (Bucks county, now Northampton).

The following interesting facts were furnished by Mitchell Steever, Esq., of New Port, Perry county:

"At one time when Mr. William Baskins, grand uncle to Cornelius and James Baskins, having a crop of grain on what is now called Duncan's Island (having however previously removed his family to Fort Hunter for security) returned with part of his family to cut the grain; and while engaged, all on a sudden they were startled by the yell or whooping of Indians, who were hard by; however, on discovering that they were neighbors, their alarms were quieted; but, alas! they were deceived; for the barbarous savages, as soon as near enough, gave them distinctly to understand that their object was their scalps! At this moment, they all fled in consternation, hotly pursued, towards the house, and when there, Mr. Baskins, in the act of getting his gun, was shot dead and scalped; his wife, a daughter of about seven, and a son three years old, were abducted. A Mr. McClean who was also in the field, plunged into the river and swam the Juniata, at what is called the "Sheep Island," and concealed himself in the cleft of rocks, on the opposite side, and thus eluded the pursuit of the savages and saved his life.

Mrs. Baskins effected her escape from the Indians some

where near Carlisle; the daughter was taken to the Miami country, west of the Ohio, then an unbroken wilderness, where she was detained for more than six years, when in conformity to a treaty made with the Indians, she was delivered up, and returned. She was afterwards married to Mr. John Smith, whose son James is now residing in New Port, Perry county, and to whom I am indebted for this interesting tradition. The lad, that was taken at the same time, was carried to Canada, where he was raised by Sir William Johnston, not knowing the name of the boy, when he was baptised by a missionary, was named, Timothy Murphy. He was afterwards discovered by Alexander Stevens, Mr. James Stevens' father, who resides in Juniata township, Perry county, by some peculiar mark on his head. He has visited his friends in Perry. James Smith, his nephew, when at Canada in defence of his country, during the late war, visited him and found him comfortably situated near Malden in Upper Canada, and the owner of a large estate."—*See Chap. vii.*

The present Clark's Ferry, near Duncan's Island, was called Queenashawakee by the Indians, and the Juniata near by it was spelled Choniata. This ferry was once a great fording place—a little above it, at the White Rock, on the river side, John Harris had, in 1733, a house and some fields cleared, which was complained of by the Indians.

CHAPTER XXII.

Original settlers—Present population—Education—Relief of the Poor.

In preceding pages it has been stated that settlements had been made within the present bounds of Dauphin, prior to 1719 or 1720. Prior to 1729, or 1730, all that portion south of the Blue mountain, was settled. James Logan, in a letter to John Penn, Esq. dated February 27th, 1731-2, says, "I must further observe that almost all the lands on Susquehanna, south of the hills above Pextang, that bound what is habitable on the east side of the rivers are generally settled by our people, though the Five Nations still claim them.—HAZ. REG. of Pa. iii. 210.

The townships in the southern and eastern portion of the county, (then Chester county) were settled prior to 1719 or 1720; Pextang, or Harris's, at an earlier period, and McCallister's, then Chambers's, prior to 1729 or 1730.

The first settlers, with few exceptions, were from the north of Ireland; some from Scotland, and were usually called "The Scotch Irish." They possessed all the indispensable qualities requisite to make good pioneer settlers. Dauntless and valorous were they. Educated as Presbyterians, they had strong hopes of becoming the undisturbed possessors of the lands still, to some extent occupied by the tawny sons of the woods; this they did, but at the cost of many a helpless child, an endeared bosom companion, a father, a mother, or some friend or relative; for during the French and Indian war, from 1755 to 1763, many fell victims to the cruel savages then marauding the frontier settlements, as the attentive reader will have observed from Chap. vii.-xi., pp. 85, 88, 95, 100, 102, 103, 118, 123, 126, 128, 130, 133, 141.

Owing to the want of fire arms, ammunition, &c., and not living as contiguous as people in older settled countries, they were obliged to abandon their houses and farms.

Perhaps all would have left this region of country, had it not been for some bold and daring men amongst them, of this number none was more conspicuous than Rev. JOHN ELDER,

who shared in the sufferings of the settlers. At that eventful time, "he collected around him the aged, and the women fled to him for succor. Here by day and night, under the wide canopy of heaven, with true confiding faith in God, with rifle in hand, he poured forth his eloquent aspirations for the safety of his congregational charge. To attack him was not even attempted by the hostile and merciless savages, who that day made a descent down the Susquehanna, and fell upon the unsuspecting, murdering and scalping with savage butchery, the exposed settlers.

"On Sunday he preached to his congregation; every man had his loaded rifle—two rifles were in the pulpit. As was expected, the Indians approached them, laying in ambush, sent a spy to reconnoitre, who reported that two rifles were in his desk; they then hastened away, committing many murders on their return."

The Revd. Elder, as well as other pastors of congregations in various parts of the frontiers, animated the people to manfully resist the hostile foe.

Richard Peters, in writing under date of Philadelphia, May 3d, 1758, to George Stevenson, of York, Pa., says, "The ministers should be desired, in different and proper parts of the county, and at proper distances, as their congregations may be seated, to appoint meetings, and animate the people to raise leveés with all possible despatch, as they are designed, by one vigorous effort to dispossess the enemy, regain the Indians, and establish a durable and advantageous peace."

Mr. Stevenson, in answer to Mr. Peters, under date of York, May 21st, 1758, says, "The Revd. Mr. Craddock gave me the pleasure of a visit, and preached an excellent war sermon from Mr. Lishy's* pulpit, on Friday last, in the hearing of the Revd. Barton, Bay and Lishy; he went with Mr. Barton yesterday; is to deliver another sermon to the same purpose to-day, from Mr. Barton's pulpit."

This contracted war and its concomitant scenes, infused a military and adventurous spirit into the young men, and we find them ready, at any moment, to repel the enemy, protect at imminent hazard of their lives, fathers, mothers, brothers,

* The Rev'd. Lishy had charge of several German Reformed congregations, in York county at the time, viz: Yorktown, Kreutz creek, Codorus, and at Bermudian creek.—His. York co. p. 694.

sisters and relations; for that purpose ranging along the borders of the exposed frontiers, watching the clandestine or secret movements of the enemy, (who, they knew would steal upon them in the dead of night, in the unguarded hour of repose—while at meal, at work in the field; and that the innocent and helpless, would alike, without respect to sex or age, fall victims to the savages)—cutting off occasional savage parties, and breaking up their secret haunts.

Circumstanced as they were, they knew of no other course to pursue than to protect themselves against all whom they had reason to suspect as principals of, or accessaries to, the numerous murders committed upon the whites; and, it may be, it was under the apprehension that the Indians at Conestogo, in Manor township, Lancaster county, were not “free from the blood of the whites,” that induced the Paxton Boys to make that dreadful onslaught, they did, of which some account has been given in a preceding page.—See Chap. vii.

The following, from the pen of Mr. R. C., a gentleman of more than ordinary research, is here introduced, as being to the point.

In 1760 the inhabitants of Lancaster county were in constant alarm, from murders and depredations committed by the Indians.

They represented to the Assembly “that large bodies of hunters killed deer and other game upon the Indian Hunting Grounds; that this land was given to the Indians by treaty; that the hunters treated the defenceless Indians with great cruelty; that the resentment of the Indians was roused; they therefore requested the Government to protect them from the Indians, by the payment of scouting parties, as not only their property but their lives were threatened.”

A company of rangers was raised by the settlers, to act as a guard upon the borders of the county, and prevent any incursions by the Indians.

1761 general alarm and consternation prevailed among the settlers, from murders committed on the whites, with the burning of the cabins at night; such were the acts of atrocity committed by the Indians, at the time when their unsuspected victims were asleep. The Indians always appeared where the inhabitants were unprotected, or in fancied security; they showed no mercy.

Imagination cannot conceive the perils with which the settlement of Paxton was surrounded from 1754 to 1756. To portray each scene of horror would be impossible—the heart shrinks from the attempt. The settlers were goaded on to desperation; murder followed murder; scouts brought in the intelligence that the murderers were traced to Conestogue. Rifles were loaded, horses were in readiness. The mounted; they called on their pastor to lead them. He was then in the 57th year of his age. Had you seen him then, you would have beheld a superior being. He had mounted, not to lead them on to the destruction of Conestogue, but to deter them from the attempt; he implored them to return, he urged them to reflect; “pause, pause, before you proceed.” It was in vain; “the blood of the murdered cries aloud for vengeance; we have waited long enough on government; the murderers are within our reach, and they must not escape.” Mr. Elder, reminded them that the “guilty and the innocent could not be distinguished.” “Innocent! can they be called innocent who foster murderers?” Mr. Elder rode up in front, and said, “As your pastor, I command you to relinquish your design.” “Give way, then,” said Smith, “or your horse dies,” presenting his rifle; to save his horse, to which he was much attached, Mr. E. drew him aside, and the rangers were off on their fatal errand.*

A palliating letter was written by the Rev. Mr. Elder to Gov. Penn, in which the character of Stewart is represented as *humane, liberal and religious*.

The Rev. Mr. Elder died at the advanced age of 86 years, in 1792, on his farm adjoining Harrisburg, beloved in life, and in death lamented. He frequently visited the Indians at Conestogue, Pequehan, and the Big Island, and was much respected by them. He had frequently represented to the Christian Indians the wrong they were doing to the whites by admitting stranger Indians among them; conduct which made them suspected of treachery.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Elder, to Governor Hamilton, dated September 13, 1763:

* Upon what authority Mr. R. C. makes this statement, I know not; if it is mere tradition, there may be a mistake (see Rev'd Elder's letter p. 163, 164. It is recorded in a very popular work, that the people of Cumberland county, took an active part with the Paxton Boys." The following extract shows how far they were concerned.

"I suggest to you the propriety of an immediate removal of the Indians from Conestogue, and placing a garrison in their room. In case this is done, I pledge myself for the future security of the frontier."—See p. 164.

Carlisle, Dec. 28, 1763.

I have the pleasure to inform your Honor that not one person of the county of Cumberland, so far as I can learn has either been consulted, or concerned in that inhuman and scandalous piece of butchery—and I should be very sorry that even the people of this county should attempt avenging their injuries on the heads of a few inoffensive superannuated savages, whom nature had already devoted to the dust.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Gov. John Penn.

Companies, each consisting of an officer, and fifteen men, were stationed, as late as June, 1764, in various parts of this and adjacent counties east of the Susquehanna river. In Paxton township, at Fort Hunter, was Ensign James Foster; at David Patten's, Capt. S. Hunter. In Hanover township, Manady Gap, was Lieut. J. Lycans; at John Cameron's, Capt. Timothy Green; at John McFarling's, was Lieut. Charles Stewart: at Godfried Young's, was Ensign Thomas Cambleton. Farther eastward, in Bethel township (Lebanon,) was Capt. P. De Haas, with eighteen men; at Rehner, in Bethel township, (Berks,) was Lieut. J. Seely, with fourteen men.

PRESENT POPULATION. Though, at present, the majority of the inhabitants are Germans, but few had settled within the limits of it prior to 1745 or 1750. Among the earliest German settlers, are found the names of Gabriel, Schultz, Stern, Musser, Rosebaum, Ricker, Schwar, Boor, Lichty, Roth, Schitz, Hailman, Sues, and others. Shortly prior to, and immediately after the revolution of '76, the Germans were numerous. At the opening of the revolution, most of the Paxton, Derry, and other early settlers, sought the ranks of the army, from which but few returned to live in Paxton, &c. Consequently, comparatively few of the Scotch Irish's descendants are to be found in this county. Not less than two-thirds are Germans; and of those, nearly all speak the language of their *Vaterland*—and nearly all speak, or at least understand English; and these reside most numerous on the borders of Lebanon and Schuylkill, and in the upper part of the county. In several parts of the county, some French

descendants, principally Huguenots, are to be found. In the upper part of the county, near and about David's church, are several families of Huguenot descendants.

EDUCATION is on the advance since the introduction of the Common School system, which is now (1845) almost generally adopted in the county. Lykens and Bush townships have not accepted the provisions of the law. Nineteen school districts have adopted the system, in which ninety-eight schools are kept open about five months and a half in the county, and twelve months in the borough of Harrisburg. Teachers receive from \$13 to \$15 per month.

The RELIGIOUS Denominations are Presbyterian, German Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, United Brethren in Christ, Mennonites, Episcopalian, Baptist, Evangelical Association, Dunkard, German Baptist, or Tæufer, Universalist, Church of God, Roman Catholic.

POOR HOUSE. Ample provision is made for the support of the unfortunate poor. There is a poor house, to which a well improved farm is attached, about two miles east of Harrisburg, near to, and south of the turnpike road leading to Reading. It is said the affairs of the establishment are well managed.

HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

Cumberland county, Act erecting it, &c. ; Trustees to define the boundary between York and Cumberland, appointed ; The Trustees disagreed ; Boundary determined ; Petition touching it ; Chambers' letter in relation thereto ; Shawanese, and other Indians in Cumberland, their villages, &c. They complain, &c. ; report relative thereto ; Paxton or Louthier Manor, resurveyed ; Influx of immigrants ; Petition for, and, a road laid out, &c. ; Pennsboro, and Hopewell township erected ; Antrim township erected ; Extracts from the Commissioners' book of Lancaster county ; Early settlers, and taxables in 1751.

Cumberland county, named after a maritime county of England, on the borders of Scotland, was erected in 1750. It was then the sixth county in the State: Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester having been established in 1682, Lancaster in 1729, and York in 1749. This county was separated from Lancaster county, upon the representation by a petition presented to the Assembly by James Silver and William Magaw of the inhabitants of the North Valley, then so called, residing in the western part of Lancaster county, west of the Susquehanna, of the great hardships they laid under, by being very remote from Lancaster, where the courts were held—some of them one hundred miles distant—and the public officers kept ; and how hard and difficult it was for the “sober and quiet part” of the North Valley to secure themselves against thefts and other abuses, frequently committed by idle and dissolute persons, who, to escape punishment, re-

sorted to the more remote parts of the province, and owing to the great distance from the court or prison, frequently escaped—considering all these things, it was provided by the Assembly, January 27, 1750, to remedy the inconveniencies complained of, as set forth in the petition; and a county was erected—bounded as follows, “That, all and singular lands lying within the Province of Pennsylvania, to the westward of Susquehanna, and northward and westward of the county of York, be erected into a county, to be called *Cumberland*; bounded northward and westward with the line of the Province, eastward partly with the river Susquehanna, and partly with said county of York; and southward in part by the line dividing the said Province from that of Maryland. The ample limits of Cumberland were at different periods, subsequently reduced.

Robert McCoy, Benjamin Chambers, David Magaw, Jas. McEntire, and John McCormick, as trustees, all of the county aforesaid, yeomen, or any three of them, were authorized to purchase and take assurance to them and their heirs of a piece of land, situate in some convenient place in the said county, to be approved of by the Governor, in trust and for the use of the inhabitants of the said county, and thereon to erect and build a court-house and prison, sufficient to accommodate the public service of the said county, and for the ease and conveniency of the inhabitants.

The commissioners and assessors were authorized to raise a sum of money, not to exceed three hundred pounds, to purchase the land, and furnishing the court-house and prison.

By the same act, Benjamin Chambers was appointed collector of the Excise of the said county.

And, to the end the boundaries of the said counties of York and Cumberland may the better be ascertained, it was further enacted, that it shall be lawful to and for the trustees named in this act, and the act of Assembly by which the said county of York* was erected into a county, or to and for a majority of each of them, and they are hereby required and firmly enjoined, within the space of six months next after the publication of this act, to assemble themselves together, and with the assistance of one or more surveyors,

* The trustees of York county were Thomas Cox, Michael Tanner, George Swope, Nathan Hussey and John Wright, jr.

by them respectfully to be provided, to run, mark out, and distinguish, the boundary line between the said counties of York and Cumberland; and the charges thereof shall be defrayed equally between the inhabitants of the said counties, and to that end levied and raised by the said inhabitants, in such manner as other public money, for the use of the said counties, by law ought to be raised and levied.

When the Commissioners or Trustees of Cumberland and York county met, to fix the boundary line, they disagreed. Those of Cumberland wished it, that the dividing line commence opposite the mouth of the Swatara creek, and run along the ridge of the South mountain, while those of York county claimed that it should follow up the Yellow Breeches creek. The difficulties were settled by an act, passed February 9th, 1751. The act says, "But for as much as the ridge of mountains, called the South Mountain, along which the lines, dividing the said counties of York and Cumberland, were directed to be run by the several herein before mentioned acts, before the river Susquehanna, to the mouth of a run of water, called Dogwood Run, is discontinued, much broken, and not easily to be distinguished, whereby great differences have arisen between the trustees of the said counties, concerning the manner of running said line; by which means the boundaries of said counties, between the river Susquehanna and the mouth of aforesaid run of water called Dogwood Run, are altogether unsettled, and so likely to continue, to the great injury of the said counties, and to the frustrating the good purposes by the herein before mentioned acts of Assembly intended, for the preventing hereof, it is hereby enacted, That the creek, called Yellow-breeches creek, from the mouth thereof, where it empties into the river Susquehanna aforesaid, up the several courses thereof, to the mouth of a run of water, called Dogwood Run, and from thence on one continued straight line, to be run to the ridge of mountains, called the South mountain, until it intersect the Maryland line, shall be, and is hereby declared to be, the Boundary line between said counties of York and Cumberland."

A petition from the commissioners of Cumberland county, appointed with the commissioners of York county to run the division line between the said counties was presented to the Assembly; setting forth that the York commissioners refus-

ing to run the line, agreeable to the act of Assembly, the petitioners conceived it their duty to do it themselves, and accordingly began opposite to the mouth of Swahatara, on Sasquehannah river, and then took the courses and distances along the highest ridge of the mountain, without crossing any running water, till they struck the middle of the main body of the South Mountain, at James Caruther's plantation; a true draught whereof is annexed to the petition. That the draught of the line, and places adjacent, laid before the house by the York commissioners, as far as relates to the waters, and courses, is altogether imaginary, and grounded on no actual survey; those commissioners having no surveyor with them, nor so much as attempting to chain an part of it. That the petitioners would willingly agree to the proposal of making Yellow-breeches creek the boundary, if that draught had any truth in it; but as it is altogether false, and the making that creek the line would actually cut off a great part of the North Valley, reduce it to a point on Sasquehannah, and make the county quite irregular; the petitioners pray, that the line in the draught to their petition annexed may be confirmed, or a straight line granted from the mouth of Swahatara, to the middle of the South Mountain; was presented to the house and read—ordered to lie on the table.—(Votes Assem. iv. 154. 8th mo. 18th 1750.)

The following letter from Mr. Chambers to Richard Peters, Secretary, bears upon the subject in controversy, and shows his reason why he was opposed to a change or alteration in the division line:

Cumberland county, Oct. 8th 1750.

Sir—I received your letter in which you enclosed the draughts of the line run by the Commissioners of York county and ours; and if the branches of the Yellow Britches and Great Conewago interlocked in the South Mountain, as laid down in the aforesaid draught, I would be of opinion with the Assembly that a line consisting of such a variety of courses could not be a good boundary between two counties. I can assure you that the courses that we, the Commissioners of Cumberland, run, we chained; and have returned by course and distance the Ridge of the mountain, and can send our deposition, that we crossed no running water above ground, and that we have run it past Capt. Dilla, till we are in the middle of the mountains as laid down in the red line in their draught, so that our draughts will show you that theirs is but an imaginary of the waters, done by some friend of York county, who had no regard for our country's welfare; for we sent our return to be laid before the Assembly, at the same time that York county laid this one before them; that your Honor was pleased to send me, but our mes-

senger did not deliver our return to the House, or if he had, I suppose they would not have troubled, his Honor, the Governor, to send any further instructions to us, for I humbly suppose that there cannot be any better boundary than the Ridge of the mountain, for were there a line run to cross the heads of the waters of both sides and the marks grown old it would be hard for a hunter to tell which county the wolf was killed in, but he may easily tell whether it was killed on the descent of the north or south valley waters. Likewise a sheriff, when he goes to any house, where he is not acquainted, and enquires at the house whether that water falls into the north or south valley, can tell whether they live in his county or not, which he could not tell by a line crossing the heads of the waters of both sides till he made himself acquainted with said line; so that if you will give yourself the trouble to enquire at any of the authors of that draft that was laid before the Assembly, you will find that they never chained any part of their line to know the distance, and therefore cannot be capable to lay down the heads of the waters.

Sir, I hope you will send me a few lines to let me know, if our return be confirmed, or we must run it over again; but you may believe that the Ridge of the mountain, and heads of the waters are as laid down in our return; and we run it at the time we went with you to Mr. Croghans, and did not expect to have any further trouble; and I yet think, that his Honor, the governor, will confirm our return, or order them to disapprove of it by course and distance.

Sir, I am your Honor's most humble servant,

BENJAMIN CHAMBERS.

The Six Nations, calling themselves, Aquanuschioni, i. e. The United People, had not yet sold the lands, within the bounds of Cumberland, to the proprietaries, when the Irish and Scotch Irish, first commenced settling in the North Valley, or Cumberland Valley. The Indians were still numerous; the Shawanes, called brothers, by the Iriquois or Six Nations, were at one time quite a conspicuous people inhabiting the woods on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, and parts of Cumberland county; as well as the Valley of Wyoming.

The Shawanese, it would appear, formerly lived in Florida, and were reduced to a small number, by their wars with the Moschko nation. The greater part of them retired to the Ohio, and the rest to the Susquehanna, without an fixed habitation at first. Those from Georgia and Carolina came into the province of Pennsylvania about the year 1689, and settled at first, by the consent of the Susquehanna Indians and William Penn, on the flats of Conestogo; but afterwards consented to leave Conestogo and occupy lands west of the Susquehanna on the Conodoguinette creek; and under

the more immediate protection of the Susquehanna Indians, and were called, by them, nephew, in common with the Mohikans.

Owing to some misdeeds of their young men, about the year 1726 or 1727, and fearing the Six Nations, the greater part of them, removed to the river Ohio, about 1728 or 1729, and then afterwards put themselves under the protection of the French; and in common with the Delawares, took up the hatchet against the English.

As early as 1730, the French made efforts to disaffect the Shawanese towards the English and secure their influence themselves. Governor Gordon in a message to the Provincial Council, August 4, 1731, says, "That by advices lately brought to him by several traders (from Ohio) in those parts, it appears that the French have been using endeavors to gain over those Indians (Shawanese) to their interest, and for this end a French gentleman had come among them some years since, sent as it was believed, from the governor of Montreal, and at his departure last year, carried with him some of the Shawanese chiefs to that government, with whom they at their return appeared to be highly pleased. That the same French gentleman, with five or six others in company with him, had this last spring again come amongst the said Indians and brought with him a Shawanese interpreter, was well received by them.—PROV. REC. iii. 428.

Hetaquantagechty a distinguished chief, said, in a council held at Philadelphia August 25, 1732 "That last fall (1731) the French interpreter *Cahichtodo*, came to Ohio river (or Allegheny) to build houses there, and to supply the Indians with goods &c.

At the same conference with the Indians (August 26, 1731) among other things, "They were told that the Shawanese who were settled to the Southward, being made uneasy by their neighbors, about sixty families of them came up to Conestogoe, about thirty-five years since (1697 or '98) and desired leave of the Susquehanna Indians, who were planted there, to settle on that river; that those Susquehanna Indians applied to this government that they might accordingly settle, and they would become answerable for their good behavior. That our late proprietor arriving soon after the chief of the Shawanese and of the Susquehannahs came to Philadelphia and renewed their application; that the proprietor

agreed to their settlement, and the Shawanese thereupon came under the protection of this government; that from that time greater numbers of Indians followed them, and settled on the Susquehanna and Delaware; that as they had joined themselves to the Susquehanna Indians who were dependent on the Five Nations, they thereby fell also under their protection. That we had held several treaties with those Shawanese, and from their first coming were accounted and treated as our own Indians, but that some of their young men having between four or five years since (1727 or 1728) committed some disorders, though we had it fully made up with them, yet being afraid of the Six Nations, they had removed backwards to Ohio, and there had lately put themselves under the protection of the French, who had received them as their children. That we had sent a message to them to return, and to encourage them had laid out a large tract of land on the west of the Susquehanna, round the principal town where they had been last settled, and we desired by all means they would return thither."—PROV. REC. iii. 471, '72.

When the whites commenced settling, about the year 1730 or 1731, in Cumberland, though the lands had not been purchased, it was nevertheless by permission from the Indians, whom the first settlers conciliated; and encouragement from the proprietary agents.

The Indians had towns and wigwams in various parts of Cumberland valley. There were several of these in the lower parts of the county, on the banks of the Susquehanna, Yellow Breeches, ConodoguINETTE and other places in the valley which was then without any timber on it.

There was an Indian town opposite Harris's (a little north of Esq. Will's) just where are heaps of muscle shells—they ate them much. Another town was at the mouth of ConodoguINETTE creek, two miles above; and there was one at the mouth of the Yellow Breeches creek, or Haldiman's bridge, which was once James Chartiers' landing place.—WATSON'S ANNALS, ii.

They also had a number of wigwams on the banks of the ConodoguINETTE creek, north of the turnpike, three miles from the Susquehanna, on land, late the property of Michael Ruby deceased. There were also several cabins half a mile north of *Frieden's Kirche*; near Daniel Scherbahn's, Hamden township. An aged aunt, the surviving consort of Martin Rupp,

late of Hamden township, informed me that she remembers well the evacuated Indian huts, north of Frieden's Kirche, and those at Ruby's.

The Indians had a path, crossing the ConodoguINETTE, near those wigwams, through lands now owned by John Rupp, George Rupp, sen., John Sheely, Daniel Mohler, and others, towards Yellow Breeches.

The Shawanese and Delawares, as has been stated, were seduced by the French, and greatly disaffected towards the English, and afterwards headed by Shingas and Capt. Jacobs,* both Delawares, took up the hatchet against them, assigning as a reason for that course of conduct, that satisfaction had not been made them for lands, surveyed into the Proprietary's Manor, on ConodoguINETTE creek. A committee was appointed to consider their complaints, and investigate the validity of their claims. The following is the committee's report, given entire.

"By order of the council of the 19th day of November, 1755—to enquire particularly whether the chiefs of the Shawanese did not, in 1753, complain to this government, that satisfaction had not been made to them by the proprietaries for a large tract of land, part of which was surveyed into the Proprietary Manor on CondoguINETTE, and whether they were not promised that application should be immediately made to the proprietaries, in their behalf, to obtain the satisfaction they desired; and whether such application had been made, and the satisfaction obtained and given. This matter being referred to us, as a committee of said council, to examine all proper persons, and to inspect the council books, Indian treaties, and other books and papers that could furnish us with any lights into the subject matter—

* Capt. Jacobs was dauntless and reckless. When Col. Armstrong routed the Indians at Kittaning in the summer of 1756, Capt. Jacobs, with some warriors took possession of his house in Kittaning town, defended themselves for sometime, and killed a number of men. As Jacobs could speak English, our people called on him to surrender. He said, that he and his men were warriors, and they would all fight while life remained. He was again told that they should be well used if they would surrender; and if not, the house should be burnt down over their heads. Jacobs replied he could eat fire—John Ferguson, a soldier, set fire to the house—and when the house was in flames, the Capt. and all with him, came out in a fighting position—his squaw wielded a tomahawk a few minutes before she fell—they were all killed that came out of the house.

and to make our report thereon, We now report, that we have perused the printed treaty held by Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, Esq., by special commission from this government, with the said Delaware and Shawanese Indians, &c., at Carlisle, in October 1753, which we suppose was the time and place alluded to by the Assembly in their second message, of the said Indians making such complaint of their not having received satisfaction for the said large tract of land, expecting to see some notice taken therein of such complaints; but not finding in it any mention made thereof, we applied to the said Mr. Peters, to know whether he remembered any such complaint to have been made by the said Indians at Carlisle, or elsewhere, or of any promise to make an application for them to the proprietaries for such satisfaction; to which he answered, that he did not remember ever to have heard at Carlisle, or elsewhere, of any such complaint being made by the said Indians, or any of them, or that any promise was ever given of making application on their behalf to the proprietaries for such satisfaction; and that he never understood that the Shawanese had or could have any right to the said land, or any other land in this Province.

That in order to find what right the said Indians had or claimed to the said large tract of land, and whether there was any just foundation for such a complaint, we have inspected all the minutes of the council, and other books and papers that we conceived could assist us in the said enquiry, and find, that the nation of Indians, called the Shawanese, are Southern Indians, who, being rendered uneasy by their neighbors, came up to Conestogo about the year 1698, making about sixty families, and desired leave of the Susquehanna Indians, who then lived there, to settle on that river. That the Susquehanna Indians applied to this government, that the Shawanese might be admitted to settle, and said, that they would become answerable for their good behavior. That the first Proprietary, William Penn, Esq., arriving soon after this transaction, the chiefs of the Shawanese and Susquehanna Indians came to Philadelphia, and renewing their said application, the Proprietary agreed to their settlement there; whereupon the Shawanese came under the protection of this government. From that time greater numbers of those Indians followed them, and settled on Susque-

hanna and the Upper parts of Delaware. That as they had joined themselves to the Susquehanna Indians, who were dependent on the Five Nations, they thereby fell also under their protection. That several treaties were held with those amongst the other Indians at different times by this government; and from their first coming, they were accounted and treated as our own Indians. That some of their young men, about the year 1727, committed some disorders in this province, and though the government had fully forgiven them for these outrages, yet, being on that account threatened by and therefore afraid of the Six Nations, they removed to the Ohio river in the year 1728 or 1729, and, there soon after, put themselves under the protection of the French, who received them as their children. That messages were sent from this government to them to return to us; and applications were made to the Six Nations to interpose and prevail on them to do so. And the better to induce and encourage them to leave the French, a large tract of land was offered them on the west side of Susquehanna, where they had been settled before, and they were desired by all means to return thither. That the Proprietary Thomas Penn, upon his arrival in the year 1732, again pressed them to return and live on this land, which he promised should be always kept for them, and their children, if they would come and live upon it; but they declined it, saying, they were afraid of their enemies, the Tuteloes, and that it was not convenient for their hunting, but desired that the land might be kept for them, which it has ever since been.

But we find the Assembly are mistaken in their said second message, in saying, That part of the said large tract was surveyed into the Proprietary Manor on ConodoguINETTE; for the fact was, that in order the more effectually to keep off any other settlers on the large tract, the proprietaries caused the whole of it to be surveyed as a Proprietary Manor. And in looking into many of the Proprietary Indian purchases, we find that this land had been bought over and over again by the proprietaries, as well of the Susquehanna Indians as of the Six Nations to whom it did belong.

We thought proper to report these matters thus particularly, that it might appear evident that the Shawanese did not originally belong to this province, and never had any right to any lands in it, or made any pretensions thereto,

but that the proprietories, from favor, and to encourage those Indians to remove from the neighborhood of the French, and live among us, offered them the said lands for their habitations."

ROBERT STRETTELL,
JOSEPH TURNER,
THOMAS CADWALLADER.

The Manor on ConodoguINETTE was, as will appear from the following, kindly furnished by Col. R. M. Crain, Esq., surveyed and divided, and sold by the proprietors to those first named after the No. and acres. This Manor embraced all the land between the ConodoguINETTE and Yellow Breeches creek, extending as far west as the road leading from the ConodoguINETTE to the Yellow Breeches, past the Stone church or Frieden's Kirch, and immediately below Shiremanstown.

Manor of Paxton or Louther, surveyed at an early date.

In 1765 this Manor was surveyed by John Armstrong and divided; and in 1767, it was resurveyed by John Lukens. The Manor was divided in twenty-eight lots or parcels, each of from one hundred and fifty to five hundred acres and upwards. The following exhibits, at one view, the No. of each lot; acres; names of first purchasers, &c.

No. 1. 530 acres: Captain John Stewart, late John Rupley, Jacob Rupley and Jacob Molts; now Haldeman's, George Rupley's heirs and others.

No. 2. 267½ acres: John Boggs, late Christian Erb and others. 300 acres: Casper Weber, late Jacob Eichelberger and Wormley, now Brenneman and others. 256 acres: Col. John Armstrong, late John Wormley, Howard Moore and others, now Hummel and Lebkecher.— 227 acres: James Wilson, now Alexander Wills, and the heirs of H. Fulton. 227 acres: Robert Whitehill, (late occupied by Col. R. M. Crain,) now Michael Feree, and the town of Whitehill.

No. 3. 200 acres.

No. 4. 206 acres: Moses Wallace, now Alexander Wills.

No. 5. 200 acres: John Wilson, now the heirs of William Mateer, and others.

No. 6. 267 acres: No. 7. 283 acres: John Mish, now Zimmerman and others.

No. 8. 275 acres: Richard Rogers, late Jacob Weaver and others, now Markel and others.

No. 9. 195 acres: Late Conrad Renninger, now Renninger's heirs, and John Sheely.

No. 10. 183 acres: Casper Weaver, now John Heck, late Solomon Gorgas, now Gorgas' heirs.

No. 11. 134 acres: Casper Weaver, since Keaseckers, Zook, late Geo. Fahnestock, now John Heck.

No. 12. 181 acres: William Brooks, now William Brooks, John Weaver and others.

- No. 13. 184 acres: Samuel Wallace, now Joseph Best.
 - No. 14. 153 acres: Late Christopher Gramlich, afterwards John Heck, now Weaver.
 - No. 15. 206 acres: James McCurdey, late George and Adam Eichelberger, then Miller, now Urich.
 - No. 16. 237 acres: Isaac Hendrix, late Henry Rupp and others, now George Rupp, and the heirs of Gorgas.
 - No. 17. 213 acres: Robert Whitehill, now Dr. Joseph Crain and Joseph Saddler.
 - No. 18. 311 acres: Philip Kimmel, afterwards Kutz, Heck, now Jonas Rupp, John and Geo. Bowman.
 - No. 19. 267 acres: Andrew Kreutzer, now Joseph Saddler and Abraham Oyster.
 - No. 20. 281 acres: David Moore, now George and Abraham Oyster.
 - No. 21 and 22. 536 acres: Edmund Physick, now Samuel Bowman, Solomon Oyster and others.
 - No. 23. 282 acres: Edmund Physick, afterwards Hersherberger, Funk, Nichols, Bollinger, now Jacob G. Rupp, late Michael Ruby, Shopp and others.
 - No. 24. 287 acres: Rev. William Thompson, now Daniel Scherbahn and others.
 - No. 25. 150 acres: Alexander Young, late Robert Young, now Dr. R. Young.
 - No. 26. 209 acres: Jonas Seely, afterwards Mannesmith, Schnebele, now John, Samuel, Jacob and David Shopp.
 - No. 27. 243 and No. 28. 180 acres: Jacob Miller, afterwards Long, and Kobers (Coovers) now Jacob Long, Reeser, Graaf, Shopp, late John Bitner and others.
- Passing, it may be remarked, that only No. 4, 12 and part of No. 17, are now owned by any of the heirs or representatives of the original purchasers.

The influx of immigrants into North or Kittatinny Valley increased fast after 1734. In 1748 the number of taxables was about 800, and the population rising of 3000. As early as 1735, a road was laid out from Harris's Ferry, towards the Potomac river. Nov. 4 1735, the court at Lancaster, appointed Randle Chambers, Jacob Peat, James Silvers, Thos. Eastland, John Lawrence and Abram. Endless, to lay out said road. These gentlemen made report Feb. 3, 1736, of their view of the road, which was opposed "by a considerable number of inhabitants on the west side of Susquehanna in those parts," and praying for a review. The court then ordered that William Rennick, Richard Hough, James Armstrong, Thos. Mayes, Sam. Montgomery and Benj. Chambers, view the road and to make such alterations in it, as to them may seem necessary for the public good, and report their proceeding to next court.

They made the following report, May 4, 1736:

"That they had reviewed the easternmost part of the said road, and find it very crooked and hurtful to the inhabitants, &c., and therefore have altered the said road, and marked it in the manner following, to wit: From the said Ferry, near to a southwest course about two miles, thence a westerly course to James Silvers' then westward to John Hog's meadow, then westward to a fording place, on Letort's spring, a little to the northward of John Davison's thence west northerly to the first marked road in a certain hollow, thence about southwest, a little to the south of Robert Duning's, to the former marked road, thence along the same to the Great Spring head, being as far as any review or alteration to them appeared necessary, which so altered as above said, and altered from the return to go by James Silver's house, was allowed to be recorded.

In 1735, the North Valley, (now Cumberland and Franklin) was divided into two townships, Pennsborough & Hopewell. The dividing line between the townships is thus defined in the court records, "That a line running northerly from the Hills to the southward of Yellow Breeches (crossing in a direct line by the Great Spring) to Kightotinning mountain, by the division line; and that the easternmost township be called Pennsborough, and the western Hopewell."

Hopewell was divided in 1741, "by a line beginning at the North Hill, at Benj. Moor's, thence to widow Hewres's and Samuel Jamison's, and on a straight line to the South Hill, and that the western division be called Antrim, and the eastern Hopewell."

The following, exhibits the names of townships organized, and tax paid prior to the erection of Cumberland county, in the North Valley, from 1736 to 1749.

Pennsborough paid in 1736, £13 17s. 6d. James Silvers, collector. Hopewell paid 5*l.* 2s. Pennsboro' paid in 1737, 13*l.* 9s. 9d. E. part of Hopewell paid 3*l.* 2s. W. part of Hopewell paid 2*l.* 19s. Pennsboro' paid in 1738, 20*l.* 14s. E. part of Hopewell paid 10*l.* 3d. W. p. of Hopewell paid 7*l.* 7s. 9d. Pennsboro' paid in 1739, 23*l.* 16s. 8d.; William Tremble, collector. S. p. of Hopewell paid 11*l.* 8s. 1d.; Jacob Snebly, collector. N. p. of Hopewell paid 6*l.* 11s. 6d.; Abraham Endless, collector. W. p. of Pennsboro' paid 11*l.* 4s. 7d.; Robert Dennin, collector. E. p. of Pennsboro' paid

14*l*. 18*s*. 7*d*.; John Walt, collector. East Hopewell paid 4*l*. 2*d*.; James Laughlin, collector. West Hopewell paid 4*l*. 19*s*. 3*d*.; Philip Davis, collector. Pennsboro' paid in 1741, 17*l*. 15*s*. 10*d*.; Robert Redock, collector. Hopewell paid 3*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*.; John Montgomery, collector. Antrim paid 9*l*. 3*s*. 2*d*.; Robert Hamilton, collector. W. End of Pennsboro' p. in 1742, 7*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*.; William Weakly, collector. E. End of Pennsboro' p. 16*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*.; John Swansey, collector. Hopewell p. 5*l*. 11*s*. 4*d*.; David Herren, collector. Antrim p. 8*l*. 18*s*. 2*d*.; Robert Cronckleton, collector. E. end of Pennsboro' p. in 1743, 9*l*. 6*d*.; John Sempel, collector. W. end of Pennsboro' p. 10*l*. 7*s*. 3*d*.; Robert Miller, collector. Hopewell p. 6*l*. 16*s*. 11*d*.; Henry Hallam, collector. Antrim paid 19*l*. 10*s*. 7*d*.; David Scott, collector. W. end of Pennsboro' p. 22*l*. 4*s*.; John Mitchell, collector. E. end of Pennsboro' p. 17*l*. 12*s*. 7*d*.; Thomas Fisher, collector. Hopewell p. 10*l*. 16*s*. 2*d*.; Thomas Montgomery, collector. Antrim p. 22*l*. 4*s*. 7*d*.; John McClelland, collector. West Pennsboro' paid in 1745, 23*l*. 1*s*. 11*d*.; James Chambers, collector. East Pennsboro' p. 13*l*. 4*s*.; John McCrackin, collector. Hopewell p. 12*l*. 10*s*. 4*d*.; William Thompson, collector. Antrim p. 16*l*. 14*s*. 8*d*.; William Nugent, collector. E. Pennsboro' paid in 1746, 10*l*. 5*s*.; John Rankin, collector. W. Pennsboro' p. 13*l*. 4*s*. 8*d*.; James McFarlin, collector. Hopewell p. 9*l*. 17*s*. 9*d*.; John Erwin, collector. Antrim p. 14*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*.; John Linsey, collector. E. Pennsboro' p. in 1747, 10*l*. 12*s*.; Joseph Green, collector. W. Pennsboro' p. 13*l*. 18*s*. 6*d*.; Patrick Davis, collector. Hopewell p. 12*l*. 7*s*. 7*d*.; John Currey, collector. Antrim p. 11*l*. 1*s*. 2*d*.; Thomas Barnet, collector. E. Pennsboro' p. in 1748, 12*l*. 2*s*.; Christopher Huston, collector. W. Pennsboro' p. 14*l*. 14*s*. 6*d*.; William Dunbar, collector. Hopewell p. 13*l*. 13*s*. 6*d*.; James Walker, collector. Antrim p. 7*l*. 19*s*. 4*d*.; Charles McGill, collector. E. Pennsboro' p. in 1749, 23*l*. 16*s*. 6*d*.; Tobias Hendricks, collector. W. Pennsboro' p. 28*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*.; Archibald McAllister, collector. Hopewell p. 43*l*. 3*s*. 9*d*.; John Kirkpatrick, collector. Antrim p. 21*l*. 18*s*. 8*d*.; John Mushart, collector.

Taxables of East Pennsboro in 1750.—Tobias Hendricks, widow Jane Woods, Sam'l Calhoun, Thomas Kenny, Thos. Spray, James Shannon, James Dickey, John Bigham, Sam'l Chambers, James Irwin, Wm. Barrehill, Wm. Noble, Wm.

Crawford, Wm. McChesney, Richard Fulton, John McClellan, Wm. Rose, Adam Colhoun, Wm. Shannon, John Semple, Charles West, Christopher Hewston, Walker Buchanan, David Reed, James Armstrong, Hugh Wharton, Edward Eliot, Francis McGuire, Wm. Findley, Josias McMeans, Hugh Mahool, Robert Carrithers, Wm. Ross, Henry Quigly, Wm. Morton, John Armstrong, John Buchanan, Nathaniel Nelson, John Nailer, Andrew Armstrong, Thomas McCormick, John Dickey, John McCracken, widow Clark, widow McMeans, Robert Eliot, Robert Eliot, jr., James Carrithers, Wm. Gray, Alexander Lamferty, John Willey, Robert Dunning, Joseph Junkin, Wm. Walker, Alexander Armstrong, Moses Star, James Crawford, Roger Cook, Hugh Cook, Wm. Miller, John McCormick, James Silvers, John Stevenson, James Coleman, David Waason, John Hunter, Wm. Douglas, John Mitchel, Andrew Milekin, John Milekin, Patrick Holmes, James Finley, Peter Shaver,* John Erwin, Wm. Carrithers, widow Quilgy, Sam'l Martin, Wm. Hamilton, Robert Samuels, John Waugh, Thos. Rankin, Richard Rankin, John Clendeniu, Jas. Waugh, widow Roberts, Thomas Henderson, Wm. Hamilton, Wm. Marshal, Wm. Miller, Wilson Thomas, Alexander Crocket, widow Branan, Thos. Calvert, Wm. Griffith, Robert Bell, Wm. Orr, James McConnell, John Bowan, Robert McKinley, Sam'l Fisher, Titus Hollinger, Samuel McCormick, Rowland Chambers, Robert Kelton, Isaac Rutledge, Rowland McDonald, Walter Gregory, widow Stewart, James McTeer, Peter Leester, Peter Title, Joseph Willie, Anthony McTae, James Beaty, Wm. Crocket, Andrew Miller, Robert Roseborough, Joseph Green, James Douglas, widow Steel, widow McKee, and Joseph Reynolds, jr.

Freemen.—Wm. Hogg, Geo. Croghan, Esq., Jonathan Hogg, Sam'l Huston, John Gilkeson, Robert Ains, Abraham Hendricks, Archibald Armstrong, Jos. Ferret, Clime Horal, Daniel Campbell, Wm. McDonald, Matthew Lindham, J. Armstrong, Cornelius Brown, Hugh Shannon, Robert Walker, Nath'l Wilson, Matthew Brown, [Two silver-smiths at Wm. McChesneys,] John Adams, David Kenworthy, James

* Peter Shaver, was a trader among the Indians. In the fall of 1744, Gov Thomas employed him to carry letters to the Shawanese Indians on the Ohio, inviting them to come to Philadelphia.—Votes Assem. iv. p. 9.

Gaily, Wm. McTeer, Edward Ward, Arthur Erwin, James Clark, William Cranula.

West Pennsborough 1751.—William Queery, Wm. Lamont, Archibald McAllister, Wm. Carithers, John Davison, Allen Leeper, Neal McFaul, John McClure, (the less,) Wm. Logan, John Atchison, Thos. McCoy, Charles Gillgore, Andrew Giffin, Wm. Dunbar, Wm. Harkness, Wm. Patton, Samuel McClure, Rob. Walker, James Kirkpatrick, John Swansy, Arthur Clark, Adam Hays, Jas. McMeans, John Deniston, John McIntire, James McFarland, Wm. Laughlin, Robt. Brevard, Robt. M'Question, Jas. Peebles, John M'Clure, (mountain,) Alex. McClure, John Langley, John Gordon, Wm. Livingston, Robt. Guthrie, Wm. Anderson, John Glass, Jon. Logan, Will. Duglass, Alex. Erwin, Alex. Logan, Wm. Townsley, Wm. Parker, Margaret Parker, And. Forbush, John Morrison, David Kollogh, Geo. Brown, Francis Cunningham, Alex. Robb, Anthony Gillgore, Jacob Peebles, Samuel Wilson, Allen Scroggs, David Kenedy, Mary Dunning, Wm. Carithers, John Carithers, John Chestnut, Thos. Patton, And. Ralston, John McClung, Ezekiel Dunning, James Lea, John Lusk, Alexander McBride, Jas. McNaught, Wm. Blackstock, Jas. Crutchlow, Wm. Dunlap, Thos. Evans, Steven Cesna, Jas. Weakly, David Hunter, Josh. Cornelius, Alex. Weyly, Lewis Hutton, Jas. Warnock, David Dunbar, David Miller, John Wilson, Josh. Thomson, Josh. Dempsay, Samuel Lindsay, Paul Piercy, Owen McCool, Pat. Robeson, Thos. Parker.—*Freeman*: Samuel Wilson, Jas. McMunagle, David McCurdy, Pat. Reynolds, And. McAdams, John McCurdy.

Middleton, 1751.—William Trent, Thomas Wilson, John Elder, John Chambers, Robert McNutt, James Long, John Mahafy, James Reed, John Moor, John Craighead, James Dunlop, Patrick Hawson, Walter Denny, Jas. Gillgore, Patrick Davison, Thomas Elder, Henry Dinsmore, John Mitchell, Samuel Lamb, James Williams, James Matthews, Alex. Sanderson, James Henderson, Matthew Miller, John Davis, Wm. Graham, Wm. Campbell, Wm. Parkeson, Francis McNichley, John McKnaught, John Calhoun, Wm. Peterson, John Robb, Robert Graham, Samuel McLucass, Daniel Williams, George Sanderson, Alexander Sanderson, Joseph Clark, John McClure, Jonathan Holmes, James Chambers, Thomas Armstrong, Wm. Waddel, James McConnell, Richard Nich-

olson, John Neely, John McCrea, John Stuart, Archibald Kenedy, John Jordan, Wm. Jordan, George Templeton, Jas. Stuart, Richard Venable, Wid. Wilson, David Dreanan, John Dinsmore, Samuel Gauy, Wm. Davison, Samuel Bigger, Thos. Gibson, John Brown, John McKinley, Robt. Campbell, John Kinkead, Samuel Wilson, Robt. Patterson, John Reed, Robt. Reed, Wm. Reed, James Reed, Wm. Armstrong, James Young, Robert Miller, Wm. Gillachan, Josh. Davies, Wm. Fleming, John Gilbreath, Richard Coulter, Richard Kilpatrick, Andrew Gregg, Robert Thomson, John Dicky, Jas. Brannan, John McClure, John Buyers, Arthur Foster, Hermanus Alricks, John Armstrong, John Smith, Wm. Buchanan, Wm. Blyth, John McAllister, Wm. Montgomery, John Patterson, Robt. Kilpatrick, Archibald McCurdy, Wm. Whiteside, John Woodle, Wm. Dillwood, Wm. Huston, Thomas Lockward, Thomas Henderson, Jos. Thornton, James Dunning, Wm. Moor, Geo. Davison, Alex. Patterson, John McBride, Robt. Robb, Dennis Swansy, Daniel Lorrance, Jon. Hogg, Oliver Wallace, John Bell, Arthur Buchanan, Robert Guthrie, Berry Cackel, Cornelius McAdams, Andrew McIntire, Alex. Roddy, Josh Price, Hugh Laird, Wm. Ferguson, Widow Douglas, Abraham Sanford, Moses Moor, Joseph Gaylie, Charles Mahaufy, Wm. Kerr, Hugh Creanor, William Guilford, Wm. Stuart, Wm. Chadwick.

Freemen in *Middleton and Carlisle*.—Andrew Holmes, Jon. Kearney, Francis Hamilton, Jon. Donnel, Wm. Wilson, Pat. Loag, Rob. Patterson, Wm. Kinaird, Geo. Crisp, Hugh Laird, Wm. Braidy, Jas. Tait, Pat. Kearney, Arthur Foster, Jas. Pollock, Thos. Elmore, Robt. Maubiny, Jonathan Hains, William Rainiston, Jas. Gambel, John Woods, David Hains, Henry Hains.

Hopewell Township, 1751.—Robert Gibson, David Heron, Moses Donald, Thomas Donald, Francis Ignue, Daniel M'Donald, John Elliott, Alexander M'Clintock, James M'Farland, Joshua M'Clintock, Hugh Terrance, Hugh Thomson, Josh. Thomson, Josh. Thomson, jr., Robert McDowell, James McDowell, Robert Rusk, John Scrogs, William Walker, William Corahan, Thomas Gawlt, James Hamilton, John Laughlen, Josh. Gaii, Samuel Williamson, Samuel Smith, David Kidd, John Hodge, Robt. McCombs, Thomas Micky, John Wray, Richard Nicholson, Andrew McIlvain,

George Hamilton, John Thomson, Wm. Gambel, Samuel Montgomery, Robert Simson, John Brown, Allen Nisbit, John Nesbit, jr., John Nesbit, sen., James Wallace, And. Peeble, John Anderson, Patrick Hannah, John Tremble, Moses Stuart, William Reigny, John Moorhead, James Pollock, Samuel Stuart, Robert Robinson, David Newell, James M'Cormick, Charles Murray, Joseph Boggs, John Lysee, Andrew Leckey, John Montgomery, John Beaty, James Walker, William Smyley, James Chambers, Robert Meek, Dr. Wm. M'Gofreck, James Jack, James Quigly, Robert Simonton, John M'Cune, Charles Cumins, Samuel Wier, John M'Cune, jr., Josh. Martin, James Carrahan, Allen Kollogh, James Young, Francis Newell, John Quigly, Robert Stuart, Samuel Montgomery, Daniel Mickey, Andrew Jack, Robert Mickey, Hugh Braidy, Robert Chambers, William Thomson, Edward Leasy, Alexander Scrogg, John Jack, James Laughlin, John Laughlin, jr., Robert Dinney, David Simrel, Samuel Walker, Abraham Walker, James Paxton, James Uxley, Samuel Cellar, W. M'Clean, James Culbertson, James M'Kessan, John Miller, Daniel O'Cain, John Edmonson, Isaac Miller, David M'Gaw, John Reynolds, Francis Camble, William Anderson, Thomas Edmonson, James Dunlop, John Reynold, jr., William Dunlop, Widow Piper, George Cumins, Thomas Finley, Alexander Fairbairn, John Mason, Jas. Dysert, William Gibson, Horace Brattan, John Carothers, Patrick Mullan, James Blair, Peter Walker, John Stevenson, John Aiger, John Ignue. *Freemen*: John Hanch, Josh. Edmonson, John Callwell, John Richison, skinner, P. Miller.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY REDUCED, ETC.

Present boundary of Cumberland; population; Geology of the county;

Different kinds of land, cleared, uncleared, fit for cultivation, &c.;

General statistics; Synopsis of the census of 1840; Streams, natural curiosities, &c.; Public improvements of various kinds; Pack horses, and western carriers; their indignation at the first wagoners;

Promiscuous notices.

The ample limits of this county, when first established, comprising all of the province west of the Susquehanna, except the territory of York, then embracing Adams, have since been much reduced, by taking the following counties therefrom, viz: Bedford, March 9th, 1771; Northumberland, formed of parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton, and Bedford, erected March 21, 1772; Franklin, September 9, 1784; Mifflin, September 19, 1789; and Perry, March 22, 1820—and is now bounded on the north by Perry county, on the east by the Susquehanna river, separating it from Dauphin; south by York and Adams counties; and on the west by Franklin county. Length thirty-four miles, breadth sixteen; area, five hundred and forty-five square miles. Population in 1790, 18,243; in 1800, 25,386; in 1810, 26,757; in 1820 (Perry be separated) 23,606; in 1830, 29,226; in 1840, 30,953; at present (1845) about 33,000. Aggregate amount of property taxable was \$9,092,674.00.

The geological feature of this county is not so diversified as that of Dauphin. "The ridges of the south mountain are almost wholly composed of hard white sand stone, and have a meagre rocky soil, mostly covered with timber, which yields fuel for the furnaces and forges in that region. At Pine Grove furnace, on Mountain creek, is a detached bed of limestone, of limited extent, surrounded by the mountain sandstone; and connected with a deposite of brown argilla-

ceous and hematite iron ore, which is productive and has been worked for many years.

"At the northern base of the south mountain commences the great limestone formation of the Kittatinny Valley, which extends northward until it meets the next dark formation of slate, situate between the limestone and Kittatinny mountain.

"Along the northern side of the South mountain, near the contact of the white sand stone with the limestone, iron ore is abundant, and is extensively mined for the supply of furnaces. Further north, and wholly within the limestone formation, pipe ore and other varieties of excellent quality may be obtained in many places.

"The rocks of the Kittatinny mountain are coarse, grey and reddish sandstones, next in order above the slate, and are not particularly valuable either for their utility or their mineral contents. In the neighborhood of Lisburn, or Yellow Breeches creek, the middle secondary red shales and sand stones pass across from York county, overlapping the limestone to a limited extent. Large beds of the calcareous conglomerate belonging to the upper portion of this formation are visible along the steep banks of the creek; but the material is generally too silicious to be worked and polished as the Potomac marble, with which it is identified in other respects. Some ridges and dikes of trap rock are also apparent in the same neighborhood, connected with the great trappean range in the north of York county. A remarkable trap dike issues from the South mountain near Carlisle Iron works, and extends northward through the limestone and slate, forming an abrupt stoney ridge quite across the county to the Blue mountain, east of Sterrett's Gap. This dike is believed to pass through the Blue mountain, being probably the same which is seen near the Susquehanna in Perry county, and again east of the river in Lykens Valley above Millersburg in Dauphin county."

Iron ore is found in various parts of the county. In Allen township, on the farm of Willam R. Gorgas, Esq., is an excellent quality, and supplies in part, D. R. Porter's furnace at Harrisburg. Rising of seven thousand tons have already been taken out here. During 1845, upwards of three thousand tons were mined.

This county lying principally within Cumberland, or Kitatinny valley, is comparatively level, except along the north, northwest and southwest, and in those portions where slate or shale abounds. Much of it is limestone; the land is fertile, and in many parts well cultivated. The limestone abounds in the following townships, viz: Allen, East Pennaboro, Hampden, Monroe, Silver-spring, North Middleton, South Middleton, &c. &c. According to the agricultural statistics of 1838, there were 74,300 acres of cleared limestone land, 35,430 uncleared limestone, 38,060 slate land cleared, 12,950 slate land uncleared, 23,940 gravel land cleared, 5,560 gravel land uncleared, 12,205 sand land uncleared, 80,715 mountain or rockland, 3,610 known to contain iron ore. The whole quantity of cleared land of all kinds is 284,100 acres, uncleared land, but fit for cultivation, is 48,400; uncleared land not fit for cultivation, is 48,600 acres. The average value of cleared land was in 1838, \$33 per acre; the average value of wood land \$27; the average value of wood land unfit for cultivation \$8. The whole value of all the cleared land \$4,833,500; of all the uncleared land \$1,336,000; the whole number of farms one thousand four hundred and seventy-four; the average size of one hundred and ten acres each; the average yield of wheat per acre, thirteen bushels; of rye, ten; of oats, twenty-two; of barley, twenty-one; of corn, nineteen; though on some farms from fifty to sixty bushels is considered a good or fair yield; potatoes, sixty; though from two hundred to two hundred and fifty bushels have been raised in some favorable seasons; turnips, fifty-five; buckwheat, twelve; hemp, dressed in pounds, eighty; flax, ninety pounds. The whole number of stone farm houses, two hundred and ninety-eight; brick farm houses, one hundred and forty-four; wooden farm houses, nine hundred and ninety seven; tenant houses on farms, not farm houses, eight hundred and twelve; the whole number of stone barns two hundred and ninety-two; seventy one brick barns; wooden barns, one thousand one hundred and eleven; and many of them are thatched with straw; the whole number of acres of wheat the crop of 1838, twenty-two thousand nine hundred and fifty; of rye, eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixty acres; of oats, fourteen thousand three hundred acres; five hundred and eighty acres of barley; of corn, nine thousand seven hundred

acres; twenty-one thousand nine hundred and twenty acres of clover; four thousand one hundred and sixty acres of timothy; natural meadow, two thousand one hundred and seventy acres; one thousand eight hundred and ten acres of potatoes; one hundred and ten acres of turnips; seven hundred and sixty acres of buckwheat; fifteen acres of hemp; one hundred and ten acres of flax.

According to the census of 1840, there were, in this county, six furnaces, which produced two thousand eight hundred and thirty tons of cast iron; five forges and rolling mills, which produced two thousand one hundred and fifty tons of bar iron; the furnaces and forges consumed ten thousand six hundred tons of fuel; employed four hundred hands, including mining operations; capital invested \$110,000. The value of other metals produced \$1,750; employed twenty-two hands. The value of stone produced \$2,000; gave employment to eight men; capital \$500.

Live stock.—Horses and mules, nine thousand two hundred and forty seven; twenty-four thousand two hundred and four neat cattle; twenty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty sheep; forty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-five swine; poultry of all kinds, estimated value, \$12,671.

Cereal grains; five hundred, sixty-seven thousand, six hundred and fifty-four bushels of wheat; eleven thousand, one hundred and four bushels of barley; six hundred and fifty-four thousand, four hundred and seventy-seven bushels of oats; two hundred and forty-seven thousand, two hundred and thirty-nine bushels of rye; thirteen thousand, seven hundred and seventy-two bushels of buckwheat; six hundred forty-five thousand and fifty-six bushels of Indian corn. Various other productions—forty-seven thousand, one hundred and thirty-three pounds of wool; four thousand, eight hundred and twelve pounds of hops; six hundred and eighty five pounds of bees wax; one hundred and twenty-one thousand, six hundred and forty-one bushels of potatoes; twenty-four thousand, four hundred and twenty-three tons of hay; eleven and three-fourths tons of hemp; fourteen thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine cords of wood sold; besides that used for domestic and culinary purposes by those who sold ~~and~~; value of the products of the dairy, estimated at \$166,768; value of the products of the orchard \$18,860;

gallons of wine made 397; value of home made or family goods \$24,666; pounds of reeled silk, three; \$15 value of the same; five persons employed; capital invested \$4505. Value of manufactured \$2,450; nine persons employed; capital invested \$1,150. Hats, caps, bonnets, &c.—Value of hats and caps manufactured \$6,800; employed twenty-six persons; capital invested \$4,550. Tanneries, thirty-one tanned twelve thousand, nine hundred and seventy sides of sole leather; ten thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven of upper; employed sixty-four men; capital \$89,175. All other manufactories of leather, saddleries, &c., ninety-six; value of manufactured articles \$38,635; capital invested \$16,240; Soap and candles, two hundred and thirty thousand, two hundred and eighteen pounds of the former, and forty-five thousand and sixty pounds of the latter.

Distilleries, twenty-eight, which produced two hundred and fifty-two thousand, three hundred and five gallons of "alcoholic beverage!!" three breweries, produced twelve thousand gallons of beer; employed forty-three men; capital invested \$45,400; one pottery, value of manufactured articles \$400; employed two men, capital \$200. Value of produce of market gardens \$4,145; value of produce of nurseries and florists \$545; six men employed; capital invested \$7,045; eleven commission houses; capital \$22,500.

Retail dry goods, grocery and other stores, one hundred and twelve; capital invested \$318,146; lumber yards, thirteen; capital invested \$42,350; one hundred and forty-four men employed. Internal transportation, sixteen men employed in; capital invested \$17,775; value of lumber produced \$12,760. Value of machinery manufactured \$8,300; twenty-seven hands employed. Number of small arms made, sixty-six; five men employed. Various metals, value of their manufacture \$21,550; fifty men employed. Value of bricks and lime manufactured \$29,218; eighty three men employed. Fulling mills, twelve; nine woolen manufactories; value of manufactured goods \$26,800; sixty-one persons employed; capital invested \$7,700; one cotton factory; two persons employed. One paper manufactory; value of produce \$4,000; capital invested \$3000. Five printing offices; two book binderies; six weekly newspapers; fourteen men employed; capital invested \$6,120.

Carriages and wagons manufactured, value of \$22,760;

one hundred and twenty four men employed; capital invested \$21,070. Fifty-four flouring mills, manufactured seventy-one thousand, six hundred and fifty-two barrels; eight grist mills; sixty-three saw mills; one oil mill, value of manufactures \$60,831; employed, one hundred and thirty-four men, capital invested \$140,523. Value of furniture manufactured \$22,850, fifty-seven men employed; capital invested \$12,850. Brick and stone houses built, thirty-three; wooden houses built, thirty-four; two hundred and seven men employed; value of constructing or building \$58,270. Value of all other manufactures not enumerated \$40,465; capital invested \$12,870. Total capital invested in manufactures \$390,601.

		MALES.												FEMALES.												Col. po.	
CENSUS of 1840 of CUMBERLAND CO., PA.																											
TOWNSHIPS.																											
		under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	Males of all ages.	Females &c.		
Allen,	186	125	127	111	228	121	52	47	34	9	0	168	138	117	143	216	104	67	53	24	9	3	21	19			
Carlisle,	223	240	261	322	528	174	135	86	41	30	6	245	207	245	268	422	206	178	110	68	31	8	138	177			
Dickinson,	192	189	177	153	232	138	99	76	34	12	3	207	177	172	167	218	108	98	54	30	8	6	73	76			
East Pennsboro'	239	144	141	122	224	130	97	49	27	12	0	210	148	146	141	228	119	85	60	29	12	0	16	11			
Frankford,	112	91	91	67	105	58	42	33	15	7	2	95	81	74	66	121	64	41	36	18	4	4	18	17			
Hopewell,	82	82	73	54	77	54	47	13	14	5	0	59	66	77	84	91	47	57	22	7	7	5	6	7			
Mechanicsburg,	67	37	47	30	50	44	35	10	7	2	0	56	43	31	38	69	32	27	16	7	4	1	8	9			
Mifflin,	117	119	84	65	97	74	55	36	11	15	2	111	108	110	81	117	69	59	31	20	13	4	6	5			
Monroe,	130	95	109	85	170	74	46	41	22	8	1	115	114	80	100	179	70	59	42	13	12	3	2	0			
New Cumberland,	30	12	7	11	46	17	5	8	1	1	0	31	14	13	14	46	13	4	8	2	0	0	1	0			
Newton,	118	107	102	100	141	68	61	35	20	8	1	120	97	91	78	138	85	58	31	24	5	2	6	2			
Newville,	46	42	30	42	64	45	19	16	6	4	0	36	35	30	40	75	36	27	18	13	6	0	14	10			
N. Middletown,	181	131	131	111	180	92	79	48	39	11	3	169	117	106	125	158	102	58	56	33	12	2	29	26			
Shippen,	10	14	11	6	15	5	4	3	0	0	0	20	11	13	6	16	11	6	1	2	1	0	5	4			
Shippensburg,	86	88	83	76	113	61	48	45	17	14	4	82	92	87	100	145	77	70	33	29	15	5	55	48			
Silver Spring,	172	124	132	97	152	117	85	51	21	5	1	164	144	108	125	171	104	75	48	14	10	0	11	7			
S. Middletown,	175	139	138	97	185	102	78	40	28	13	1	172	111	118	128	200	86	69	47	24	10	2	41	51			
Southampton,	119	106	126	99	150	62	52	45	17	9	4	110	72	92	99	142	65	54	29	14	7	0	5	5			
W. Pennsboro',	128	107	108	102	212	84	63	46	26	7	4	127	115	125	131	197	75	62	49	21	7	2	36	32			
Total Population.	2413	1992	1978	1750	2959	1530	1103	729	383	172	32	2297	1890	1835	1934	2952	1473	1151	744	392	173	47	491	505			

A SYNOPSIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1840, OF EACH TOWNSHIP.

[illegible]

Streams in Cumberland county.—Besides the Suequehanna on the east, which is the recipient of all the streams that drain this county, the Conedogwinet is the main creek in the county. It rises in Horse valley, near Jordan's Knob in Franklin county, and flows thence, at an average distance of five miles, south of the Blue mountain, through this county: passing about a mile north of Newville, nearly two miles north of Carlisle, and falls in the Susquehanna at Fairview, about two miles and a half above the Harrisburg bridge, having a comparative course of nearly sixty miles; but as its course is very serpentine, its entire course may not fall short of eighty miles, following the meanders of the stream. In its course through the county, it receives a number of small streams, such as Means run, in the western end of the county; Big Spring, Letort creek, Hoges run, Silvers' Spring, and others.

Means run rises at the foot of the South mountain, flows north along the boundary line between Franklin and Cumberland counties, through Shippensburg; after flowing a distance of eight or nine miles falls into the Conedogwinet creek. Big Spring rises about a mile northeast of Stoughstown, passing by Newville, falls into the Conedogwinet creek. Letort creek rises in South Middleton township, from a large fountain as its source, gives motions to several mills, passes through the borough of Carlisle, and empties into the Conedogwinet three miles north east of Carlisle.—Hoges run rises near Hogestown, and empties into Conedogwinet. Silvers' spring* rises principally from a large fountain on the plantation of George Rupp; flows north about one mile, and falls into the Conedogwinet. It affords ample water power in its course to two flouring mills.

The Yellow Breeches is the next considerable stream, it rises on the north side of the South mountain. Its course is eastward, receiving Mountain creek from the south and several small streams, such as Boiling spring, Switzers run, Cedar run, and other smaller tributaries. It forms the south boundary of the county for a distance of ten or eleven miles. It affords water power to some forty flouring, grist and saw

*This Spring derives its name from James Silvers who settled near, or on it, prior to 1733. In 1744 Aug. 15 Mr. Silvers obtained a warrant for a large tract of land here.—*Compiler.*

mills. It falls into the Susquehanna at New Cumberland, about three miles below the Harrisburg bridge.

Mountain creek, the principal tributary of the Yellow Breeches, rises on the borders of Adams county, flowing along and winding round the South mountain, after a course of ten or twelve miles, falls into its recipient. Boiling Spring, rises near the eastern boundary of South Middleton township, contiguous to Ege's iron works, and after running a short distance, empties into Yellow Breeches creek.

Cedar Spring rises in Allen township on the plantation of Jacob Markel, flowing eastward, affording power to a large flouring mill, saw mill and clover mill, falls into the Yellow Breeches immediately below Milltown.

The streams now noticed and other smaller ones, afford water power to rising fifty flouring mills, twelve or fifteen grist mills, between sixty and seventy saw mills, several oil mills, fulling mills, clover mills, woollen and other factories.

Natural curiosities.—Among the natural curiosities of this county may be appropriately classed a well known cave on the banks of the Conedogwinet, about a mile and a half north of Carlisle. The entrance to it is a semi-circular archway, about eight feet high, in a limestone cliff of about twenty feet perpendicular elevation. There is such perfect symmetry displayed in the arch to this subterraneous cavern, as to strongly incline the visitor to the belief that art must have given it the finish; and such an opinion receives some support from the fact that the surface of the interior has, at some time, received a dressing, or smoothing. From the vaulted passage, or ante-chamber which is first entered, there is a nearly straight passage of about two hundred and seventy feet to a point where it branches into three directions. The passage is high enough to admit the visitor erect, till he reaches the tri-furcation. The passage on the right is broad and low, and not easy of access, owing to the great humidity of the stones. It leads to a chamber as large as the first, which bears the singular name of his satanic majesty, "The Devil's Dining Room." The centre passage from the ante-chamber is very narrow and tortuous, somewhat similar to a winding-stair, and cannot be entered more than about thirty feet, where it terminates in a perpendicular excavation; the height of which, has not, as I know, yet been measured.



The left hand passage, at a distance of three or four feet, turns, at a sudden to the right, and measures in length about ninety feet, with a sufficient opening to permit a small lad to creep along it, but it becomes thenceforth too strait for further progress. About seven feet from the entrance of this gallery are several small pools—Those fond of poetical semblances, say, there are “seven springs.” Those pools are formed by the drippings of the roof, which have been mistaken by the credulous for springs.

The Carlisle Sulphur Springs, of some celebrity, are three miles north of the borough in North Middleton township.—It is a place of some considerable resort in the summer season.

Public Improvements.—The Cumberland Valley Railroad passes through the centre of a finely cultivated part of the county. It was required by the charter of the company, incorporated in 1834, that it should pass by way of Carlisle and Shippensburg. It not only passes through these towns, the points named, but hard by Shiremanstown, through the borough of Mechanicsburg; one half mile south of Newville. The whole length of the road from the borough of Harrisburg is fifty-one miles. It was estimated that this road, when completed would yield a handsome per centage on the capital stock invested. The local trade of Cumberland valley was estimated, to make an aggregate of carriage, of fifty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty tons, annually. We have not the data to determine, whether these anticipations were fully realized. The aggregate receipts were estimated at \$254,647.60 annually. The road has now been in operation for eight or nine years; and the stockholders have met with some reverses; for in December 1844, that noble superstructure across the Susquehanna, was destroyed by fire. One man lost his life at the time.

Turnpikes.—The turnpike road from Harrisburg to Chambersburg, made by an incorporated company, was began in 1816; and crosses the county southwest by way of Hogueston, Kingston, Middlesex, Carlisle, and Shippensburg, and was, before the completion of the rail road, much travelled.

The Hanover and Carlisle turnpike road, commenced in 1812, runs from the borough of Carlisle southeast by way

of Petersburg, in Adams county, to Hanover, thence to Baltimore. The Harrisburg and York turnpike road, passes along the west side of the Susquehanna. These roads and all the highways, are usually kept in good order, by means of which, and the numerous bridges in the county every portion is easily accessible by wagons, or vehicles for pleasure.

The modes of transporting or conveying produce and other articles of commerce, have been, like the highways, thorough fares, or public roads, much improved within the memory of many now living, west of the Susquehanna. Sixty or seventy years ago five hundred pack horses had been at one time in Carlisle, going thence to Shippensburg, Fort Loudon, and further westward, loaded with merchandise, also salt, iron, &c. The pack-horses used to carry bars of iron on their backs, crooked over and around their bodies—barrels or cags were hung on each side of these.

Colonel Snyder of Chambersburg, in a conversation with the writer (August 1845) said, that he cleared many a day from six to eight dollars in crooking, or bending iron, and shoeing horses for western carriers, at the time he was carrying on a blacksmith shop, in the town of Chambersburg.

The pack horses were generally led in divisions of twelve or fifteen horses, carrying about two hundred weight each, all going single file, and being managed by two men, one going before as the leader, and the other at the tail, to see after the safety of the packs. Where the bridle road passed along declivities or over hills, the path was, in some places, washed out so deep that the packs or burdens came in contact with the ground, or other impeding obstacles, and were frequently displaced. However, as the carriers usually travelled in companies, the packs were soon adjusted, and no great delay occasioned.

The pack horses were generally furnished with bells, which were kept from ringing during the day drive, but were let loose at night, when the horses were set free and permitted to feed and browse. The bells were intended as guides to direct their whereabouts in the morning. When wagons were first introduced, the carriers considered that mode of "transportation," an invasion of their rights—their indignation was more excited and they manifested greater

rancor, than did the regular teamsters when the line of *single teams* was started some thirty years ago.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WHITES INTRUDE UPON INDIAN, OR UNPURCHASED LANDS, &c.

Influx of immigrants increased; Irish and some few Germans intrude upon Indian lands north of the Kittatinny mountain, &c.; Indians become irritated and threatened to do themselves justice; Conference held in Pennsborough touching the Indians' complaints; Richard Peters and others proceed to remove the intruders; Several cabins burnt on Juniata river, Shearman's creek; Peters and others proceed to Shippensburg, thence to Tuscarora Path, and burn several cabins; Proceed to Big Cove, &c.; Brief sketch of early settlements.

Immigrants in their westward course entered the "North Valley" about the year 1730 or 1731; their number steadily increased till it had reached, in 1740, several thousand; for in 1749, the number of taxables were eight hundred and seven; and so rapid was the increase of first settlers that in 1751, the taxables numbered eleven hundred and thirty-four. So great was the number, and rapid the progress of settlements, as to alarm the Indians; for many of the pioneers were so impatient of the delays of the land office, that they pushed settlements beyond the bounds of the purchase of October 1736 (see pa. 32, *ante*,) and were viewed, by the Indians, and justly too, as intruders. These were chiefly Irish, and some few Germans, who seated themselves on the Juniata river, Shearman's creek, Tuscarora Path, or Path Valley, in the Little, and Big Cove, formed by the Kittatinny and Tuscarora mountains; and by the Big and Little Conolloways. The first of the intruders commenced settlements on the unpurchased lands about the year 1740; and

increased despite the complaints of the Indians, the laws of the Province, and the proclamations of the governor.

The Six Nations having consulted in council on this subject, sent a grand deputation from every tribe to Philadelphia, to present their remonstrances. The Senecas arrived first, and having been attentively heard, were dismissed, with a present of one hundred pounds, and with instructions, should they meet their compatriots, to report what they had done, and to persuade them to return. But the Senecas either did not meet the other deputies, or were unable to change their determination. They arrived shortly afterwards in the city, and on a short conference, were dismissed, with a present of fifty pounds. Upon their return, the effect of the rival attentions of the Europeans was plainly visible upon the Indians. Their respect for the whites was much diminished, and their conduct was marked with wantonness and insolence. They killed the cattle of the inhabitants as they passed through the country, and mischievously wasted their orchards. Even the property of Conrad Weiser (residing near the present site of Wommelsdorf, Berks county) who was personally known to, and esteemed, by them, was not respected by the Tortuloes; who were, on his complaints, driven off by the Seneca chiefs. The depredations they committed along their route were repaired by the Assembly, that the people, satisfied with their indemnity, might bear more patiently the insolence of their visitors.

The threats of the Indians to do themselves that justice they despaired to receive from the government, produced prompt and decisive measures. The Secretary of the Province, Mr. Richard Peters, and the interpreter, Mr. Conrad Weiser, were directed to proceed to the county of Cumberland, in which the new settlements lay, and to expel the intruders. They were joined by the magistrates of the county, the delegates from the Six Nations, a chief of the Mohawks and Andrew Montour, an interpreter from Ohio. The commissioners met with little resistance in the execution of their duty; a few only of the settlers, under an apprehension of imprisonment, making a show of opposition. All readily entered into recognizance for their appearance at the next sessions, and many aided to reduce their own habitations to ashes in the presence of the magistrates and attendant Indians.

Mr. Peters displayed on this occasion great prudence and humanity. To the needy he gave money, and proffered an asylum on farms of his own; and to all he granted permission to establish themselves on a tract of two millions of acres, purchased from the Indians on the east side of the Susquehanna, in the preceding year, for the proprietaries — But, notwithstanding this evidence of the resolution of the government, and the determination of the Indians, new offence was given to the latter, by new encroachments, within a few months.—*Gordon.*

The proceedings alluded to above, are inserted at large, as being full of interesting and historical incidents.

To James Hamilton, Esq. Governor of Pennsylvania.

May it please your Honor:

Mr. Weiser and I having received your Honor's orders to give information to the proper magistrates against all such as had presumed to settle and remain on the lands beyond the Kittoctinny mountains, not purchased of the Indians, in contempt of the laws repeatedly signified by proclamations, and particularly by your Honor's last one, and to bring them to a legal conviction, lest for want of their removal a breach should ensue between the Six Nations of Indians and this Province. We set out on Tuesday, the 15th of May 1750, for the new county of Cumberland, where the places on which the trespassers had settled, lay.

At Mr. Croghan's we met with five Indians, three from Shamokin, two of which were sons of the late Shickelamy, who transact the business of the Six Nations with this government; two were just arrived from Allegheny, viz: one of the Mohock's nation, called Aaron, and Andrew Montour, the interpreter at Ohio. Mr. Montour telling us he had a message from the Ohio Indians and Twightwees to this government, and desiring a conference, one was held on the 18th of May last, in the presence of James Galbreth, George Croghan, William Wilson, and Hermanus Alricks, Esqs., justices of the county of Cumberland; and when Mr. Montour's business was done, we, with the advice of the other justices, imparted to the Indians the design we were assembled upon, at which they expressed great satisfaction.

Another conference was held, at the instance of the Indians, in the presence of Mr. Galbreth and Mr. Croghan, before mentioned, wherein they expressed themselves as follows:

Brethren, we have thought a great deal of what you imparted to us, that ye were come to turn the people off who are settled over the hills; we are pleased to see you on this occasion, and as the council of Onondago has this affair exceedingly at heart, and it was particularly recommended to us by the deputies of the Six Nations, when they parted from us last summer, we desire to accompany you, but we are afraid, notwithstanding the care of the governor, that this may prove like many former attempts; the people will be put

off now, and next year come again; and if so, the Six Nations will no longer bear it, but do themselves justice. To prevent this, therefore, when you shall have turned the people off, we recommend it to the governor, to place two or three faithful persons over the mountains, who may be agreeable to him and us, with commissions, empowering them immediately to remove every one who may presume after this to settle themselves, until the Six Nations shall agree to make sale of their land.

To enforce this they gave a string of wampum, and received one in return from the magistrates, with the strongest assurances that they would do their duty.

On Tuesday, the 22nd of May, Matthew Dill, George Croghan, Benjamin Chambers, Thomas Wilson, John Finley and James Galbreath, Esqs., justices of the said county of Cumberland, attended by the under sheriff, came to Big Juniata, situate at the distance of twenty miles from the mouth thereof, and about ten miles north from the Blue Hills, a place much esteemed by the Indians for some of their best hunting ground; and there they found five cabins or log houses, one possessed by William White, another by George Cahoon, another not quite yet finished, in possession of David Hiddleston, another possessed by George and William Galloway, and another by Andrew Lycon; of these persons, William White and George and William Galloway, David Hiddleston and George Cahoon appeared before the magistrates, and being asked by what right or authority they had possessed themselves of those lands, and erected cabins thereon? They replied, by no right or authority, but that the land belonged to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania. They then were asked, whether they did not know they were acting against the law, and in contempt of frequent notices given them by the governor's proclamation? They said they had seen one such proclamation, and had nothing to say for themselves, but craved mercy. Hereupon the said William White, George and William Galloway, David Hiddleston and George Cahoon, being convicted by said justices on their view, the under sheriff was charged with them, and he took William White, David Hiddleston and George Cahoon into custody, but George and William Galloway resisted, and having got at some distance from the under sheriff, they called to us: You may take our lands and houses and do what you please with them; we deliver them to you with all our hearts, but we will not be carried to jail.

The next morning being Wednesday, the 23rd of May, the said justices went to the log house or cabin of Andrew Lycon, and finding none there but children, and hearing that the father and mother were expected soon, and William White and others offering to become security, jointly and severally, and to enter into recognizance, as well as for Andrew's appearance at court, and immediate removal, as for their own; this proposal was accepted, and William White, David Hiddleston and George Cahoon, entered into a recognizance of one hundred pounds, and executed bonds to the Proprietaries in the sum of five hundred pounds, reciting, that they were trespassers, and had no manner of right, and had delivered possession to me for the Proprietaries. When the magistrates went to the cabin or log house of George and William Galloway, (which they had delivered up as aforesaid the day before, after they were convicted, and were flying

from the sheriff) all the goods belonging to the said George and William were taken out, and the cabin being quite empty, I took possession thereof for the Proprietaries; and then a conference was held, what should be done with the empty cabin; and after great deliberation, all agreed that if some cabins were not destroyed, they would tempt the trespassers to return again, or encourage others to come there, should these trespassers go away; and so what was doing would signify nothing, since the possession of them was at such a distance from the inhabitants could not be kept for the Proprietaries; and Mr. Weiser also giving it as his opinion, that if all the cabins were left standing, the Indians would conceive such a contemptible opinion of the government, that they would come themselves in the winter, murder the people, and set their houses on fire. On these considerations the cabin, by my order, was burnt by the under sheriff and company.

Then the company went to the house possessed by David Hiddleston, who had entered into bond as aforesaid, and he having voluntarily taken out all the things which were in the cabin, and left me in possession, that empty and unfurnished cabin was likewise set on fire by the under sheriff, by my order.

The next day being the 24th of May, Mr. Weiser and Mr. Galbreath, with the under sheriff and myself, on our way to the mouth of Juniata, called at Andrew Lycon's, with intent only to inform him, that his neighbors were bound for his appearance and immediate removal, and to caution him not to bring himself or them into trouble by a refusal. But he presented a loaded gun to the magistrates and sheriff; said he would shoot the first man that dared to come nigher. On this, he was disarmed, convicted, and committed to the custody of the sheriff. This whole transaction happened in the sight of a tribe of Indians, who by accident had in the night time fixed their tent on that plantation; and Lycon's behavior giving them great offence, the Shickalamies insisted on our burning the cabin or they would burn it themselves. Whereupon, when every thing was taken out of it (Andrew Lycon all the while assisting) and possession being delivered to me, the empty cabin was set on fire by the under sheriff, and Lycon was carried to jail.

Mr. Benjamin Chambers and Mr. George Croghan had about an hour before separated from us; and on my meeting them again in Cumberland county, they reported to me they had been at Sheerman's creek, or Little Juniata, situate about 6 miles over the Blue mountain, and found there James Parker, Thomas Parker, Owen M'Keib, John M'Clare, Richard Kirkpatrick, James Murray, John Scott, Henry Gass, John Cowan, Simon Girtree and John Kilough, who had settled lands and erected cabins or log houses thereon; and having convicted them of the trespass on their view, they had bound them in recognizances of the penalty of one hundred pounds, to appear and answer for their trespasses on the first day of the next county court of Cumberland, to be held at Shippensburg, and that the said trespassers had likewise entered into bonds to the proprietaries in five hundred pounds penalty, to remove off immediately, with all their servants, cattle and effects, and had delivered possession of their houses to Mr. George Stevenson for the proprietaries use; and that Mr. Stevenson had ordered some of the meanest of those cabins to be set on fire, where the families were not large, nor the improvements considerable.

On Monday the 28th of May we were met at Shippensburg by Samuel Smith, William Maxwell, George Croghan, Benjamin Chambers, Robert Chambers, William Allison, William Trent, John Finley, John Miller, Hermanns Alricks and James Galbreth, Esqrs., justices of Cumberland county, who informing us that the people in the Tuscarora Path, in Big Cove, and at Aucquick, would submit, Mr. Weiser most earnestly pressed that he might be excused any further attendance, having abundance of necessary business to do at home; and the other magistrates, though with much reluctance, at last consenting, he left us.

On Wednesday the 30th of May, the magistrates and company, being detained two days by rain, proceeded over the Kittochtinny mountains, and entered into the Tuscarora Path or Path Valley, through which the road to Alleghany lies. Many settlements were formed in this valley, and all the people were sent for, and the following persons appeared, viz; Abraham Slach, James Blair, Moses Moore, Arthur Dunlap, Alexander McCartie, David Lewis, Adam McCartie, Felix Doyle, Andrew Dunlap, Robert Wilson, Jacob Pyatt, Jacob Pyatt, jr., William Ramage, Reynolds Alexander, Samuel Patterson, Robert Baker, John Armstrong and John Potts, who were all convicted by their own confession to the magistrates, of the like trespasses with those at Shearman's creek, and were bound in the like recognizances to appear at court, and bonds to the Proprietaries to remove with all their families, servants, cattle and effects, and having all voluntarily given possession of their houses to me, some ordinary log houses, to the number of eleven, were burnt to the ground; the trespassers most of them cheerfully and a very few of them with reluctance, carrying out all their goods. Some had been deserted before, and lay waste.

At Aucquick, Peter Falconer, Nicholas De Long, Samuel Perry and John Charleton, were convicted on the view of the magistrates, and having entered into the like recognizances and executed the like bonds, Charlton's cabin was burnt and fire set to another that was just begun, consisting only of a few logs piled and fastened to one another.

The like proceedings at Big Cove (now within Bedford co.) against Andrew Donaldson, John Macclelland, Charles Stewart, James Downy, John Macmean, Robert Kendell, Samuel Brown, William Shepperd, Roger Murphy, Robert Smith, William Dickey, William Millican, Wm. Macconnell, Alexander Macconnell, James Campbell, Wm. Carrell, John Martin, John Jamison, Hans Puffer, John Maccollin, James Wilson and John Wilson; who coming before the magistrates, were convicted on their own confession, of the like trespasses as in former cases and were all bound over in like recognizances and executed the like bond to the Proprietaries. Three waste cabins of no value were burnt at the north end of the Cove by the persons that claimed a right to them.

The Little Cove (in Franklin co.) and the Big and Little Conollowsays, being the only places remaining to be visited, as this was on the borders of Maryland, the magistrates declined going there and departed for their homes."

About the year 1740 or 1741 one Frederick Star a German with two or three more of his countrymen made some settlements at the very place where we found William White, the Galloways and Andrew Lycon (on Big Juniata, situate at the distance of twenty miles from

the mouth thereof and about ten miles north of the Blue Hills, a place much esteemed by the Indians for some of their best hunting ground.—Votes Assem. vol. iv. p. 138.) which (German settlers) were discovered by the Delawares at Shamokin, to the deputies of the Six Nations as they came down to Philadelphia in the year 1742 to hold a treaty with this government; and they were so disturbed at, as to enquire with a peculiar warmth of governor Thomas if these people had come there by the orders or with the privity of the government; alledging that if it was so, this was a breach of the treaties subsisting between the Six Nations and the Proprietor William Penn, who in the most solemn manner, engaged to them not to suffer any of the people to settle lands till they had purchased them from the Council of the Six Nations.—The Governor, as he might with great truth, disowned any knowledge of these persons' settlements; and on the Indians insisting that they should be immediately thrown over the mountains, he promised to issue his proclamation and if this had no effect, to put the laws in execution against them. The Indians in the same treaty publicly expressed very severe threats against the inhabitants of Maryland for settling lands for which they had received no satisfaction; and said, if they would not do them justice they would do justice to themselves; and would certainly have committed hostilities if a treaty had not been on foot between Maryland and the Six Nations under the mediation of Governor Thomas; at which the Indians consented to sell lands and receive a valuable consideration for them, which put an end to the danger.

The Proprietaries were then in England, but observing, on perusing the treaty, with what asperity they had expressed themselves against Maryland, and that the Indians had just cause to complain of the settlements at Juniata, so near Shamokin, they wrote to their governor in very pressing terms, to cause those trespassers to be immediately removed; and both the Proprietaries and governor laid their commands on me to see this done, which I accordingly did in June, 1743; the governor having first given them notice by a proclamation served on them.

At that time none had presumed to settle at a place called the Big Cove—having this name from its being enclosed in the form of a basin by the southernmost range of the Kittochtinny Hills and Tuscarora Hills, which last end here, and lose themselves in other hills. This Big Cove is about 5 miles north of the temporary line and not far west of the place where the line terminated. Between the Big Cove and the temporary line lies the Little Cove, so called from being likewise encircled with hills; and to the west of the Little Cove, towards *Potowmec*, lie two other places called the Big and Little Conollaways, all of them situate on the temporary line, was it to be extended toward *Potowmec*.

In the year 1741 or 1742 information was likewise given that people were beginning to settle in those places, some from Maryland and some from this Province. But as the two governments were then not on very good terms, the Governor did not think proper to take any other notice of these settlements, than to send the sheriff to serve his proclamation on them, thought it ample occasion to lament the vast inconveniences which attend unsettled boundaries. After this the French war came on, and the people in those parts taking advantage

of the confusion of the times, by little and little stole into the Great Cove; so that at the end of the war it was said 30 families had settled there; not however without frequent prohibitions on the part of the government, and admonitions of the great danger they run of being cut off by the Indians, as these settlements were on lands not purchased of them. At the close of the war, Mr. Maxwell, one of the justices of Lancaster county, delivered a particular message from this government to them, ordering their removal, that they might not occasion a breach with the Indians; but it had no effect.

These were to the best of my remembrance all the places settled by Pennsylvanians in the unpurchased part of the Province till about three years ago when some persons had the presumption to go into Path Valley or Tuscarora Gap, lying to the east of the Big Cove and into a place called Aucquick, lying to the northward of it; and likewise into a place called Shearman's creek, lying all along the waters of Juniata, and is situate east of the Path Valley through which the present road goes from Harris' Ferry to Allegheny; and lastly they extended their settlements to Big Juniata; the Indians all this while repeatedly complaining that their hunting ground was every day more and more taken from them; and that there must infallibly arise quarrels between their warriors and these settlers which would in the end break the chain of friendship and pressing in the most importunate terms their speedy removal. The government in 1748 sent the sheriff and three magistrates with Mr. Weiser unto these places to warn the people: but they notwithstanding continued their settlements in opposition to all this; and as if those people were prompted by a desire to make mischief, settled lands no better, nay not so good, as many vacant lands within the purchased parts of the Province.

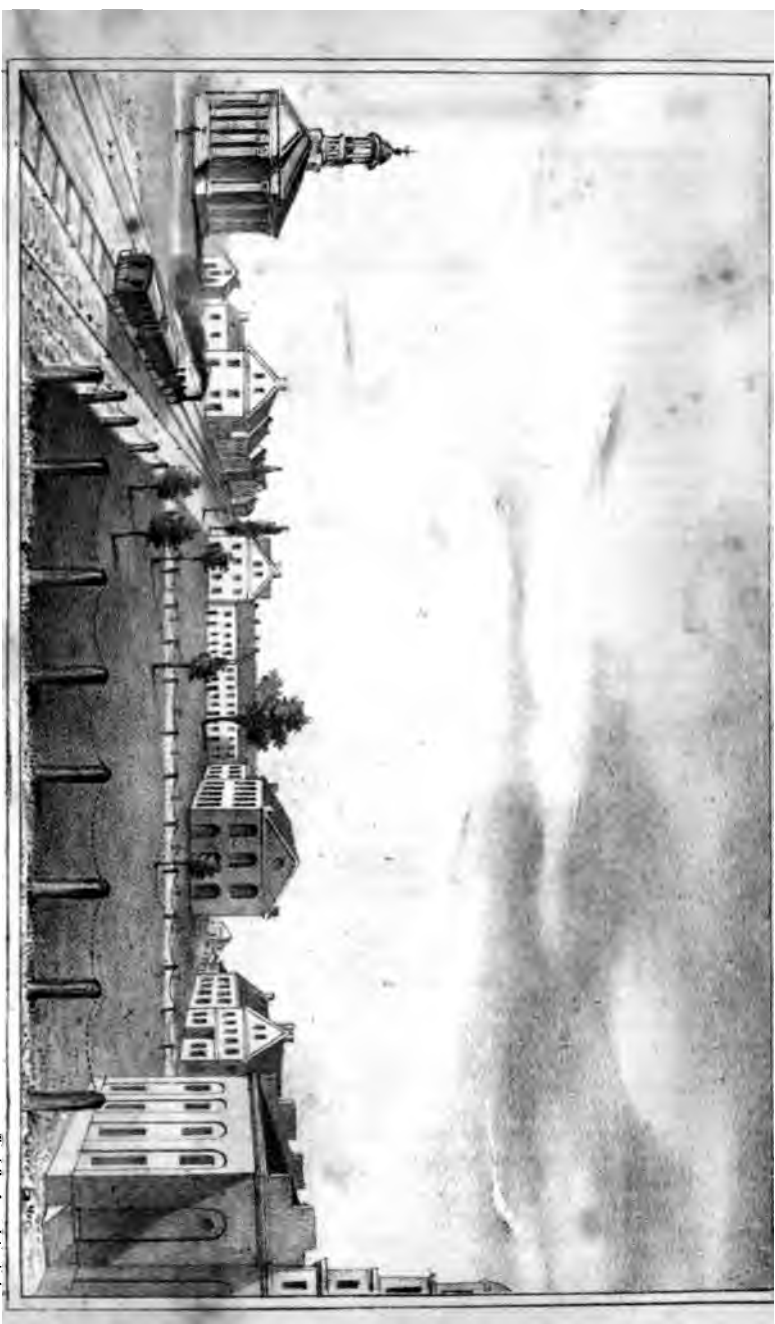
The bulk of these settlements were made during the administration of president Palmer; and it is well known to your honor, though then in England, that his attention to the safety of the city and lower counties would not permit him to extend more care to places so remote.

Finding such a general submission, except the two Galloways and Andrew Lycon and vainly believing the evil would be effectually taken away, there was no kindness in my power which I did not do for the offenders; I gave them money where they were poor and telling them they might go directly on any part of the two millions of acres lately purchased of the Indians; and where the families were large, as I happened to have several of my own plantations vacant, I offered them to stay on them rent free, till they could provide for themselves; then I told them that if after all this lenity and good usage, they would dare to stay after the time limited for their departure, no mercy would be shewed them but that they would feel the rigor of the law.

It may be proper to add, that the cabins and houses which were burnt, were of no considerable value; being such as the country people erect in a day or two and cost only the charge of an entertainment.

July 2d, 1750.

RICHARD PETERS.



Public Square in Carlisle.



CHAPTER XXVI.

CARLISLE, EARLY INCIDENTS, &c.

Courts removed from Shippensburg; excitement occasioned: First county officers: Extracts from the Court Records, from the Commissioners' books, &c.: Carlisle laid out: O'Neal's letter: Indian treaty at Carlisle, 1753: Governor Morris at Carlisle, 1755: Braddock's letter and Governor's answer: Citizens of Carlisle alarmed: Indian treaty held here, 1756: Col. Burd, Commissary Young, Col. Armstrong's letter, &c., extracts from their letters: Corporation of Philadelphia confers honors of distinction upon Col. Armstrong: Cherokee Warriors here, 1757: Col. John Stanwix encamps here: Indian John, alias Doctor John, killed: Citizens terror stricken: Armstrong's, Penn's letters, &c.: Bouquet returns captives: Affecting incident, Dec. 1764: Frederick Stump and John Ironcutter, rescued from jail, 1768: Attempt to rescue Col. James Smith, 1769: Boston Port Bill meeting, 1774: Promptness of the citizens in emergencies: Marsh Miasmata: Riotous gatherings in 1787: Washington and other distinguished officers at Carlisle, 1794: Reception of Washington, &c.: Volunteer companies of 1812.

After the county had been erected, John Porter, Esq., was appointed Sheriff, and Hermanus Alricks, Esq. Clerk of the Peace; and the following persons as Justices of the Common Pleas of the county, by a commission bearing date March 10, 1749-50—Samuel Smith, William Maxwell, Geo. Croghan, Robert Dunning, Mathew Dill, Benjamin Chambers, William Trout, Hermanus Alricks, John Miller, Robert Chambers, John Finley, and Thomas Wilson.

The court of Common Pleas and the criminal court were first held at Shippensburg, the oldest town, except York, west of the Susquehanna, within the Province of Pennsylvania. In 1751, after Carlisle had been laid out, they were removed to Carlisle, and at first held in a temporary log

building, standing on the north east corner of the centre square.

The Orphans' Court during 1750 to '55 was not fixed to any certain place, "but seems to have followed the persons of the judges—it was held at Shippensburg, Carlisle, and several other places. June 12, 1751, at Peterstown (Peters township, now in Franklin township)—January 4th, 1752, in Antrim township (Franklin county)—March 5, 1755, at William Anderson's; afterwards regularly at Carlisle.

The removal of the court of Common Pleas, (or the county seat) from Shippensburg to Carlisle produced quite an excitement among the inhabitants of the western part of the county, and drew forth much complaint; especially from those of the Conococheague and Falling Spring Settlements. Their complaints are set forth in the following petition presented to the Assembly in 1751 :

A petition from the commissioners and assessors of Cumberland county, in the behalf, and at the desire of the far greater part of the inhabitants of the said county, was presented to the house setting forth that a majority of the trustees, in pursuance of the act of Assembly, whereby that county was erected had made a return to the Governor of a plan at a branch of the Conococheague creek, about eighteen miles from Shippensburg, by the Great Road to Virginia, praying a location for a court house and prison there, and withal submitting Shippensburg to the Governor's choice, which they were fully persuaded would have quieted the whole country, although it be north east of the centre : yet it has pleased the Governor, to remove their courts of justice of Le Tort's Spring, a place almost at one end of the county, there it seems intending the location of a court house and prison, to the great grief and damage of the far greater part of the county, and by means whereof the end of their being erected into a county can never be obtained ; which was principally to free them from the very grievous fatigue and expence occasioned by their great distance from Lancaster; from which they hoped to be eased, but instead of ease their yoke is likely to be heavier, for being but few in number, it will be very expensive for them to erect and maintain a new county, especially if they are laid under such disadvantages as will ensue upon the placing of the county town at Le Tort's Spring, for it will always impoverish them to

carry and expend their public money at the extremity of the county, where it will never circulate back again; it will also occasion great oppression to the poor to pay the costs of law suits by reason of far travel, as well as much prevent their annual elections, the poorer sort not being able to attend; that these difficulties will be much increased to those who may settle over the North mountain, in the Cove, or the Path Valley, when these lands shall be purchased; that it does not appear to them, that it will be to the proprietor's advantage, or the prosperity of the town of Carlisle, for it will necessitate the back inhabitants to traffic in Maryland to the damage of this province; and that they can easily make it appear, that no good wagon road can be had over the North mountain, until they go beyond Shippensburg up the valley, where wagons have already passed over without any cost or trouble in clearing roads, and which is withal the highest way to Allegheny; that though they have made frequent supplications to the Governor on this head to no purpose, yet being still in hopes of relief, they had thought it best to defer building a prison, for want of which, escapes are made both by felons and debtors, to the great danger of the county. They therefore pray that this house would take their grievance into consideration, and grant such relief as to them shall seem most meet.—Votes Assem. iv. 190, 191.

“Several citizens of the eastward of the county, on the other hand, denied, in a written communication to the Assembly, that no good road could be made over the mountain from Shippensburg downward, for that they had, in company with Daniel Williams, their representative, viewed and considered the Gap called Stevens', and were satisfied that as the whole ascent was but sixty or seventy perches, by traversing it once or twice, ordinary wagons might have an easy passage over it.

“The Governor, on his part, directed his Secretary to say to the Assembly that he never saw any paper from the Cumberland Trustees, such as referred to by the petitioners, and therefore admires at the boldness of the petitioners who must have asserted that part upon hearsay. Here this controversy tripartite seems to have terminated, and the courts remained at Le Tort's Spring, whither the Governor had removed them.”—*Charter, &c., of Carlisle.*

The following is a literal copy of the first record in the Court of Quarter Sessions:

At a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace held at Shippensburg for the County of Cumberland the twenty-fourth day of July in the twenty-fourth year of the Reign of his Majesty King George the Second Annoq. Dom. 1750.

Before Samuel Smith Esquire and his Bretheren Keepers of the Peace of our said Lord the King and his Justices assign'd to hear and determine divers Felonies, Trespasses, &c.

The Sheriff returns the writ of Venire to him directed with the Panel thereto annexed and thereupon the following persons sworn on the Grand Jury, viz William Magaw, John Potter, John Mitchell, John Davison, Ezekiel Dunning, John Holiday, James Lindsay, Adam Hoops, John Forsyth, Thomas Brown, John Reynolds, Robert Harris, Thomas Urie, Charles Murray, Robert Meek.

Dominus Rex	}	Sur Indictmt. for Larceny, not guilty
vs		& now ye deft ret her pl and submits
Bridget Hagen	}	to ye Ct. And thereupon it is considered by the Court and adjudged that ye sd Bridget Hagen restore the sum of Six pounds seventeen shillings & sixpence lawful money of Penna unto Jacob Long ye owner and make fine to ye Governor in ye like sum and pay ye costs of prosecution & receive fifteen lashes on her bare back at ye Public Whipping post & stand committed till ye fine & fees are paid.

The town of Carlisle was laid out, in pursuance of letters of instruction, and by the direction of the Proprietaries, a re-survey of the town and lands adjacent was made by Colonel Armstrong, in 1762.

When the town was first located, it extended no further than the present North, South, East and West streets. All the surrounding country now within the borough limits was purchased back by Mr. Cookson from the settlers, for the Proprietaries, and was designed as commons. Subsequently, however, principally in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, the "additional lots" and "out lots" were laid out and sold to the citizens, but not without the remonstrance of a number of the inhabitants, who held a town meeting on the subject, and declared that the original lots had been purchased from the Proprietaries upon a condition verbally expressed, that the Proprietaries' lands adjoining the town should remain for

ever for the benefit of the poor. Because of this dissatisfaction, the payments of quit-rents, which had been annually collected by the agents of the Penns, was interrupted for many years, and eventually their recovery was judiciously determined to be barred by lapse of time.

The first tax upon the citizens of Carlisle, of which we have any account, was laid in December, 1752, and amounted to £25, 9, 6d."—Charter, &c. of Carlisle.

In 1753 Gov. Hamilton despatched John O'Neal to this place, on public business, when here he wrote the following to the governor under date, Carlisle May 27, 1753.

Dear Sir—I reached this place a few days since, without accident; having previously embraced an opportunity which presented itself of learning the Indian character by attending the great Indian talk in Path Valley—the particulars of which you will receive from Le Tort.

The garrison here consists only of twelve men. The stockade originally occupied two acres of ground square, with a block house in each corner—these buildings are now in ruins. As Carlisle has been recently laid out, and is the established seat of Justice, it is the general opinion that a number of log buildings will be erected during the ensuing summer on speculation, in which some accommodation can be had for the new levies. The number of dwelling houses is five. The court is at present held in a temporary log building on the North East corner of the centre square.

If the lots were clear of the brush wood, it would give a different aspect to the town. The situation, however, is handsome, in the centre of a valley, with a mountain bounding it on the north and south, at a distance of seven miles. The wood consists principally of oak and hickory. The limestone will be of great advantage to the future settlers, being in abundance. A lime kiln stands on the centre square, near what is called the deep quarry, from which is obtained good building stone.

A large stream of water runs about two miles from the village, which may at a future period be rendered navigable. A fine spring flows to the east, called Le Tort, after the Indian interpreter who settled on its head about the year 1720. The Indian wigwams in the vicinity of the great Beaver pond, are to men an object of particular curiosity. A large number of the Delawares, Shawanese and Tuscaroras con-

tinue in this vicinity; the greater number have gone to the west. I am desirous of learning their customs, habits, and manners; as it may assist me in the object or pursuits in which I am engaged—the confidence of the chief, I shall endeavor to obtain.

I gave captain Joel the commission; it was well bestowed; his band may be of vast use hereafter in checking the incursions of the Indians. David Scott is entitled to much praise for the liberal offer he has made of paying the expenses incurred by them. If the French are enabled to strengthen their positions on the western frontiers, the situation of the country will be critical indeed.

The Irish emigrants have acted with inconsiderate rashness, in entering upon Indian lands not purchased. It is a matter of regret that they do not conciliate and cultivate the good will of the Redman. I have directed several block houses to be erected agreeably to your desire.—HAZ. REG. iv, 389.

Captain Joel, mentioned in the preceding letter, was a remarkable character, as appears from the following extract of a letter, dated at Carlisle, 1754: "Captain Joel is one of the most remarkable characters in the province of Pennsylvania. He emigrated at an early period to the west: bold, daring, intrepid, ardent in his affections, zealous in his occupations as a hunter: when the Indians assumed a warlike attitude, he formed an association of the settlers to defend the settlements from this aggression. On a given signal they would unite. On the Conococheague and Juniata, are left the histories of their exploits. At one time you may hear of the band near fort Augusta, next at fort Franklin, then at Loudon, then at Juniata—rapid were the movements of this hardy band. The very name of Joel strikes terror in his enemies. He is at present defending the settlements on the Conococheague."—HAZ. REG. iv. 390.

In the same year, 1753, another 'stoccade' of very curious construction was erected, whose western gate was in High street, between Hanover and Pitt street, opposite lot number one hundred. This fortification was thus constructed. Oak logs, about seventeen feet in length, were set up right in a ditch, dug to the depth of four feet. Each log was about twelve inches in diameter. In the interior were platforms made of clapboard, and raised four or five feet from

the ground. Upon those the men stood and fired through loop-holes. At each corner was a swivel gun, and fired as occasion required, to let the Indians know that such kind of guns were within.—HAZ. REG. iv. 390.

Three wells were sunk within the line of the fortress, one of which was on lot number 125; another on the line between lots numbered 109 and 117; and the third on the line between lots numbered 124 and 116. This last was for many years known as the 'King's Well.' Within this fort, called "Fort Louthier," women and children from the Green Spring and the country around, often sought protection from the tomahawk of the savage. Its force, in 1755, consisted of fifty men, and that of Fort Franklin, at Shippensburg, of the same number. At a somewhat later day, or perhaps about the same time, breastworks were erected a little north-east of the town—as it was then limited—by Colonel Stanwix, some remains of which still exist.—CHAR. &C. OF CARLISLE.

Robert Hunter Morris was at Carlisle, for the purpose, as he proposed to the council, June 5th, 1755, "in order to be nearer to the army, (Braddock's) to give such directions as occurrences should render proper,"—(Prov. Rec. N. p. 90,) and while here received the last letter ever written to him by Edward Braddock, which, with the governor's answer to it are here inserted.

From the Camp at the last crossing of the Yaughyaughani.

June 30th, 1755.

Sir: As I shall very soon be in want of supplies from your province, I must beg you would order all possible dispatch to be made use of in finishing the new road as far as the Crow Foot of the Yaughyaughani, and immediately afterwards send forward to me such articles of provision as shall be in your power. Some of the inhabitants near Fort Cumberland having been killed, and taken prisoners by straggling parties of Indians, the people in these parts have been deterred from coming to the camp. My chief defence must therefore be upon your province, where the road will be secure from insults or attacks of that kind; and lest it should not be in my power to send a sufficient number of wagons or horses, to bring up from the Magazine at M'Dowell's mill, the provision I may have occasion for, I must desire you to direct Mr. Swaine or some proper person, to have in view such a number of them as may answer that purpose, which shall be conducted to the camp under a proper escort; but I would not have any contract or positive agreement made till further orders, as I am in hopes this measure may not be necessary, and the expense consequently avoided.

I hope soon to have an express from you, with an exact account of the place fixed upon for the communication between the two roads.

And am sir, your most humble
and most obedient servant,

E. BRADDOCK.

Carlisle, July 14, 1755.

Sir:—

I have this minute the favor of yours of the 30th of last month, from the last crossing of the Yohiogany, upon which I congratulate you, and hope this will find you in possession of Fort Du Quesne.* The opening of the road has been somewhat interrupted by some Indians who have killed some of the wagoners and people employed in carrying them provisions, which has greatly alarmed this part of the province. And Mr. Burd writes me from Allegheny mountain that thirty of his men had left him for the want of arms. As soon as possible after the people that escaped the Indians returned, a number of settlers were procured, and with a proper quantity of flour, were sent under the protection of sixty-four volunteers, who I imagine will meet the thirty men in their way home and carry them back to their work. As soon as I am informed that the new road is nigh joining your route, which, as I have wrote, I imagine will be about the Great Crossing, I shall send forward a parcel of oxen, some pork, and some flour, as much of the two last articles as I can procure wagons to carry; and propose staying in this part of the province (where I came to forward and secure the Magazine) till that be done. The letter herewith I wrote at Philadelphia, but the bearer has been detained a long time on the road on account of the murders committed by the Indians, and in hopes of an escort from me; but for want of militia it is not in my power—so he goes round by Winchester, and may be some time before he reaches you with the good news he is charged with.

I am your Excellency's

most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT H. MORRIS.

In the autumn of 1755, the citizens of Carlisle were much alarmed in consequence of numerous massacres by the Indians. John Armstrong writes Gov. Morris, Nov. 2d, "I am of opinion that no other means than a chain of block-houses along or near the south side of the Kittatinny mountain from Susquehanna to the temporary line; can secure the lives and properties of the old inhabitants of this county, the new settlements being all fled, except those of Sherman's valley, who, if God do not preserve them, we fear, will suffer very soon."

The following letter, Armstrong addressed to Richard Peters:—

* These fond hopes proved delusive; Braddock's army was defeated, himself mortally wounded, July 9th, so that he died on the 13th, 1755; the French retained possession of Fort Du Quesne till Nov. 24, 1758, when they blowed up their Magazine, burnt their Fort to the ground, and abandoned the place.—*Compiler.*

Carlisle, Sunday night, Nov. 2, 1755.

Dear Sir:

Inclosed to Mr. Allen, by the last post, I sent you a letter from Harris'; but I believe forgot, through that day's confusion to direct it.

You will see our melancholy circumstances by the governor's letter and my opinion of the method of keeping the inhabitants in this county, which will require all possible despatch. If we had immediate assurance of relief a great number would stay; and the inhabitants should be advertised not to drive off, nor waste their beef cattle, &c. I have not so much as sent off my wife fearing an ill precedent, but must do it now, I believe, together with the public papers and your own.

There are no inhabitants on Juniata, nor on Tuscarora by this time, my brother William being just come in. Montour and Monaghatootha are going to the Governor. The former is greatly suspected of being an enemy in his heart—'tis hard to tell—you can compare what they say to the Governor with what I have wrote. I have no notion of a large army, but of great danger from scouting parties.

In the month of January, from the 15th to the 22d, 1756, there was another Indian treaty of amity held in Carlisle.—See Appendix, L.

Mr. Burd write Geo. Morris.

Carlisle, April 19, 1756.

Sir: I arrived here on Friday evening and began immediately to recruit; but found few volunteers; all that I have been able to enlist, are four men for twelve months, and although I told the commissioners again and again, candidly, that there would be a good deal of difficulty in filling up the company, with advance money, yet they were of opinion that there would be men enough got without running the risque of advancing; but I must beg leave to inform your Honor that the Commissioners are deceived in this, as they will be in the dependences they may have or assistance from the country, from people who are not in their pay.

On Saturday afternoon, Capt. Mercer arrived here, and is recruiting for the company at Fort Shirley, and as he was a stranger in town, I have procured him thirty pounds from Mr. Francis West, upon my obligation, and for which Cap. Mercer gives Mr. West a draught upon the commissioners—this I thought myself under obligation to do for the good of the service, which is an interest I shall always have at heart. I intended to have marched this morning for Fort Granville; but the creeks are so high that the carriers cannot attempt to get their horses and loads over; but hope to be able to go to-morrow morning. I shall return here with Mr. Salter towards the latter end of this week or the beginning of the week following, in order to recruit my company.

I am informed that they are entirely out of all manner of provisions at Fort Granville, which is a very bad situation, as the enemy are constantly visiting them; they have wounded two men within sight of the Fort, and one of the men's life is despaired of—they would have carried off one of them had not Lieut. Ward rushed out of the Fort and rescued him. Mr. Ward sent a detachment under the command of George Clark after the enemy; but could not come up with them,

I could wish we had a surgeon and medicines—we shall loose one half of our men with perhaps slight wounds, purely for want of assistance. I am glad that I have not disagreeable news of late incursions by the enemy to sting your Honor's ears with; but I am convinced that unless these garrisons are re-inforced to one hundred and fifty men each, and sufficient stores of ammunition and provisions, that this part of our province will be forced.

Commissary Young writes :

Carlisle, July 22, 1756.

Sir: By the Winchester Post we have advice that the 20th instant in the morning a party of Indians surprised two of Capt. Steel's men as they were guarding some reapers four miles on this side McDowell's mill; they killed and scalped one, the other they carried off; the reapers made their escape; also that one of the soldiers from Maxwell's mill that went with two women to the spring for some water, is missing; the women got in safe to the fort, and almost at the same time a man and a woman were scalped a few miles on the other side the mill; and, yesterday morning eight Indians came to the house of Jacob Peebles, near the Great Spring and McClure's Gap, about ten miles from this place, on this side the mountain, they killed an old woman and carried off two children; and an old man is missing; they pursued a boy who was on horse back a long way; but he escaped. There were some people reaping a small distance from the house but knew nothing of what was doing at home; for the Indians did not fire a gun, they carried off all the clothes and bedding that was in the house; a party went from this town to bury the dead and are returned again; they informed me that the country people are leaving their houses to come down as there is great reasons to fear many more Indians will soon be among them.

The money which the Commissioners were to send, is not yet come, nor is Col. Armstrong; and I am now at a loss what to do when it does come, as no doubt there are several parties of Indians within our Forts, and we have only a small party of men in each Fort, the others being all scattered in small parties, at a considerable distance from each other, to protect the country people at harvest, so it will be impossible to collect the men together to muster them without greatly distressing the country people and disappoint them of reaping their grain; for they will all leave it if the men are taken from them; neither can I be supplied with proper escorts from the forts without leaving them empty; I shall therefore be glad to have your Honor's further orders, whether I shall proceed in the best manner I can, or when the money comes to leave it in the charge of Col. Armstrong, or Mr. John Smith, with orders to pay the several Captains, or any of their officers as an opportunity may offer, any sum that will not exceed the pay for their respective companies to the 1st of July, about £250 per each company, more or less according to their accounts stands which I have with me, and I may muster the men and settle their accounts the next time I come up when harvest will be over.

Capt. Potter was here yesterday; I paid him £100 of the money I had left from Colonel Clapham's regiment (see p. 321) in case I should not get up to him. Lieutenant Callender came last night with 20 of his men: he left eleven in Shearman's valley to protect the reapers; he, with Capt. Armstrong and 40 men, have been on a scout as far as

Shamokin; from thence they went 50 miles due west, and then down to Patterson's fort, but saw no enemy. He informs me that last Monday two Indian Squaws that were at Fort Shirely went off with one of our men, a fellow that has formerly been an Indian trader; the Squaws are the daughters of the Indian Half King who was killed last winter. I fear that fellow may be of bad consequences to us, as he knows our situation well.

I have endeavored to put this large Fort in the best posture of defence I can, but am sorry to say the people of this town cannot be prevailed on to do any thing for their own safety. I proposed to them to associate and to place a picket guard at a small distance from the Fort to prevent being surprized; but to no purpose; they say they will guard when there is danger! though the enemy is now committing murder but ten miles from them! They seemed to be lulled into fatal security! A strange infatuation which seems to prevail throughout this Province."

Carlisle, July 23d, 1756.

Col. Armstrong wrote Gov. Morris :

Honored Sir—Being but just got home, I am unable to furnish your Honor with the occurrences of these two days past, in which time the Indians have begun to take advantage of the harvest season. Seven people on this side the Kittatinney Hills, being killed and missing within this county, and two on the South side of the Temporary line. The enemy have not yet attacked any of the people over the Hills, but passed them by; probably on account of finding them better guarded and disposed of.

As soon as Capt. Young concludes whether to cross the Hills or not, I shall visit the out guards, and endeavor to keep the people in larger companies. Wheat harvest is more than half done.

I shall send to Harris's for the saddles and clams, and in my next, write the Commissioners of the powder last sent here; the advantage and necessity of strengthening the new arms &c. The Indians are not in large parties, but distributed in different places of the frontier."

August 20, 1756, Col. Armstrong writes—"Lytleton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only forts, now built, that will, in my opinion, be serviceable to the public.

The duties of the harvest have not permitted me to finish Carlisle Fort with the soldiers; it should be done, otherwise the soldiers cannot be so well governed, and may be absent, or without the gates, at a time of the greatest necessity.

He adds—"To-morrow I shall set out for Shearman's valley, for Fort Shirley"—He alludes to his expedition to Kittanning where he routed the Indians most signally.

The corporation of Philadelphia, on the occasion of this victory, to show their esteem for this valiant and brave soldier, presented him a piece of plate or medal. So well merited complement is entitled to be noticed somewhat in detail. The following extracts are from the minutes of the Common Council of the city of Philadelphia.

October 5, 1756—It being proposed that this Board should give some public testimony of their regard and esteem for Col. John Armstrong and the other officers concerned in the late expedition against the Indians at Kittanning, and the courage and conduct shown by them on that occasion, and also contribute to the relief of the widows and children of those who lost their lives in that expedition. Resolved, that this board will give the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds out of their stock in the Treasurer's hands, to be paid out in pieces of plate, swords, or other things suitable for presents to the said officers and towards the relief of the said Widows and Children.

The following is a description of the medal sent to Col. Armstrong.

Occasion. In honor of the late General Armstrong of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for destroying Kittaning Indian towns.

Device. An officer followed by two soldiers: the officer pointing to a soldier shooting from behind a tree, and an Indian prostrate before him. In the back ground, Indian houses are seen in flames.

Legend. Kittaning destroyed by Colonel Armstrong, September, 1756:

Reverse. Device—The arms of the corporation of Philadelphia. These consisted of four devices: on the right hand a ship under full sail: on the left, a pair of scales, equally balanced in the right, above the ship, a wheat sheaf: in the left, two hands locked.

Legend. The gift of the corporation of the city of Philadelphia.

The following correspondence (taken from Pa. Gazette of Feb. 17, 1757,) passed between the corporation and Colonel Armstrong.

To Colonel John Armstrong.

Sir: The corporation of the city of Philadelphia greatly approve of your conduct and public spirit in the late expedition against the town of Kittanning, and are highly pleased with the signal proofs of courage and personl bravery given by you, and the officers under your commands, in demolishing of that place. I am therefore ordered to return you and them the thanks of the board for the eminent service you have thereby done your country. I am also ordered by the corporation to present you, out of their small public stock, with a piece of plate and silver medal, and each of your officers with a medal and a small sum

of money to be disposed of in the manner^d most agreeable to them; which the board desire you will accept as a testimony of the regard they have for your merit.

Signed by order,

ATTWOOD SEUTE, Mayor.

January 5, 1757.

To the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the Corporation of the city of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen—Your favor of the 5th instant, together with the medals and other genteel presents made to the officers of my battalion by the Corporation of the city of Philadelphia, I had the pleasure to receive by Capt. George Armstrong.

The officers employed in the Kittanning expedition, have been made acquainted with the distinguished honor you have done them, and desire to join with me in acknowledging it in the most public manner. The kind acceptance of our past services by the Corporation, gives us the lightest pleasure and furnishes a fresh motive for exerting ourselves on every future occasion for the benefit of his Majesty's service in general, and in defence of this province in particular. In behalf of the officers of my battalion,

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Carlisle, January 24, 1757.

In May 1757, a number of Cherokee warriors was at Carlisle, who had come from the South, to aid the English against the French and their allied savages. Col. Armstrong wrote Governor Denny the following touching these Indians.

Carlisle, May 4, 1757.

Honored Sir: A list of what was thought most desired by the Cherokee Indians, I sent down with their speeches to your Honor, and would beg leave to alledge that a considerable part of the present ought to be wampum, with some beads, and next to these an assortment of some silver trinkets, with three laced hats, as it is probable that three captains will be there—two or three coats with tinsel lace might be very well, but those I think will be more expedient at a future time, and nearer the approach of cold weather.

I have ordered my brother, who yesterday returned, to write your Honor the several sorts of goods given by the governor of Maryland, that yours may have a convenient variation. That province has given about £380 in value; and, though I should be glad Pennsylvania would a little exceed it; yet am fully of opinion that a number of Indians will actually assist us this summer, and more of their nation come to these provinces, which will require future rewards, as from time to time prudence may direct.

Your Honor will no doubt, order a present for Mr. Paris, the interpreter. I hear Governor Sharp's secretary, who delivered his speech and present, had orders to offer Paris a captaincy in pay of that pro-

vince; and that he is inclined to accept of it, which I hope will be of use to this—I am sorry your Honor cannot either come, or send your Secretary to the Southern Indians; for however necessary Mr. Croghan may be where he is acquainted, neither he nor the Indians, 'tis said, he brings with him can be so, in the present case, and the consequences in my opinion are not very promising; but farther is not becoming me to say.

Carlisle, June 2d, 1757.

May it please your Honor,

Your favor of the 21st of May was delivered me by Col. Stanwix who encamped here on the 30th ult—all well.

In regard to an excursion to the enemy's country, it will be expedient to know the minds of the Cherokees, after the receipt of their presents; and it is necessary that some person be employed to promise them rewards for future service. Mr. Croghan says, he has not that power, which is very strange!—the other governments being so explicit on that point.

To-morrow, Capt. Croghan sends an express to the Cherokees to come to meet him; and, I believe, designs to augment the provincial present.

Col. Stanwix treats me with much civility. I do according to your Honor's orders, assist him in every thing I can—I shall obey his orders.—

Camp, near Carlisle, June 12, 1757.

Dear Sir.

A few days ago Col. Armstrong left this place, with fifty of the Provincials for Fort Loudon, under which party the Indian presents were guarded; and Mr. Croghan set out two days before him. Col. Armstrong seemed inclined to meet the Southern tribe, and have some conference with Capt. Paris, and to try if these people would join a scout towards Raystown; to all which I consented, though really as to the Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find that all those employed as agents, very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Col. Armstrong; and by the enclosed you will find Mr. Atkins so, of them all, as well as of the Province. The inclosed is a copy of one yesterday from Col. Armstrong which would not have been worth an express; but as one is returning from Philadelphia, I give you this trouble, which may be a satisfaction to you, as our accounts, till I got this letter, gave out that Lieut. Hollyday, with fifteen of his party, were all either killed by the Indians, or taken prisoners. Believe me &c. John Stanwix.

P. S. I send out scouting parties here, three or four times a week, but have yet met with no Indians—I find a few of the Provincials, joined with me on these occasions, very useful, as they are really good men, and know the country.—Prov. Rec. P. p. 309-'10.

Stanwix writes under date, Camp near Carlisle, June 13, 1757.

Dear Sir.

I write this, and enclose these accounts, ready to send you, when an opportunity offers, which is always uncertain, as there is no post to Lancaster. Mr. Atkin's account is long; and as I have no clerk, I send it as I recieved it, without keeping a copy, when you have read it, please to return it, as I may have further occasion to peruse it. I

send you a copy of Col. Armstrong's letter with his last account of the last skirmishes with, and surprise by the Indians &c."

He writes again, June 19.

By this express, I am to let you know that I only wait for wagons to march to Shippensburg, but when I shall be able to set out it is impossible for me to say, as in two days notice I have yet been able to get but two wagons, and these my quartermaster stopped himself; however, the magistrates give me to hope, I shall be supplied in a day or two. The reason of my moving is the hearing of intelligence from Captain Dagworthy, who commands at Fort Cumberland.—Prov. Rec. P. p. 312. See also pa. 133, *ante*.

Col. Armstrong, writes under date, Carlisle 30th June 1757.

Colonel Stanwix has begun and continues his entrenchment on the north east part of this town, and just adjoining it.—See pa. 133, *ante*.

Camp, near Carlisle, July 18, 1757.

Dear Sir,

Since my last letter there is nothing worth mentioning to you, except the inclosed letter and information from Fort Cumberland should prove so. I give it to you just as I have recieved it without any of my observations.

What enemy Indians may remain about this border, I cannot say; but do every thing in my power to make their situation uneasy to them. Two days ago, Capt. Munster and two officers of the five Companies and seventy men with one officer, and eight provincials (all the rest of these last being either upon harvest parties or small scouts) returned from a scout but without seeing any of the enemy. They were out three days marching between the creek and the North Mountain as far as the Susquehanna, they crossed over the North Mountain and returned through Sherman's valley, saw the track of some Indians: propose to make another good scout very soon. I have no doubts but skulking Indians may do mischief; but can do little harm if the people would do a small matter, defend themselves, and think upon these.

The Indians here are upon the move with their presents to Fort Loudon, to join their Brethren, where a distribution will be made by the person deputed by Mr. Croghan; but they are very much out of humor at hearing of Col. Washington's putting some of their Brother prisoners at Winchester—the cause is not directly known. I have been obliged to send Mr. Smith with a guide to Col. Washington to see how this affair stands, and he is to return and meet them at Fort Loudon. This they insisted on. The chief of these Indians tells me they can bring down five hundred warriors; but if sending for them should ever be thought a proper measure, a commissary with provisions should be first settled for them, and presents ready to be delivered them on their services performed agreeable to the numbers employed.

Believe me,

JOHN STANWIX.

Camp, near Carlisle, July 25, 1757.

Dear Sir,

As Col. Armstrong will give a particular account of the misfortune of some obstinate people who were through that and their carelessness surprised and murdered by the Indians towards Shippensburg,

at their harvest, I shall add nothing to this relation I have had two Captains piquets out these three-days, one scouring the country up as far as Shippensburg, and the other up as far as the Susquehanna, but expect them both in to morrow or next day.

Col. Armstrong has so few men here that I could only get six of them to each piquet by way of guides at present, they being much better acquainted with this portion of the woods.

In spite of our blood, the Indians still do us mischief, but the last effect does really proceed from both obstinacy and carelessness of which Col. Armstrong will give the governor a particular account as he has it from Shippensburg.

I am at work at my entrenchments, but as I send out such large and frequent parties, with other necessary duties, I can only spare about seventy working men a day, and these have been very often interrupted by frequent violent gusts, so that we make but a small figure yet, and the first month was entirely taken up in clearing the ground, which was all full of monstrous stumps &c.

I have built a hut in Camp, where the captains and I live together, and as you have promised to come this way about August.

Mr. Allen came here, he and Capt. Stewart are both on the scout for some days; the first towards Shippensburg; the latter towards the Susquehanna; and am sorry all this will not do, but skulking Indians still hover about us.—See p. 135, *ante*.

JOHN STANWIL.

To Mr. Peters.

The town of Carlisle, in 1760, was made the scene of a barbarous murder. *Doctor John*, a friendly Indian of the Delaware tribe, was massacred, together with his wife and two children. Captain Callender, who was one of the inquest, was sent for by the Assembly, and, after interrogating him on the subject, they offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of each person concerned in the murder.—See p. 158–161

About noon day, on the 4th of July, 1763, one of a party of horsemen, who were seen rapidly riding through the town, stopped a moment to quench his thirst, and communicated the information that *Presque Isle*, *Le Boeuf*, and *Venango* had been captured by the French and Indians. The greatest alarm spread among the citizens of the town and neighboring country. The roads were crowded in a little while with women and children, hastening to Lancaster for safety. The pastor of the Episcopal church headed his congregation, encouraging them on the way. Some retired to the breast-works. Colonel Bouquet, in a letter addressed to the Governor, dated the day previous; (See p. 145 *ante*: see also p. 139–143 *ante*.) at Carlisle, urged the propriety of the

people of York assisting in building the posts here, and 'securing the harvest,' as *their* county was protected by Cumberland.—CHARTER &C., OF CARLISLE.

Extract from a letter dated Carlisle, Dec. 14, 1763.

The people drove off by the enemy from the north side of the mountains, forms the frontiers as they are mixed with other settlers on the north side, where of consequence the motions of the ranging party are required: at the same time those who were drove from their habitations have some part of their effects yet behind and their crops stacked in the field through the different valleys at a considerable distance beyond the mountains—to these distressed people we must afford covering parties as often as they require them, or will convene in small bodies in order to thrash out, and carry over grain wherewith to supply their families—this last mentioned service necessary as it is, greatly obstructs that uniform course of patrolling behind the inhabitants, that otherwise might be performed.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To John Penn.

In 1763, the congregation of Christ's church and St Peter's (in Phil.) raised the sum of £662 for the relief of the frontier inhabitants, especially in Cumberland county.

William Thomson, a missionary at Carlisle at this time writes:

We find the number of the distressed to be seven hundred and fifty families, who have abandoned their plantations, many have lost their crops, and some their stock and furniture, and besides these we are informed that about two hundred women and children are coming down from Fort Pitt. The unhappy sufferers are dispersed through every part of this county, and many have passed through into York. In this town and neighborhood, there are upwards of two hundred families, and having the affliction of the small pox and flux to a great degree.—See p. 171-'2.

Florida Like! Extract of a letter from John Penn, Esq. Lieut. Gov. to James Young, Esq. Paymaster—John Penn had lately arrived from England.

Phil. Jan. 28, 1764.

'When you arrive at Carlisle you will immediately engage the gunsmiths or armorors in and about that place, and order them to repair such arms of the Provincial troops as are out of order, as fast as they arrive there.

You will acquaint the captains that every soldier will be allowed three shillings per month, who brings with him a strong dog that shall be judged proper to be employed in

discovering and pursuing the savages. It is recommended to them to procure as many as they can, not exceeding ten per company; each dog is to be kept tied and led by his owner.'

The terror of the citizens subsided but little, until Colonel Bouquet conquered the Indians in the following year, (in the month of November) 1764, and compelled them to sue for peace. One of the conditions upon which peace was granted, was that the Indians should deliver up all the women and children whom they had taken into captivity. Among them were many who had been seized when very young, and had grown up to womanhood in the wigwam of the savage.— They had concentrated the wild habits of their captors, learned their language and forgotten their own, and were bound to them by ties of the strongest affection. Many a mother found a lost child; many were unable to designate their children. The separation between the Indians and their prisoners was heart-rending. The hardy son of the forest shed torrents of tears, and every captive left the wigwam with reluctance. Some afterwards made their escape, and returned to the Indians. Many had intermarried with the natives, but all left to freedom of choice, and those who remained unmarried had been treated with delicacy. One female, who had been captured at the age of fourteen, had become the wife of an Indian, and the mother of several children. When informed that she was about to be delivered to her parents, her grief could not be alleviated. "Can I," said she, "enter my parents' dwelling? will they be kind to my children? will my old companions associate with the wife of an Indian chief? and my husband, who has been so kind, I will not desert him?" That night she fled from the camp to her husband and children.

A great number of the restored prisoners were brought to Carlisle, and Col. Bouquet advertised for those who had lost children to come here and look for them. Among those that came was an old woman, whose child, a little girl, had been taken from her several years before; but she was unable to designate her daughter, or converse with the released captives. With breaking heart, the old woman lamented to Col. Bouquet her hopeless lot, telling him how she used, many years ago to sing to her little daughter, a hymn of

which the child was so fond. She was requested by the Colonel to sing it then, which she did in these words :

Allein, und doch nicht ganz alleine,
 Bin ich in meiner einsamkeit;
 Dann wann ich gleich verlassen scheine,
 Vertreibt mir Jesus selbst die zeit:
 Ich bin bey ihm, und er bey mir,
 So kommt mir gar nichts einsam fuer.*

And the long lost daughter rushed into the arms of her mother. This happened December 31, 1764.—*Hallische Nach.* 1033.

In January 1768, the citizens of Carlisle and vicinity were greatly excited, in consequence of one Stump and Iron-cutter being rescued from jail.—See p. 173, 178 ante.

A similar attempt was about being made in the autumn of 1769, to rescue James Smith, who was accused of having killed a man in a scuffle at Fort Bedford.—See chap. xxxvi.

When Great Britain, by way of forcing the Colonies into compliance, and when the first vials of displeasure were being poured out upon this country, especially upon the Bostonians, the inhabitants of Carlisle and vicinity, ever vigilant and active, manifested more than ordinary sympathy for their suffering brethren in the east, and were prompt and decisive. A public meeting was called, the minutes of which given below, show what manner of spirit they breathed:

At a respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen from several townships of the Cumberland county in the province of Pennsylvania, held at Carlisle in the said county, on Tuesday the 12th day of July 1774; John Montgomery Esq., in the chair.

1. Resolved, That the late act of the parliament of Great Britain, by which the port of Boston is shut up, is oppressive to that town, and subversive of the rights and liberties of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; that the principle up-

* Translation of *Allein, &c.*

Alone, yet not alone am I,
 Though in this solitude so drear:
 I feel my Saviour always nigh,
 He comes my dreary hours to cheer;
 I'm with him, and he with me,
 Thus, cannot solitary be.

on which that act is founded, is not more subversive of the rights and liberties of that colony, than it is of all other British colonies in North America; and therefore, the inhabitants of Boston are suffering in the common cause of all these colonies.

2. That every vigorous and prudent measure ought speedily and unanimously to be adopted by these colonies for obtaining redress of the grievances under which the inhabitants of Boston are now laboring; and security from grievance of the same or of a still more severe nature, under which they and the other inhabitants of the colonies may, by a further operation of the same principle, hereafter labor.

3. That a Congress of Deputies from all the colonies, will be one proper method for obtaining these purposes.

4. That the same purposes will, in the opinion of this meeting, be promoted by an agreement of all the colonies not to import any merchandize from nor export any merchandize to Great Britain, Ireland, or the British West Indies, nor to use any such merchandize so imported, nor tea imported from any place whatever till these purposes shall be obtained; but that the inhabitants of this county will join any restriction of that agreement which the General Congress may think it necessary for the colonies to confine themselves to.

5. That the inhabitants of this county will contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren in Boston, at any time when they shall receive intimation that such relief will be most seasonable.

6. That a committee be immediately appointed for this county, to correspond with the committee of this province, or of the other provinces, upon the great objects of the public attention; and to co-operate in every measure conducing to the general welfare of British America.

7. That the committee consist of the following persons, viz: James Wilson, John Armstrong, John Montgomery, William Irvine, Robert Callender, William Thompson, John Calhoun, Jonathan Hoge, Robert Magaw, Ephraim Blane, John Allison, John Harris and Robert Miller, or any five of them.

8. That James Wilson, Robert Magaw and William Irvine, be the Deputies appointed to meet the Deputies from other counties of this province at Philadelphia, on Friday

next, in order to concert measures preparatory to the General Congress.

JOHN MONTGOMERY, Chairman.

When the threatened storm approached, they were equally firm in their determinations to resist all oppression. They organized for defence. Preparatory measures were adopted. A gentleman writing from Carlisle, May 6, 1775, says:

Yesterday the County Committee met from nineteen townships, on the short notice they had. About three thousand men have already associated. The arms returned amount to about fifteen hundred. The committee have voted five hundred effective men, besides commissioned officers, to be immediately drafted, taken into pay, armed and disciplined, to march on the first emergency; to be paid and supported as long as necessary, by a tax on all estates, real and personal, in the county; the returns to be taken by the township committees; and the tax laid by the commissioners and assessors: the pay of the officers and men as usual in times past.

This morning we met again at eight o'clock; among other subjects of inquiry this day, the mode of drafting, or taking into pay, arming and victualling immediately the men, and the choice of field and other officers, will among other matters, be the subject of deliberation. The strength, or spirit of this county, perhaps may appear small, if judged by the number of men proposed; but when it is considered that we are ready to raise fifteen hundred or two thousand, should we have support from the Province; and that independent, and in uncertain expectation of support, we have voluntarily drawn upon this county, a debt of about £27,000 per annum, I hope we shall not appear contemptible. We make great improvements in military discipline. It is yet uncertain who may go.—*Am. Archives*, ii, 516.

"During the war Carlisle was made an important place of rendezvous for the American troops, and in consequence of being located at a distance from the theatre of war, British prisoners were frequently sent hither for secure confinement.

"Of these were two officers, Major Andre, and Lieutenant Despard, who had been taken by Montgomery near Lake Champlain. While here, in 1776, they occupied the stone house on lot number one hundred and sixty-one, at the corner of South Hanover street and Locust Alley, and were on parole of honor of six miles; but were prohibited going out of the town except in military dress.

"In the immediate neighborhood lived Mrs. Ramsey, an unflinching whig, who detected two tories in conversation with these officers, and immediately made known the circumstance to William Brown, Esq., one of the county committee. The tories, being pursued, were arrested somewhere between the town and South mountain, brought back, tried *instantly*, and imprisoned. Upon their persons were discovered letters written in French; but no one could be found to interpret them, and their contents were never known.

"After this occurrence, Andre and Despard were not allowed to leave the town. They had in their possession fowling pieces of superior workmanship, with which they had been in the habit of pursuing game within the limits of their parole; but now, being unable to use them, they broke them to pieces, declaring that "no d—d rebel should ever burn powder in them." During their confinement here, a man by name Thompson, enlisted a company of militia in what is now Perry county, and marched them to Carlisle. Eager to make a display of his own bravery and that of his recruits, he drew up his soldiers at night in front of the house of Andre and his companion, and swore lustily that he would have their lives, because as he alledged, the Americans who were prisoners of war in the hands of the British, were dying by starvation. Through the importunities, however, of Mrs. Ramsey, Captain Thompson, who had formerly been an apprentice to her husband, was made to desist; and as he countermarched his company, with a menacing nod of the head he bellowed to the objects of his wrath, "you may thank my old mistress for your lives."

"On the following morning, Mrs. Ramsey received from the British officers a very polite note, expressing their gratitude to her for saving them from the hacking sword of the redoubtable Captain Thompson. They were afterwards removed to York, but before their departure, sent to Mrs. Ramsey a box of spermaceti candles, with a note requesting her acceptance of the donation, as an acknowledgment of her many acts of kindness. The present was declined, Mrs. Ramsey averring that she was too staunch a whig to accept a gratuity from a British officer. Despard was executed at London in 1803, for high treason. With the fate of the unfortunate Andre, every one is familiar.

"The town of Carlisle was incorporated, and its present

boundaries fixed, by an act of Assembly, passed the 13th of April, 1782; but the charter was supplied by a new enactment of the 4th of March, 1814. Under the old charter, the style of the corporation was "The Burgesses and Inhabitants of the town of Carlisle." Having no council, all corporate business was transacted in town meeting. The early borough records are somewhat imperfect, and the affairs of the corporation appear to have been loosely managed. When the yellow fever, however, in 1793, was committing its ravages in Philadelphia, there was no lack of active exertion, by the inhabitants of Carlisle, to keep from amongst them the scourgings of the epidemic.

"An ordinance of the 18th of September of that year, enacted that no inhabitant should receive into his house or family any sick person from Philadelphia or elsewhere, until after examination by a physician of the borough, and a certificate from him that such person was "not infected."—Men were employed to guard the passes from Philadelphia, and stop all wagons entering the town, conducting them past the borough "by the commons." A tent was authorized to be erected at a distance from the borough, for the reception of individuals supposed to be infected.

"The funeral bell was ordered not to be tolled, lest it might alarm the sick, and an unfortunate negro, who had arrived in town from Philadelphia, despite the vigilance of the citizens, and which he eluded for two days, had a reward of ten dollars offered for his apprehension, that his body might be secured and his clothing buried.

"The inhabitants were at the same time suffering under a disease which they termed the "*March miasmata*,"* and the prevalence of which they attributed to the unhealthy condition of Le Lort's spring. Tan-yards and mills were attacked, dams declared public nuisances and razed, and the channel of the spring dragged and cleansed, to remove the stagnant water from the adjoining low grounds, and prevent its future accumulation. The fever in Philadelphia, and the *miasma* here, shortly afterwards subsided, and with them the terror and excitement of the people of Carlisle.—*Charter, &c. of Carlisle.*

In March, 1786, Generals Butler and Parsons, commis-

* Similar case at Harrisburg, see pa. 233, 245, 246.

sioners of Indian affairs, and a Seneca chief, Cap. O'Bail, with five young men of his nation arrived here. On the 28th, a meeting was held in the court-house, where the chief addressed Gen. Butler, and to whom he responded.—See Appendix, N.

In December 1787, a fracas occurred between the Constitutionalists and Anti-Constitutionalists. A number of citizens from the county assembled on the 26th, to express, in their way, aided by the firing of cannons, their feelings on the actions of the convention that had assembled to frame the constitution of the United States, when they were assaulted by an adverse party: after dealing out blows, they dispersed. On Thursday, the 27th, those who had assembled the day before, met again at the court house, well armed with guns and muskets. They, however, proceeded without molestation, except that those who had opposed them, also assembled, kindled a bonfire and burned several effigies. For that temerity, several, styled rioters, were arrested and snugly lodged in jail. They were, subsequently, on a compromise between the Federalists and Democrats, liberated. The Federalists were the Constitutionalists.

In 1794, several thousand troops were assembled at Carlisle, on their way westward to quell the "Whiskey Insurrection." On the 1st of October, the Governor of the State arrived at Carlisle, and in the evening delivered an animated address in the Presbyterian church. On Saturday the 4th, Geo. Washington, President of the United States, accompanied by Secretary Hamilton and his private Secretary, Mr. Dandridge, and a large company of soldiers, besides a great mass of yeomanry, numbers of the Senate and House of Representatives arrived. A line was formed, composed of cavalry with sixteen pieces of cannon, with the infantry from various parts of Pennsylvania, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men. The court house was illuminated in the evening by the Federal citizens, and a transparency exhibited with this inscription in front: "Washington is ever triumphant." On one side: "The reign of the Laws." On the other: "Woe to anarchists."

On Monday, a number of the principal inhabitants presented Washington the following address:

To George Washington, Esq., President of the United States.

Sir:—We, the subscribers, inhabitants of this borough, on behalf of ourselves and fellow citizens, friends to good order, government and the laws, approach you at this time, to express our sincere admiration of those virtues which have been uniformly exerted with so much success, for the happiness of America; and which, at this critical period of impending foreign and domestic troubles, have been manifested with distinguished lustre.

Though we deplore the cause which has collected in this borough all classes of virtuous citizens, yet it affords us the most heartfelt satisfaction to meet the father of our country, and brethren in arms, distinguished for their patriotism, their love of order, and attachment to the constitution and laws; and while on the one hand we regret the occasion which has brought from their homes men of all situations, who have made sacrifices, unequalled in any other country, of their private interests to the public good; yet we are consoled by the consideration, that the citizens of the United States have evinced to our enemies abroad, and the foes of our happy constitution at home, that they not only have the will, but possess the power, to repel all foreign invaders, and to crush all domestic traitors.

The history of the world affords us too many instances of the destruction of free governments by factious and unprincipled men. Yet the present insurrection and opposition to government is exceeded by none, either for its causeless origin, or for the extreme malignity and wickedness with which it has been executed.

The unexampled clemency of our councils in their endeavors to bring to a sense of duty the western insurgents, and the ungrateful returns which have been made by that deluded people, have united all good men in one common effort, to restore order and obedience to the laws, and to punish those who have neglected to avail themselves of, and have spurned at, the most tender and humane offers that have ever been made to rebels and traitors.

We have viewed with pain the great industry, art, and misrepresentations which have been practiced, to delude our fellow citizens. We trust that the effort of the general government, the combination of the good and virtuous against the vicious and factious, will cover with confusion the malevolent disturbers of the public peace, and afford to the well disposed the certainty of protection to their persons and property.

The sword of justice, in the hands of our beloved President, can only be considered as an object of terror by the wicked, and will be looked up to by the good and virtuous as their safeguard and protection.

We bless that Providence which has preserved a life so valuable through so many important scenes—and we pray that he will continue to direct and prosper the measures adopted by you, for the security of our internal peace and stability of our government; and that after a life of continued usefulness and glory, you may be rewarded with eternal felicity.

To which he was pleased to return the following answer.

Gentlemen :

I thank you sincerely for your affectionate address. I feel as I ought, what is personal to me, and I cannot but be particularly pleased with the enlightened and patriotic attachment which is manifested towards our happy constitution and the laws.

When we look around and behold the universally acknowledged prosperity which blesses every part of the United States, facts no less unequivocal than those which are lamented, occasion our present meeting, were necessary to persuade us, that any portion of our fellow citizens could be so deficient in discernment or virtue, as to attempt to disturb a situation which, instead of murmurs and tumult, calls for our warmest gratitude to Heaven, and our earnest endeavors to preserve and prolong so favored a lot.

Let us hope that the delusion cannot be lasting; that reason will speedily regain her empire, and the laws their just authority, where they have lost it. Let the wise and virtuous unite their efforts to reclaim the misguided, and to detect and defeat the arts of the factious. The union of good men is a basis, on which the security of our internal peace and stability of our government may safely rest. It will always prove an adequate rampart against the vicious and disorderly.

If in any case, in which it may be indispensable to raise the sword of justice against obstinate offenders, I shall deprecate the necessity of deviating from a favorite aim, to establish the authority of the laws in the affections of all, rather than in the fears of any.

Geo. WASHINGTON.

"Nothing of special interest has occurred since the Whiskey expedition in the town of Carlisle, worthy of particular remark; nevertheless, passing, it might be mentioned that in the breaking out of the war in 1812, the citizens of Carlisle manifested a commendable zeal in volunteering for the defence of our common country.

Four fine companies were soon raised, viz: The "Carlisle Infantry," under Capt. William Alexander, and a "Rifle Company," under Capt. George Hendel, served a term of six months on the northern frontier.

The "Carlisle Guards," under Capt. Joseph Halbert, marched to Philadelphia, and the "Patriotic Blues," under Capt. Jacob Squier, were for some time, in the intrenchments at Baltimore."

During the prevalency of the cholera in this country, in 1832, the dwellings of several families were invaded by death, under this form. The names of the victims of this disease, are Mrs. Holmes, a child of Mrs. Holmes, Susan Swartz, Adam Swartz, George Swartz, William Swartz, Andrew Jackson Hood, Mrs. Elliott's child, William Curry,

Samuel McKim, and others whose names are not now remembered.

None of these lived more than sixty hours after the first attack.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BOROUGH OF CARLISLE.

Situation—Synopsis of census of 1840—Surrounding country—Public buildings—Court house and county offices—Jail—Market house—Town Hall—Common School buildings—Dickinson College and Institute—Churches; Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, German Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist Episcopal, Catholic, Associate Presbyterian, African—Banking House, United States Barracks.

Carlisle, a post town, and the Capitol of Cumberland county, is situated in latitude 40 deg. 12 min. north, longitude 77 deg. 10 min. west, on the principal road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, one hundred and eighteen miles from the former, and one hundred and seventy-eight from the latter; and eighteen miles south west of Harrisburg. Its population in 1830, 3708; 1840, 4,350, whereof 2,046 were white males, 1,989 white females, 138 colored males, and 177 colored females.

Synopsis of the Census of 1840.—White males, under 5, 223; 5 and under 10, 240; 10 and under 15, 261; 15 and under 20, 322; 20 and under 30, 528; 30 and under 40, 174; 40 and under 50, 135; 50 and under 60, 86; 60 and under 70, 41; 70 and under 80, 30; 80 and under 90, 6.

White females, under 5, 245; 5 and under 10, 207; 10 and under 15, 245; 15 and under 20, 268; 20 and under 30, 422; 30 and under 40, 206; 40 and under 50, 178; 50 and under 60, 110; 60 and under 70, 68; 70 and under 80, 31; 80 and under 90, 8; 90 and under 100, 1.

Colored males, under 10, 30; 10 and under 24, 42; 24 and

under 36, 39; 36 and under 55, 19; 55 and under 100, 7; 100 and upwards, 1.

Colored females, under 10, 33; 10 and under 24, 74; 24 and under 36, 47; 36 and under 55, 20; 55 and under 100, 3.

Of the entire population, in 1840, 3 were engaged in mining, 124 in agriculture, 75 in commerce, 288 in manufactures and trades, 33 in navigation of the ocean, 80 of the learned professions and engineers, 3 pensioners for revolutionary services, 2 blind, 3 insane idiots at private charge, 1 at public charge, 135 students.

The following, by J. S. Gitt, Editor of the Pennsylvania Statesman, presents the "local statistics" of the Borough, January 1st, 1846:

There are in this place, three printing offices, from which the following named papers are issued. The Herald & Expositor, edited by Mr. Beatty, issued weekly, devoted to the cause of the Whigs; the American Volunteer, edited by Messrs. Boyers and Bratton, Democratic; the Pennsylvania Statesman, by J. S. Gitt, issued semi-weekly, Democratic. The first paper established in this county was edited and published by Mr. Kline, in 1785, called "Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette."

There are here 10 churches and 12 congregations; 48 stores, and a number of shops; 4 ware houses; 12 physicians; 3 foundries; Common Schools sufficient to suit the wants of the people. Dickinson College, under the superintendence of the Methodist E. Church, a flourishing institution; a beautifully superb and commodious new Court House, with all the necessary county offices, built for \$45,000; 25 shoe establishments; 4 hatter do., 18 tailor do., 2 tallow chandleries, 2 licensed auction stores, 7 cabinet makers, 16 carpenters, 2 coach-makers, 3 brick-makers, 20 bricklayers and masons, 2 bread bakeries, 5 cake bakers, 1 ropewalk, 1 grist mill, 12 taverns, 3 distilleries for yielding the "liquid fire," would to God there were none, for a great deal of the misery of human life which is daily seen raging our streets would be prevented; 5 tinnors and coppersmiths, 5 tanners, 6 saddlers, 5 coopers, 2 breweries, 9 butchers, 6 painters, 3 chairmakers, 11 plasters, 3 dyers, 5 weavers, 2 silver plates, 1 locksmith, 2 gunsmiths, 1 limeburner, 3 wagonmakers, 3 stone cutters, 14 blacksmiths, 5 watch makers, 2 barbers, 3 Dentists, 1 clock maker, 3 jewelry shops, 1 ma-

trass maker, 2 threshing machine manufactories, 3 board yards, 3 livery stables, 2 book binderies, 2 spinning wheel manufactories, 1 brush maker, 2 pump makers, 5 gardeners, 1 milk dairy, 1 stocking weaver, 2 segar makers, 9 mantua makers, 6 milliners, 1 bird stuffing establishment, 5 music teachers, 4 justices of the peace, 12 male school teachers, 5 female school teachers. A large market house, and as good a market, for all the luxuries of life, as can be found in any inland town of the same size in Pennsylvania. The members of the Bar are numerous, 15 in number, and of the highest standing in the profession, as also the professors of Medical science. The Gospel Ministers are zealous in the cause of their Divine Master; they are "in season and out of season," daily ministering in the good work.

There are numerous societies for the promotion of moral and religious instruction, composed of both females and males. There are temperance societies, and two Divisions of the "Order of the Sons of Temperance" here, laboring to restore the unfortunate to the paths of rectitude, sobriety and usefulness. Mechanics of every description, almost, are to be found here, all busily engaged in their different avocations.

There is about a half mile from town, a military depot for recruits of the U. States, constantly preparing for the service, by learning the art of war. A detachment of artillery are stationed there just now."

The town is handsomely situated: the streets are rectangular, and are all sixty feet wide—except HIGH & HANOVER, which are in breadth eighty feet. High and Hanover streets intersect in the centre of the Borough. Four streets run parallel with High street; Louther and North street, on the North; Pomfret and South street, on the South. Four streets run parallel with Hanover street; Bedford and East street, on the East; Pitt and West street, on the West.

In 1760, the commissioners of Cumberland county returned to the Assembly, sixty-four lots, in Carlisle, as belonging to the Proprietaries, and one hundred and sixteen as held by the inhabitants.

The town and adjacent country are healthy and well watered. Le Tort's spring runs along the eastern side of the town. It has its source two miles south of it, and empties into the Conodogwinet, about three miles northeast of the

borough. Trees have been planted within the last six or eight years, which add much to the beauty of the place. Through High street runs the Cumberland Valley railroad.

The Public Buildings.—The court house, now building, (Messrs. Bryant and Wilt, of Harrisburg, builders,) diagonally in the rear from the site of the former, in the west angle of the public square, is, as I have been informed, seventy feet front, ninety deep, with a colonnade in front, surrounded by a cupola, in which, a clock made by Mr. Erb, is to be put up. The building, when finished, will cost \$45,000.

The former court house—a brick building—was situated on the southwest of the centre square, and had been erected about the year 1766. At a later period, the building that contained the county offices, was erected. The cupola which surmounts the court house, and contained the clock, was added in 1809. The court house, the building occupied by the county offices, and the town hall, in 1812, contiguous to the court house, were destroyed by fire on the night between the 23rd and 24th of March, 1845.

The first courts held in Carlisle, were held, according to a letter of John O'Neal, May 27, 1753, "in a temporary log building, on the northeast corner of centre square."

At present the courts are held in the EDUCATION HALL, on lot No. 99; and the public offices are kept in Beetem's Row, north of the Main street, and on the west end of the public square.

Judging from one of the "prints" of the place, much dissatisfaction is manifested from some quarter, as to the court house, now building. Dissatisfaction, perhaps better founded, was also manifested when the former court house was about being built—Proof:

"Pursuant to leave for that purpose, Mr. Allen presented to the chair a bill for purchasing a lot, and erecting a court house thereon, which being read the first time, was ordered to be laid on the table—Feb. 9, 1762.

"Sundry inhabitants of Cumberland county presented a petition, setting forth that the Trustees appointed to erect a court house and jail, have not fully answered the end of their appointment, praying for the removal of those trustees, and the appointment of others"—March 16, 1762. Votes Ass V. p. 193 & 209.

"The jail is a stone building, standing upon the northwest

corner of High and Bedford sts. It was erected in 1754, and enlarged in 1790. The citizens of Cumberland county petitioned the Assembly in 1755 for aid to complete the prison, but their application seems to have received no further notice from the honorable member than an order 'to lie on the table.' In 1754, stocks and a pillory were also erected on the square, and remained until that inhuman method of punishment was abolished. Some of our old citizens yet remember having seen the ears of 'cropped' culprits nailed to the pillory."—CHARTER, &C. OF CARLISLE.

The Market House is located east of the Court House, was built in 1837; and is the third building of the kind which has been erected in the borough. It is on that part of the square, of which Mr. O'Neal, in 1753, says, "a lime kiln stands on the centre square, near what is called the *Deep Quarry*, from which is obtained good building stone."

School Buildings: one of these, a large brick building, on Church alley, was formerly the house of worship of the Methodist Episcopal Congregation, who conveyed it to the "Society of Equal Rights," and by the society it was sold to the School Directors.

It accommodates on the lower floor three Schools. The upper is appropriated to exhibitions, lectures, and other public meetings. At present (1845) occupied occasionally to hold courts in.

The other building is in Liberty alley, and was formerly used as a college. It was purchased five or six years ago, by the School Directors, and accommodates four schools.

The Common School system is in full operation in Carlisle. The whole number of schools is fifteen, in which are taught 520 male and 440 female scholars, at an annual expense of \$3,020.76, raised by district tax, and, \$804.00, State appropriation, making the whole cost of instruction \$3,374.75; of fuel \$259.00, employing 4 male and 11 female teachers. The male teachers receive an average salary of \$25.87 per month, and the females \$18.12. The schools are open eleven months. They constitute a progressive series, in which "the branches are taught from the alphabet to the higher studies of an English education."

The Carlisle Female Seminary, under the superintendence of Misses Phoebe and Charlotte Paine, in which the higher branches are taught, is deservedly popular.

Dickinson College & Institute.—The original charter of the institution was granted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1783. By that instrument it was determined—"that in memory of the great and important services rendered to his country, by his Excellency, John Dickinson, Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and in commemoration of his very liberal donation to the institution, the said college, shall be forever hereafter called and known by the name of Dickinson College."

The Faculty was first organized in 1784, by the election of the Rev. Charles Nisbet, D. D., of Montrose, Scotland, as President, and the appointment of Mr. James Ross, as Professor of Languages; to whom were added in the following year, the Rev. Robert Davidson, D. D., as Professor of Belles Lettres, and Mr. Robert Johnston, Instructor in Mathematics. The college, under the administration of Dr. Nisbet, flourished, as much perhaps, as the times would allow.

In 1798, the spot now occupied by the college buildings, between High and Louthier street and west of West street, was selected, and the first edifice erected and ready for use in 1802. The edifice was destroyed by fire in 1804, but the trustees proceeded to erect another, which was completed in September, 1805, and is now known as the west college.—Before the completion of this building, the college sustained a heavy loss in the death of Dr. Nisbet, which occurred on the 14th of February, 1804. The office of President was exercised *pro tempore* by Dr. Davidson, until, in 1809, the Rev. Jeremiah Atwater, D. D., was elected to fill the vacancy. The institution was prosperous under his direction, and the class of 1812 was the largest that had graduated for twenty years. In 1815, President Atwater resigned, and the following year the operations of the college were suspended, and were not renewed till 1821. In that year, the Rev. John M. Mason, D. D., was called to preside over the institution, and during the first part of his administration there was a considerable influx of students; but previously to his resignation, which took place May 1, 1824, the college began to decline, and continued to languish, except for brief intervals, while under the presidency of Drs. Neill, and Howe, until 1832, when the trustees determined that the operations of the institution should cease.

In 1833, the control and direction of the college was transferred to the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New Jersey Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the resignation, from time to time, of some of the trustees, and by the election of others, named by the said conferences, in their stead, until finally a complete change was effected in the management of the institution. By this change the college took a fresh start, and the organization of the faculty was commenced by the election of the Rev. John P. Durbin as President, and the establishment of a Law Department, under the charge of the Hon. John Reed. About the same time, a Grammar school was opened, under the direction of Mr. Alexander F. Dobb. On the 10th of May, 1834, Merritt Caldwell, A. M., was chosen Professor of the Exact Sciences, and Robert Emory, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages.

The requisite funds having been obtained, the grounds improved, the buildings repaired, and an important alteration effected in the charter, the operations of the college commenced again by the inductions into office, on the 10th of September, 1834, of the President and two professors elect, and by the admission of twenty students, there being at the same time about seventy pupils in the grammar school. On the 18th of July, 1837, the faculty was enlarged, by the addition of the Rev. John McClintock, A. M., as Professor of Mathematics, and William H. Allen, A. M., as Professor of Natural Science. Since this period, several changes have occurred in the board of instruction.—Professor Emory having resigned, Professor McClintock assumed his duties, and in July, 1840, Colonel Thomas E. Sudler, A. M., was called to fill the chair of Mathematics, vacated by Professor McClintock.

Mr. Dobb was succeeded in the charge of the grammar school by the Rev. Stephen A. Rossel, A. M., who occupied the station several years, assisted by John L. Carey, A. M., Rev. John F. Hey, and the Rev. James Bunting. After the resignation of these gentlemen, the Rev. Levi Scott, A. M. was chosen Principal, and the Rev. Thomas Bowman, A. M. assistant, under whose efficient management the school still continues. Dickinson College, under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal church, and under the direction of its able faculty, has hitherto been prosperous, and bids fair to

realize the hopes of its early founders. A new and commodious edifice has been erected for the accommodation of the faculty and students, and a suitable building for the use of the grammar school, called Dickinson Institute. A large addition has been made to the libraries, to the chemical and philosophical apparatus, and to the mineralogical cabinet. The number of students has gradually increased, and at this time there in the college proper 107, in the grammar school 40. Total 147. The Board of Instruction is as follows:

Rev. Robert Emory, A. M., President, and Professor of Moral Philosophy.

Merrit Caldwell, A. M., Professor of Metaphysics and Political Economy.

William H. Allen, A. M., Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy.

Rev. John McClintock, A. M., Professor of Languages.

Thomas E. Sudler, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Civil Engineering.

Hon. John Reed, LL. D., Professor of Law.

Spencer F. Baird, A. M., Professor of Natural History and Curator of the Museum.

Rev. George R. Crooks, A. M., Principal of the Grammar School.

John K. Stayman, A. M., Assistant.

Edward L. Walker, Professor of Music.

The course of study is liberal and thorough; perhaps equal to any other in this country.

Terms of admission to the Collegiate Department.

Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, must be well acquainted with Arithmetic; Geography, Outlines of Ancient and Modern History; the English, Latin and Greek Grammars; Cæsar's Commentaries; Virgil's Æneid; Cicero's Select Orations; Roman Antiquities and Mythology; Jacob's Greek Reader, and the Historical Books of the New Testament.

Candidates for any other class will be examined on the studies previously pursued by such class.

Candidates for a partial course will be examined only as to their qualifications to pursue such a course.

It is particularly recommended, however, that all, whose circumstances will justify it, should prosecute the full course

of study, being that which long experience has proved to be best suited to accomplish the great end of education—the developing and disciplining of the mind.

The character of a student's preparation for admission will materially affect the whole of his subsequent course, as many of the elementary studies cannot receive that attention in college, which their prime importance demands. It is earnestly desired, therefore, that candidates will adhere rigidly to the course of preparatory studies here prescribed, and that they will rather endeavor to perfect themselves in these, than anticipate studies which can be pursued to much greater advantage in college. It is, in general, poor economy, to attempt to prepare for admission into one of the higher classes; as it is reasonable to suppose that, with the facilities afforded at college, students will be advanced there, more rapidly and thoroughly, than they could be by teachers less favorably situated. The Grammar School of the institution presents peculiar advantages to those who wish to be thoroughly prepared for admission.

No one will be admitted to the Freshman Class, until he has completed his fourteenth year, nor to a higher class without a corresponding increase of age. And it is very desirable that the candidates should be still older, that they thus may be fitted, by greater maturity of mind and stability of character, better to appreciate the studies of their course, and to exercise that self-control, which is necessary for every college student.

All candidates for admission must produce testimonials of good moral character; and if from another college, a certificate of honorable dismissal. They may present themselves for examination, at any time; but it is particularly desired, that they do so either at the commencement of a session, or during the week after Christmas.

ANNUAL EXPENSES.—*College Fees*—The College bills are to be paid to the Treasurer in advance, per session: and are as follows, viz: Tuition fee, first session, \$20.00; second session, \$13.00. Room rent, 1st ses. \$3.00; 2d, ses. \$2.00. Warming and use of recitation rooms, 1st ses. \$2.00; 2d ses. \$1.00. Printing, 1st ses. 75 cts.; 2d ses. 25 cts. Total amount, first session, \$27.75; second session, \$16.25.

Libraries.—The College Library contains about 3,800 vols. The Belles-Lettres 4,500 vols. The Union Philoso-

phical 3,700 vols. Total, 12,000 vols. All of these are accessible to every student.

Religious Instruction. Prayers, with reading of the Scriptures, are attended in the chapel, on the morning and evening of every day, except Saturday and Sunday, when the evening service is omitted. The students are also required to attend public worship twice on the Sabbath—in the morning, at such church, always, as their parents or guardians may designate in writing.

Terms and Vacations.—The collegiate year is divided into two sessions.

The first, beginning on the 15th of September, and ending on the Friday before the first of April; the second, beginning at the termination of the first, and ending at Commencement, on the second Tuesday in July. The only regular vacation, then, is the interval from Commencement till the 15th of September; to which may be added, at the discretion of the Faculty, a few days recess at Christmas, and at the end of the first session.

The government of the institution is strictly parental. It is designed to secure attention to study, and correctness of deportment, not so much by the enforcement of rigid enactments, as by cultivating in the student, a taste for intellectual pursuits, and virtuous habits. But while youthful indiscretion will be treated with lenity, it is resolved that incurable indolence, bad morals, and pecuniary extravagance, shall not be suffered to remain to exert their corrupting influence within the walls.

A faithful record is kept of the standing of each student, and a report of it is sent monthly to his parent or guardian.

For the benefit of indigent students, it has been provided, that in cases where the Faculty are satisfied that a student of approved character is unable to pay his tuition money, the Treasurer may take his note or bond for it, which shall not bear interest until two years after his leaving College, and shall never be put in suit."

Presbyterian Churches.—Upwards of a century ago, the Presbyterians built a log church on the Conodogwinet creek, at a place now called the "Meeting-house Springs." The first pastor was the Rev. Samuel Thompson. No vestige of this building now remains. In the burying ground are to be seen several grave-stones emblazoned with coats of arms.

Shortly after Carlisle was laid out, a Presbyterian congregation was organized in it. A church was built,* and George Duffield, D. D., ordained pastor in 1761. About 1760, a license was obtained from Governor Hamilton, authorizing the congregation to raise by lottery "a small sum of money to enable them to build a decent house for the worship of God," and in 1766, the minister and others petitioned the Assembly for the passage of an act to compel the "managers to settle," and the "adventurers to pay;" the settlement of the lottery having been for a "considerable time deferred" by reason of the "confusions occasioned by the Indian wars." The act prayed for was passed.

A short time afterwards, the congregation in the country, then under the care of the Rev. Mr. Steele, constructed a two story house of worship in town; and some time before the Revolution erected the present First Presbyterian church, on the northwest corner of the centre square. The two church parties differed somewhat in doctrinal views, and were called the "Old Lights" and "New Lights." Mr. Duffield's congregation erected a gallery in Mr. Steele's church, and the two parties worshipped separately. After the removal of Mr. Duffield to Philadelphia, and the death of Mr. Steele, the two congregations united, and called, in 1785, the Reverend Robert Davidson.

By act of Assembly of 1786, the congregation thus united was incorporated.

In 1833, a portion of the congregation, by reason of a doctrinal dispute, organized another congregation, and worshipped in the County-hall till 1834, when they built the Second Presbyterian church, on the corner of South Hanover and Pomfret streets. The new congregation was incorporated in the latter year.

St. John's Church.—The church edifice is situated on the northeast corner of the public square. Its corner stone was laid in 1825.

*Extract of a letter from John Armstrong to Richard Peters,
Carlisle, 30 June, 1757.

To-morrow we begin to haul stones for the building of a meeting house on the north side of the square; there was no other convenient place. I have avoided the place you once pitched for a church. The stones are raised out of Colonel Stanwix's entrenchment, we will want help in this political as well as religious work.

Robert Callender, George Croghan, Thomas Smallman & Thomas Butler, presented to the Assembly, in 1765, a petition in behalf of the "members of the church of England in Cumberland county," representing that they had "in part erected a church in Carlisle, wherein to worship Almighty God; but from the smallness of their number, and distressed state of the country consequent upon the Indian wars," they were unable to finish it, and praying the house to consider their condition and grant them such relief as they in their wisdom should deem meet. The same year an act was passed authorizing them to raise a sufficient sum for the desired purpose by lottery; but whether they availed themselves of it, does not appear. The church then erected stood until the present one was built near the same spot.

An itinerant missionary for the counties of York and Cumberland, was maintained by the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," for several years after these counties were founded. This office, as late as 1766, was held by the Rev. William Thomson, son of the first Presbyterian pastor at the "Meeting-house Springs."

German Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran Churches.—The German Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran congregations, were organized about 1765; the latter under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Butler. They worshipped on alternate sabbaths in the same church,—which stood on the present German Reformed burying ground,—until 1807, when each congregation erected a house of worship for its own use. The Lutherans built theirs on the corner of Louther and Bedford streets. It is their present place of worship. Their church was incorporated in 1811.

The German Reformed church was located on the lot now occupied by the Preparatory school building of Dickinson College. Having sold it, they built, in 1827, a church at the corner of High and Pitt streets, which they afterwards sold to the Methodist Episcopal congregation, and in 1835 erected the one which they now occupy in Louther street. They were incorporated in 1811.

Methodist Episcopal Church.—Soon after the Revolution, the Methodist ministers commenced their labors in Carlisle, worshipping first in the market-place, then in the court house, and subsequently in a small building in Pomfret street, in which last place they formed a class of about 12 members,

in 1792 or 1793. Their number increased, and in a few years afterward they built a small stone house in Pitt street, in which they worshipped a short time, and then erected a brick edifice in Church alley. Having sold this in 1835, they purchased from the German Reformed congregation the stone church on the corner of Pitt and High streets, which they have much improved and beautified. In this they now worship. The congregation was incorporated in 1838.

Roman Catholic Church.—This edifice is built in the figure of a cross. Its location is on Pomfret street. It was erected in 1807, and enlarged in 1823. The lot upon which it stands was at an early day owned by the Jesuits of Cone-wago, who had upon it a small log church, in which the Roman Catholic congregation worshipped until the present one was built.

Associate Presbyterian Church.—The Associate Presbyterian congregation of Carlisle was organized in 1798. The lot on West street, upon which the church is built, was conveyed, in consideration of £6, by the Messrs. Penns, in 1796, to Wm. Blair, Wm. Moore, John Smith, and John McCoy, trustees of the Associate Presbyterian congregation, adhering to the subordination of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, of which the Rev. John Marshall & James Clarkson were then members. The building was put up in 1802, and the Rev. Francis Pringle, their first pastor, called the same year.

African Churches.—These are situated, two in Locust alley; and the third in Pomfret street.

United States Barracks.—The barracks are located about one-half mile from the town, but within the borough limits. They were built in 1777. The workmen employed were Hessians captured at Trenton. The barracks will garrison 2000 men. A school of cavalry practice has recently been established at them, by the Government, and the buildings handsomely fitted up under the direction of Capt. E. V. Sumner, commanding the post.

The Carlisle Bank.—The Banking-house stands on North Hanover street, near the public square. The institution was governed by thirteen directors, and had a capital paid in of \$230,000. Business hours from 9 A. M. till 2 P. M.; and discount day Tuesday. The charter of the Bank expired in 1845.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BOROUGHES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES.

Shippensburg, Newville, Stoughstown, Newburgh, Springfield, Centreville, Smoketown, Papertown, Mechanicsburg, Trindle Spring, Hoguestown, Kingston, Lisburn, Churchtown, Worleystown, Sheperdstown, Centre Square, Shiremanstown, New Cumberland, Bridge Port, Wormleysburg, Fairview, Whitehill, Milltown, Frogstown, Sporting Hill.

Shippensburg, the oldest town, except York, west of the Susquehanna river, in Pennsylvania, is a post town and borough, situated on the western boundary of this county, twenty-one miles south west of Carlisle. It is surrounded by a fertile, limestone country, well improved, and now principally cultivated by Germans, though originally wholly settled by Irish, a few of whose worthy descendants still occupy the farms of their forefathers, the first pioneers of the country.

When Cumberland was first organized, 1750, the Courts were held here; and when removed to Carlisle, a great excitement was produced, by reason of the removal of the courts, throughout the upper part of the county. In 1755, the government commenced erecting a fort in this place.—During the French and Indian war, two forts, Fort Morris and Fort Franklin were erected; the remains of one of these were, until lately, still to be seen. The incidents in the early history of this place, are replete with thrilling interest; many of which have already been noticed in the preceding part of this compilation.

In addition to these, the following letters, relating to *incidents* and facts, of days gone by, are here introduced.

In the spring of 1755, Richard Peters, Secretary, was in Shippensburg, on business connected with the opening of the road from Carlisle westward to Youghieghany, and while here, wrote the following letter to Governor Hunter.

Shippensburg, 18th May, 1755.

Sir—I desired to John Armstrong to write to you; and as he is per-

fectly acquainted with the whole affair of the roads, his information and sentiments will be sufficient for you to proceed upon. Perhaps a new commission will not be necessary, and may breed contention. I may send an express, if necessary, after seeing one on the spot, or at least send a letter to Carlisle to go by the next post.

I hear one half of the horses from the county of York are poor and unfit for service and will be rejected.

Mr. John St. Clair went to discover a new road, but finding none, returned to the General (Braddock at Fort Cumberland, 1. D. M.); they concluded to take the old road to the Meadows.

I shall not wait on the General till I have settled the matter of the roads. It will take me three days at least.

I hear but a poor account of the Indians of this province. Mr. Callender says he met Mr. Gist in his return from Carolina, and he brings an account that four or five hundred Southern Indians will engage with and assist General Braddock, but I doubt it.

P. S. I am at a loss how a letter will find me. I believe the Camp is the likeliest place, where I suppose to be sometime this week, and to stay if convenient.

Mr. Charles Swaine, wrote Governor Morris,

Shippensburg, June 14th, 1755.

May it please your Honor:

I arrived at this place on Monday, and judge there are sufficient buildings for storing the provisions without erecting any; these will want but a small repair, except the fastings, and to be had on easy terms, as they are all left to be possessed by any one who will inhabit them. The owners do not seem inclined to take any advantage of their being wanted on this occasion. I find not above two pastures here; those but mean as to grass, from drought; but there is a fine range of forage for upwards of four miles in the woods, quite to the foot of the South mountain; also a good run of water, that the cattle will be continually improving after they come here; I shall use the methods practiced here for keeping their beasts together; have a constant watch on them; daily see them myself. I can find but little cellaring here, for securing the pork, but have pitched on a shady and dry spot in the woods for making a cellar, for, what I cannot store in such cellars as are in the town. There are no bricks here, and little lime at present, so the making ovens would be difficult, and if made of clay, then there would be some iron work wanting. But if his Excellency has ordered bread, as I mentioned in my former letter, I believe it may be contracted for in Lancaster county.

The principal expense which seems to attend the Magazine here, will be the hire of some persons to attend the cattle, also to watch the stores and pork, for they assured me there are many ill disposed persons in these parts, who would both take the pork and break into the stores, if not watched. I shall act with the greatest prudence and regard as to the expense, in this, or any other part of my commission, and in taking care to make no further expense than what is immediately necessary. Quarter Master Lesley* called on me yesterday and

* Mr. Lesley was Assistant Commissary to Sir John St. Clair, Deputy Quarter Master General under Gen. Edward Braddock. Mr. Mathew Lesley was wounded, on the 9th July, 1755, at Braddock's defeat.

informed me that he had seen Scott, the miller, who advised him to acquaint me that he had brought up almost as much wheat as to make the flour I should want. The coopers in these parts have plantations, and they but occasionally work at their trades, have at present but few staves by them, those thin and green, and it would take up a considerable time to procure any quantity. The mills also here have no bolting cloths, so that they make only a coarse flour. I can hear nothing as to the express, any more than that he is arrived at the camp; but I propose, if I do not see him to-day, to return towards Lancaster, in hopes to find your Honor's orders, and also give an account of the post of what is done to the flour.

In another letter, dated July 4, 1755, Mr. Shippen says, "I shall give orders to Mr. Burd's servant, a cooper, to take charge of some cattle, as Mr. Swaine shall direct; the cattle are provided with a range of pasture. But the place which shall be agreed on by the General (Braddock) for the magazine, ought to be protected by at least 20 or 30 soldiers; and there should be a *blockade* built; otherwise they may easily destroy the cattle, for they (the Indians) can march through the woods undiscovered, within twenty miles of Shippensburg; and they may come these twenty miles, one way, on a path, leaving Jacob Pyatt's, near Tuscarora mountain, on the right hand, and see but two houses, till they are within two miles of my place."

After General Braddock's defeat, Col. Dunbar, after staying some time with his army on the frontiers, received orders from Gen. Shirley, upon whom the command of the American forces devolved, on the death of Braddock, to repair with his men to Albany. Previously, however, Col. Dunbar requested a conference with Governor Morris, at Shippensburg. The Governor addressed him a letter, to which the Colonel replied, as follows:

Shippensburg, August 17, 1755.

Sir:—I had the favor of your letter by the express that brought me General Shirley's orders. The condition, both officers and soldiers are in, makes it absolutely necessary to repair many deficiencies, before we proceed on such a march, or voyage, as you will see us in about twelve days. I will say no more on that head.

We have not half the tents we should have—we should have shoes, shirts, stockings, camp kettles: and flasks are few. Every thing taken to the place of action is absolutely lost. Neither officer nor soldier saved more than was on their backs—more than half the arms are lost.—Prov. Rec. N. 202.

James Burd writes to Ed. Shippen, at Lancaster, Nov. 22,

1755. "We, for these two days past, have been working at our Fort here, and believe we shall work this day (Sunday). This town is full of people." (See p. 92.)

Many of the frontier settlers, in their flight for life, from the Indians, took refuge here. In July, 1763, there were here, one thousand three hundred and eighty-four, of those poor, distressed inhabitants. Of these, three hundred and one were male adults, three hundred and forty-five women, and seven hundred and thirty-eight children; many of whom were obliged to lie in stables, barns, cellars, and under old, leaky sheds; the dwelling houses being all crowded (p. 142). The inhabitants were kept in constant alarm for eight or ten years, not knowing at what moment they would be surprised by a blood-thirsty enemy.

"The 19th of March, 1764, the Indians carried off five people from within nine miles of Shippensburg, and shot one man through the body. The enemy, supposed to be eleven in number, were pursued successfully by about one hundred provincials. The houses of John Stewart, Adam Simms, James M'Cammon, William Baird, James Kelly, Stephen Caldwell and John Boyd, were burnt. These people lost all their grain, which they had thrashed out, with the intention to send it, for safety, further down among the inhabitants."—*Gordon's His. Pa.* p. 624.

Shippensburg was once an exceedingly brisk place, made so by hundreds of wagons stopping here on their way to, and from Pittsburg, and Philadelphia; but since the railroad has been in successful operation, wagoning, through this place, has measureably ceased; and, Shippensburg, feels the effects; but owing to its peculiar locality, will always command a reasonable share of business. A number of houses have lately been erected in this ancient town. At present it contains nearly three hundred dwellings.

The town was incorporated, January 21, 1819. The population in 1810, was 1,159; in 1820, 1,410; in 1830, 1,308; in 1840, 1,473; at present (1845) about 1,525. It contains eighteen stores, several taverns, one printing office, from which a weekly paper is issued, entitled 'The Weekly News,' edited by Mr. J. L. Baker. The churches are, Presbyterian, Associate Reformed, Lutheran and German Reformed, Union Bethel, Catholic, Methodist, and an African church. In 1844, there were six schools, with upwards of three hundred

scholars in the Borough. The Cumberland Valley railroad passes through this place; also a turnpike. McMean's run, a branch of the Conodogwinet creek passes through the town, and turns several mills.

NEWVILEE, a post town and borough, in Newton township, on Spring creek, twelve miles from Carlisle, in the northwest part of the county, within half a mile (north) of the Cumberland Valley railroad. It is a place of some considerable business; it contains about one hundred dwellings, several mills, taverns and churches, viz: one Presbyterian, one Seceder, and Lutheran. The town was incorporated by an act of the Legislature, 26th February, 1817; and according to the census of 1840, its population was 564, and contained six stores and three taverns. There are three public schools in the borough, with about one hundred and fifty scholars, supported at an expense of \$441.04, paid to teachers, and \$38.58 for fuel.

STOUGHSTOWN, a post village, in Newton township, on the turnpike road leading from Carlisle to Chambersburg, near the eastern boundary of the township, fourteen miles west of Carlisle, and seven east of Shippensburg, contains twelve or fifteen dwellings, one store and a tavern, kept for many years by the late Colonel Stough, and by his son at present. Near this place is a large spring, from which a fine mill stream issues.

NEWBURGH, a post village in Hopewell township, laid out some twenty or more years ago by Mr. Trimble, contains twenty or more dwellings, two stores and a tavern.

SPRINGFIELD.—This village derives its name from a large spring, that throws out a volume of water sufficient to turn several mill wheels, within a few rods of the spring, and forms a considerable stream, having its banks studded with mills. It is fourteen miles southwest of Carlisle, and contains about fifty dwellings, a store, a tavern and school house. The situation and vicinity are very romantic. The inhabitants are distinguished for industry.

CENTREVILLE, is a small village on the Walnut Bottom road, leading from Carlisle to Shippensburg, and is in a well improved, fertile region of country; it contains a store and tavern.

SMOKETOWN, on the road leading from Carlisle to Newville, consists of a few houses.

PAPERTOWN, south of Carlisle, on the Carlisle and Hanover turnpike, laid out some years ago by Barber & Mullen, owners of an extensive paper mill, at this place.

MECHANICSBURG, post town and borough, situated in Silver Spring township, in the heart of the most fertile and best improved regions of Cumberland Valley, on the Trindle Spring road leading from Harrisburg to Carlisle, eight miles from the former and ten from the latter; it is next to Carlisle and Shippensburg, one of the most flourishing towns in this county; its local advantages are many, being accessible, and intersected by well improved roads, from various sections of the country; the surrounding vicinage is densely settled, and the population in general distinguished for their industry. As a place of business, it is one of no ordinary importance. The town is of comparatively recent origin.—Forty years ago the greater part of the site of the town was covered with woods; a few straggling houses were to be seen, of which only one or two of the first remain.

It is not more than thirty years since the first brick house was erected in the place. This was built in the western part of the town, by Lewis Zearing, Esq., shortly after the late war. A number of houses had been erected before any lots were regularly laid out. About twenty-five years ago, John Gosweiler, laid out a number of lots in the eastern part of the town, where soon some six or eight houses were erected. In the year 1828, Henry Stouffer laid out some lots in the central part of the town; and a new impetus was given to the place; a number of dwellings were erected. In 1829, '30, and 31, between twenty and thirty houses were put up. In December 1831, Major Henry Lease and David Brenizer, having purchased eight or ten acres from George Steinbring, laid out thirty-three lots on the south side of Main street. From that time forward the town has gradually increased, till it numbers at present (1845) one hundred and thirty-three comfortable dwellings, whereof 41 are of bricks, 67 frame, and 25 plastered; a number of mechanics shops, four churches, viz: a Union Church, Methodist, Lutheran, and another, styled a "Union Bethel," a commodious school house in which three public schools are taught, 6 stores, 2 apothecaries, 3 taverns, 3 ware or store houses on the rail road, 4 tailor shops, 2 milliners, 3 mantua makers, 2 hatters, 4 shoe makers, 3 saddlers, 4 cabinet makers, 4 carpenters,

3 weavers, 1 silk dyer, 2 tanners, 2 chair makers, 1 painter, 1 cooper, 2 coachmakers, 3 blacksmiths, 3 butchers, a foundry and machine shop, with a population rising of 800. In 1830 the population was 554, in 1840, 670.

The Cumberland Valley Railroad passes through the borough, north of Main street. The town was incorporated as a borough, by an act passed April 12, 1828. In pursuance of which, a Burgess and Town Council were elected, of which Lewis Zearing, Esq., was President, and Dr. Jacob Baughman, clerk.

Sometime in 1835 or '36 Dr. Jacob Weaver, established the first printing office in the place. He edited and published a spirited, literary paper, entitled, "The Microcosm," but for the want of adequate patronage, it was suspended; and shortly afterwards, A. F. Cox, commenced the publication of "The School Visitor." This shared the fate of its predecessor. Lately, another paper has been started by Mr. Sprigman, entitled "The Independent Press."

TRINDLE SPRING, one mile west of Mechanicsburg, is named after one Trindle, an early settler. Here is a cluster of houses, a tavern, a tan yard, and a church contiguous.—The church is a neat brick building held in common by the German Reformed and Lutherans.

ROXBERRY, partly in Silver Spring; but principally in Monroe township, is a small village, consisting of "a long string" of houses, along the road leading from Mechanicsburg to Carlisle, seven miles east of the latter place. There are here sixteen dwellings, and several mechanics' shops, situated in a rocky place. Paul Reamer, about thirty years ago, erected the first house.

HOGUESTOWN, a post village, in Silver Spring township, is nine miles west of Harrisburg, on the turnpike road leading to Carlisle; it is a handsomely situated village in a fertile and well improved limestone country, and contains between twenty and thirty dwellings (a few of which are of brick) including those contiguous, two stores, three taverns, a school house, an extensive tannery, several mechanics' shops. A small stream called Hogues run flows hard by the village and empties into the Conodogwinet creek not far off.

MIDDLESEX, in North Middleton township, on the turnpike road from Harrisburg to Carlisle, at or near the confluence

of Le Tort's creek with the Conodogwinet, three miles east of Carlisle, is a cluster of houses, consisting of 11 dwellings, in one of which a tavern is kept; a grist mill, a saw mill, and plaster and oil mill, a woollen factory, principally owned by Charles B. Penrose, Esq. There is also a small store here.

Mrs. Murphy, who died at the age of 100, in 1803, remembered that the first "Indian track" to go westward was to cross at Simpson's Ferry, four miles below Harris's, then across Conodogwinet, at Middlesex, thence up the mountain across Croghan's. (Sterret's Gap,) thence down the mountain and across Shearman's creek, at Gibson's, thence by Dick's Gap, thence by Shearman's valley by Concord, to the burnt cabbins, thence to the west of the Alleghany.—*Watson's Annals*, ii. 122.

There were several paths westward. John Harris, who had been westward prior to 1754, notices the following points, with the intermediate distances.

"From my Ferry to Geo. Croghad's, 5 miles; to Kittatinny mountains 9; to Andrew Montour's 5; Tuscarora hill 9; Thos. Mitchell's sleeping place 3; Tuscarora 14; Cove spring 10; Shadow of Death 8; Black Log 3—66 miles to this point. The road forks to Raystown and Frankstown; we continued to Raystown. To the Three Springs 10; Sidling Hill Gap 8; Juniata hill 8; Crossings at Juniata 8; Snake's spring 8; Raystown 4; Shawana cabins 8; Alleghany hill 6; Edmunds swamp 8; Stoney creek 6; Kicheney Paulin's house (Indian) 6; Clearfields 7; to the other side of Laurel hill 5; Loyal Hanning 6; Big Bottom 8; Chestnut ridge 8; to the parting of the roads 4; thence one road leads to Shanoppintown, the other to Kiscomenettas Old Town—To Big Lick 3; Beaver dams 6; James Dunning's sleeping place 8; Cockeye's cabin 8; Four mile run 11; Shanoppintown on Allegheny river 4; to Logstown down the river 18; distance by the old road 246 miles."

"Now beginning at the Black Log—Frankstown road to Aughwick 6, Jack Armstrong's Narrows (so called from his being murdered here) 8, Standing Stone (about 14 feet high and 6 inches square) 10: At each of the last places we crossed Juniata—the next and last crossing of Juniata 8, Branch of Juniata 10, Big Lick 10, Frank's (Stephen's) town 5, Beaver dams 10, Alleghany hill 4, Clearfield's 6, John

Hart's sleeping place 12, Shawanese cabins 24, Shaver's sleeping place at two large licks 12, Eighteen mile run 12, Ten mile Lick 6, to Kiscoenettas town on the creek which runs into the Alleghany river six miles down, almost as large as Schuylkill 10, Chartier's landing on Alleghany 8, &c."

—COMPILER.

KINGSTON, a post village in Silver Spring township, on the turnpike road from Harrisburg to Carlisle, six miles from the latter and ten from the former, is situated in the heart of a well improved, fertile country; and consists of twenty dwellings, two stores, two churches, one Lutheran, and one held by the Evangelical Association, and the usual number of handicraft found in country villages. The town receives a supply of water conducted in pipes, a distance of 1100 feet, from a spring or well on Peter Kissinger's farm. The village was laid out by John King, about twenty years ago, after whom it is named.

LISBURN, a post village, in Allen township, on the Yellow Breeches creek, on a public road leading from Carlisle to York, sixteen miles from the former, and eighteen from the latter; and seven miles from Harrisburg, in the southeastern part of the county, consists of 40 dwellings, principally log buildings, two stores, one tavern, a grist mill and saw mill, a Union church and school house, and has the usual number of mechanics, commonly found in country villages.

It is an old town, part of it, north of the public road, having been laid out 80 years ago by Gerard Erwin, and that part south of the road in 1785, by Alexander Frazer and James Oren.

CHURCHTOWN, a post town, in Monroe township, is so named because a church, held by the Lutherans and German Reformed, had been built here some ten or fifteen years before the town commenced. It is pleasantly situated in a fertile portion of the county, on the main road from Shippensburg to Mechanicsburg; six miles from Carlisle. It consists of forty-one dwellings, several of which are fine, substantial brick buildings, four stores, two taverns, one school house, a church.

Jacob Wies built the first house here about forty years ago. Some of the early settlers in the vicinity of Churchtown were, the Messrs. Strach, Weis, Bricker, Wolf, Rankin, Martin, Scott, Johnston, Crocket, Thornberry, now Ege's forge.

WORLEYSTOWN, in Monroe township, on the main road leading from Carlisle to Dillsburg, three miles and a half from the latter, and seven from Carlisle, was laid out about 30 years ago, and consists of 10 or 12 dwellings. It is near the Yellow Breeches creek.

SHEPPERDSTOWN, a post village, in Allen township, on the State road, leading from Gettysburg in Adams county, eight miles from Harrisburg and twelve from Carlisle, five from Dillsburg in York county, and three from Mechanicsburg; situated on an elevated spot, having a commanding view of Cumberland Valley. It consists of 18 dwellings, one store, one tavern. Near it is a Union church, also occupied by a common school.

CENTRE SQUARE, a mile west of Shepperdstown, consists of a cluster of eight dwellings and several shops, and a tavern and store. This place had its origin about 25 years ago, when Messrs. John Berkey and Jacob Berkey, each erected a small log house.

SHIREMANSTOWN, a post village, partly in Hampden and partly in Allen township, on the main road leading from Carlisle to New Cumberland, usually called Simpson's Ferry road, is five miles west of Harrisburg, and twelve miles east from Carlisle, and situated in a fertile and highly improved portion of the county, the soil being limestone and well cultivated.

The first house erected here was built by Daniel Scherbahn, executor of George Schnebely, for the widow of the deceased, in the summer of 1813. When the first house was built, all on the south side of the road, was one dense forest. In 1814 John Davis erected the house now occupied by Dr. Mateer. Both these are on the north side of the road. A few years after, Henry Zearing erected one on the south side of the road, now owned by George Rupp, jr., and occupied as a public house. Shortly afterwards, Martin Zearing erected a brick house north of the road. George Sipe, Isaac Goshert and Christian Shroll, each erected a house, soon after the brick one had been built. About the year 1827 and 1828 several more, by Jacob Rupp and others, when it was called Shiremanstown, after Daniel Shireman, deceased, who held considerable property here at the time. On the death of Shireman, John Rupp, and George Rupp, jr., executors of Shireman, laid out an additional number of

lots in 1841, since which the town has steadily increased, and now numbers about 60 dwellings, two stores, one tavern, a school house and Union church.

This fall (1845) Jacob Markel laid out some additional lots, and several houses have already been built on 'Markel's Addition.' The Cumberland Valley railroad passed by, immediately north of the village. Population 275.

There are two churches in the immediate vicinity of this town: Salems Church, owned by the German Reformed and Lutherans, half a mile north of it; and another, one-fourth of a mile east of the town, owned by the United Brethren in Christ. The former was erected nearly fifty years ago.

Friedens Kirch, or Salems Church.—Fifty years ago a German Reformed congregation was organized in the lower part of Cumberland county, by the Revd. Anthony Hautz. In 1797 this congregation agreed, as appears from documentary evidence, to build the house (now exclusively occupied as a school house) for the purpose of holding their religious meetings in it, and for school purposes, till a church would be built.

The following is a copy of the original subscription paper.

"Den 4 Tag April, A. D. 1797, ist die Gemeinde einig worden mit dem Johannes Schopp fuer sein alt Haus fuer ein Schulhaus, und eine Zeitlang fuer Kirch darin zuhalten; und er hat der Gemeinde das Haus erlaubt fuer fuenfzehn Pfund.

"Wir Unterschreiber versprechen auch dazu zubezahlen; wir mit unserer eigener Hand.

"Friedrich Lang £2, 5s. Jonas Rupp £2, 5s. Johannes Schopp £3. Johannes Schnevely 15s. George Wuermle 15s. George Wild 7s, 6d. Conrad Weber 7s, 6d. Martin Thomas 3s. Johannes Schwartz 11s, 4d. Philip Heck 7s, 6d. Adam Viehman 7s, 6d. Jacob Colp £1, 10s. John Merkle £3. Casper Swarts 7s, 6d. Christyan Swartz 7s, 6d. Abraham Wolf 7s, 6d. Friedrich Schweitzer 7s, 6d. Martin Hausser £5. Johannes Eberly £4, 17s, 6d. Elisabeth Lang, Witt-frau 15s."

"On the 26th of May, 1797, the congregation obtained deeds for the land connected with the school house, from Henry Snevely, and Nicholas Kreutzer. In 1798, the church was erected under the superintendence of the following building committee, viz: Friedrich Lang, Jonas Rupp,

Leonard Swarts, and the Revd. Anthony Hautz, then stationed at Carlisle and Trindle spring.

"Martin Rupp and Thomas Anderson were the builders.

"A Lutheran congregation had been organized about the year 1791 or 1792, who had a house for public worship in Louthier Manor, several miles northeast of 'Friedens Kirch.' This congregation made overtures to the vestry of the German Reformed congregation, May 18, 1806, to pay them £405, 17s, 3d, being one-half of the cost of Friedens Kirch, land, and building of school-house, and inclosing the grave yard. This sum, it was proposed to put on interest for the use of the German Reformed congregation; part of which, however, was taken to pay the organ, which cost \$466,67. It was purchased of Conrad Doll, of Lancaster, July 6th, 1807.

At the time of the sale of one half of the church to the Lutherans, the following persons constituted the vestry of the congregations. *German Reformed*, Frederick Lang, Jonas Rupp, Frederick Schweitzer, Christian Swiler, Henry Manessmith and Martin Rupp. *Lutherans*, Nicholas Kreutzer, John Wormley, Christoph Eichelberger, Andrew Shuely, Christofel Gramlig and Daniel Scherban.

The joint congregations purchased, April 20, 1812, five acres more, on which the present dwelling house, contiguous to the church, is erected. In 1830, another small parcel of ground was purchased to enlarge the grave yard. [Communicated by John Rupp].

NEW CUMBERLAND, formerly called Haldeman's town, having been laid out by Jacob M. Haldeman, about twenty five years ago, is a post village, and thriving borough in Allen township, three miles below the Harrisburg bridge, at the confluence of the Yellow Breeches creek with the Susquehanna river; seventeen miles from Carlisle. It contains about forty dwellings, principally brick buildings, four stores, two churches, one tavern, two saw mills, one for sawing laths, a patent pump factory, and flouring mill, a Methodist church. Population in 1840, 284, at present (1845) about 315. The York turnpike road passes through this borough.

Some years ago, Jacob M. Haldeman owned and carried on a forge; and at a later period, Mr. Pratt, had an extensive nail factory in operation here; but has moved it to Fairview. The lumber trade is carried on extensively. An ex-

tensive tannery is in operation here. In the height of the *Multicaulis mania*, an association for the manufacture of silk was started in this town.

In the early part of the last century the Shawanese Indians had a town here. It was for many years the landing place of Peter Chartier, a Shawanese, an Indian Agent, and an individual of some notoriety. He owned at one time six hundred acres of land, bounded by the Yellow Breeches creek and Susquehanna river, as appears from the following extracts taken from the Records in the Land office at Harrisburg.

"By virtue of a warrant dated, May 5th, 1739, there was surveyed on the 2d May last (1740) unto Peter Chartier of the county of Lancaster, a tract of land situate within our Manor of Paxtan, in the said county: Beginning at a Beech tree on the Banks of the said (Susquehanna) river, and extending thence by the other part of the said Manor, south fifty-four degrees, west two hundred and fifty perches to a post, and south thirty-six degrees, two hundred and fifty-five perches to a white walnut tree by the side of the creek called Yellow Breeches creek; thence down by the same several courses two hundred and ninety-two perches to Susquehanna river; thence up the several courses of the same three hundred and ninety perches, to the place of beginning, containing six hundred acres."

This tract of land embraced the present site of New Cumberland, Messrs. Freeman's, Haldeman's and Martin's farm. A few years after this survey had been made Peter Chartier settled on, or near the Allegheny river, about forty miles above Pittsburg, at what was called Old Town or Chartier's Old Town.* He subsequently proved treacherous to the English. In 1744, he accepted a military commission under the French and prevailed upon some Shawanese Indians of Old Town to move to the French settlements on the Mississippi.

In the spring of 1744, April 18, at the head of four hundred of Shawanese, well armed with guns, pistols, and cutlaeses, he surprised and took prisoner two Indian traders, James Dinnew and Peter Tostee, on the Allegheny river, robbed them of all their effects to the amount of £1600.

* Weiser's Journal, Aug. 1748.

Sometime afterwards a few of the seduced Shawanese returned again to the English, and acknowledged they had been misled, and had carried on a private correspondence with the French.—Votes. Assem. iv. 13. Prov. Rec. K. 347, L. 362, 420, 437.

Governor George Thomas, in his message to the Assembly, April 25, 1745, says: "I have just received information that Peter Chartier, after disposing of his effects in this government, is gone to the enemy (French). His conduct for some years past has rendered him generally suspected; and it seems my reprimanding him for some very exceptionable parts of it, is made use of amongst other things to excuse his infidelity. Had he been punished as he deserved, for the villainous report he spread two years ago, among the back inhabitants, in order to spirit them up against such of the Six Nations as should happen to travel through those parts of the country, he would not have been at this time with the enemy; but an apprehension that the Shawanese, whose perfidious blood partly runs in Chartier's veins, might resent upon our traders any severities to him, restrained me from making use of such, and induced me to use the gentle method of reproof, which his brutish disposition had construed into an affront.

"I am likewise informed, that he has persuaded a considerable number of the Shawanese to remove from their old town, to a greater distance upon another river, and it is not to be doubted but that a savage person of his temper, will do us all the mischief he can. If you think it worth while, I will send a special messenger to persuade those Shawanese to return to their former place of abode, or I will take any other method you shall advise; though it is my opinion, the advantages of the trade excepted, the further these people remove from our borders, the better it will be for us. I have written letters from time to time to the Shawanese chiefs, inviting them down to Philadelphia, and particularly a very kind one last fall, which Peter Shaver tells me he delivered; but that I have of late received no answer, may be imputed to Chartier's influence over them; and it is too probable that he will make use of it to defeat future attempts we shall make to revive their friendship with us."—VOTES Ass. iv. 2.

BRIDGE PORT, at the west end of the Harrisburg bridge,

consists of four or five dwellings, and one tavern, owned by Mr. Church.

WORMLEYSBURG, was laid out by John Wormley, Esq. in the fall of 1815, after whom it is called; and is in East-pennsborough township, on the right bank of the Susquehanna, immediately above the Harrisburg bridge. It contains about fifty dwellings, one tavern, two grocery stores, a school house, a Methodist meeting house, and the usual number of handicrafts, common in small villages. From its peculiar situation, and being contiguous to the Cumberland Valley railroad depot, a fine lumber trade is carried on here. The principal, and best dwellings, were erected by the proprietor and his sons. It is worthy of notice that Mr. Wormley was for many years the proprietor of the Ferry known by his name. Population about 280. [S. Oyster].

FAIRVIEW, was laid out by Abraham Neidig, Esq. 1815. It is pleasantly situated at the confluence of the Conodogwinet creek, with the Susquehanna river, about two miles above the Harrisburg bridge, in East-pennsboro township; and contains about fifty dwellings, one store, school house, a church recently built belonging to the United Brethren, and a number of mechanics' shops. Population about 250. Contiguous to it, are an extensive rolling mill and nail factory, owned by Mr. Pratt & co., giving employment to at least one hundred hands, which has contributed much to the late and rapid improvements of the town. From its former torpid state, it has been roused into activity, by this factory. The Conodogwinet is crossed here by a substantial wooden bridge. In 1700, to 1720, the Indians had a town here.—See p. 352.

WHITE HILL, a post village, in East Pennsboro' township, on the rail road, one mile west from the Susquehanna river, consists of seven dwellings. This has sprung up within the last three or four years; and is named after the Hon. Robert Whitehill, who had been for many years an active representative of the inhabitants of Cumberland county in our State, as well as National hall, of legislation.

Robert Whitehill, son of James and Rachel Whitehill, was born, A. D., 1738, July 29th in the Pequea settlement, Lancaster county, where his parents had settled, before Lancaster county was organized. He enjoyed, when a lad, the advantages of a good school education, such as the best common schools afforded; but subsequently, he enlarged his

stock of useful information, which proved alike beneficial to him and serviceable to his country.

In 1770, Mr. Whitehill purchased from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, two tracts of land in Lauther Manor, viz: No. 17 and part of lot No. 2. (see page 356). In the spring of 1771 he left Lancaster county and settled in Cumberland, a few miles west of the Susquehanna. On his land thus purchased, he erected the first stone house in the Manor, ad which he occupied, till April 8th, 1813, when he died. When M. Whitehill first settled here there were but few houses in Lauther Manor,* which contained from eight to ten thousand acres.

Mr. Whitehill long represented Cumberland county in various capacities. He was elected a member of the convention held in Philadelphia, in July 1776, in which the Declaration of Independence by Congress was approved, and other highly important measures were adopted, among which were the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the Bill of Rights, &c., &c. He was also a member of the Assembly held in Philadelphia, in November 1776, which continued in session until the 18th of September 1777, when it was removed to Lancaster, and assembled there the 29th September, 1777, and continued in session until the 11th Sept. 1778. Subsequently to this he was occasionally a member of either branch of the Legislature. He was a member of the Convention that adopted the late constitution of Pennsylvania (in the printed constitution his name does not appear, he was so much opposed to some of its provisions, that he refused to affix his name to it). He was also a member of the convention that agreed on the part of Penna. to the constitution of the United States.

Mr. Whitehill was a member of the House of Represen-

* The reason why this part was not settled at an early period, was probably, because the proprietors had for many years reserved it for the Indians; as it was not resurveyed and divided into lots till 1766. Much of the land immediately west of the Manor had been taken up and settled thirty years before Mr. Whitehill moved to Cumberland. In 1772 Dec. 3d, George Thawly sold a tract of land, 211 acres, to my paternal grandfather, Jonas Rupp, which had been taken up December 10, 1742, and settled by Wm. McMeans. This tract is known in the early recrds as "Providence Tract," now in Hampden township, five miles west of the Susquehanna, late the farm of Martin Rupp, deceased; at present occupied by his sons, John and Henry Rupp.—**COMPILER.**

tative during the stormy sessions of 1798, 1799, and 1800. In 1801 he was elected to the Senate: was the Speaker during the trial on impeachment of the Judges of the Supreme Court. In 1805 he was elected to Congress, and was four times re-elected, and was a member at the time of his death. It is said he served longer in a representative capacity than any other man in Pennsylvania, and it was his proud boast that he never intrigued for a nomination nor solicited a vote."—*Communicated*.

In this connection, the following interesting communication, though long, is introduced, which will, it is believed, be acceptable to many:

Whitehill, December 16, 1846.

Sir—On your passing my door a few days ago, and handing my daughter, that cherished book, the Westminster Confession of Faith* of A. D. 1647; and printed by Benjamin Franklin, a century ago, I was forcibly reminded to redeem the promise made you some months since, "To furnish something for your Historical Collection of our native county."

The facts, incidents, &c., I communicate, I record as they occur to my mind. I will confine myself to my youthful neighborhood, and such facts as I heard related by those who have, by reason of age, gone beyond the bourne whence not return. I need not inform you that the first settlers of new countries have to encounter trials, hardships and dangers. These my ancestors in common with others, experienced on their first coming into this county. Notwithstanding their multiplied trials and difficulties, they had ever in mind the fear and worship of our common Creator. An ancestor of mine, who early immigrated to America, was a student of theology under the Revd. Tuckney of Boston, who had been a member of the General Assembly at Westminster. You will find on consulting the history of the Presbyterian church of this country that the name of Craighead appears at an early period. In establishing churches in this country, Craighead appears as one of the first ministers. The first sermon preached west of the Susquehanna, was delivered by the Rev. Thomas Craighead, then residing, as I believe, in Donegal township, Lancaster county. Soon after these congregations were organized, in what is now Cumberland and Franklin; viz: one in the lower settlement near Carlisle, one at Big Spring near Newville, and one in the Conegocheague settlement. Thomas Craighead preached at Big Spring. When divine service was first held, the settlers went with their guns to hear preaching. These defensives were then deemed necessary to deter the Indians from attacking them. However, the peaceful dis-

* This copy of the work has descended to the fifth generation. It properly belongs to my better half, who, though of the "Blue stocking order," is of high birth. Mary Sterrett, my wife, was born on the heights of the Blue mountain, at Sterret's gap. [T. C.]

position or the true christian had its salutary influence upon the untutored Indian—the Indian feared and respected the consistent professor of religion. Religious influence was felt—At Big Spring, protracted meetings were held for public worship. So powerful, it is said, were the influences of the spirit, that the worshippers felt loath, even after having exhausted their stores of provision, to disperse. I have heard it from the lips of those present, when Thomas Craighead, delivered one of the parting discourses, that his flow of eloquence seemed supernatural—he continued in bursts of eloquence, while his audience was melted to tears—himself however exhausted, hurried to pronounce the blessing; waving his hand, and as he pronounced the words, farewell, farewell, he sank down, expired without a groan or struggle. His remains rest where the church now stands; as the only monument of his memory.

John Craighead, a cousin of Thomas', settled at an early date, on Yellow Breches creek, near Carlisle. His son John officiated, a short time as pastor at Big Spring. He then removed to Conegocheague and was there placed as pastor. When the Revolution was the absorbing question of the day, he an ardent whig, and fearless of consequences, the government had an eye on him; but the people were with him; he preached liberty or death from the pulpit, the young men's bosoms swelled with enthusiasm for military glory—they marched to the tented field, and several were killed. Still he urged them not to be daunted. On one occasion he brought all his eloquence to bear on the subject until his congregation arose to their feet, as if ready to march. An old lady who had lost a son in battle, hallooed out, "Stop, Mr. Craighead, I jist want to tell ye, agin you loss such a purty boy as I have, in the war, ye will na be so keen for fighting; quit talking, and gang yersel to the war. Yer always preaching to the boys about it; but I dina think ye'd be very likely to gang yersel. Jist go and try it—" He did try it; and the next day he and Mr. Cooper—I think—a preacher also, set about to raise a company; they did raise one, of the choicest spirits that ever did live. Marched in short order; joined the army under Washington, in the Jerseys; he fought and preached alternately; breasted all danger, relying on his God and the justice of his cause for protection.

One day, going into battle, a cannon ball struck a tree near him, a splinter of which nearly knocked him down. "God bless me," says Mr. Cooper, "you were nearly knocked to staves." "Oh, yes," (says he very coolly) though you are a cooper, you could not have set me up." He was a great humorist. The Revd. Mr. Cathcart, of Little York, who is still living, knew him well. When he marched his company, they encamped near where I am now writing, at the Hon. Robt. Whitehill's, who opened his cellar, which was well stored with provisions and barrels of apple brandy. Col. Hendricks' daughters assisted in preparing victuals for them. They fared sumptuously, with this brave man. They next encamped at Boyd's, in Lancaster county: he fell in love with Jenny Boyd; and married her. He died of a cancer on his breast, leaving no children. His father, John, had been educated in Europe for the ministry; but, on his return, he found preaching a poor business to live by. He stopped at Philadelphia, took to tailoring; took good care when he went into good company, to tie up his forefinger, for fear of his being discovered; but being a handsome little

man, and having a good education, he was courted by the elite of the day. He fell in with an English heiress, of the name of Montgomery, I think; married her and spent the fortune, all but a few webs of linen, with which he purchased from the Proprietor 500 acres of land on Yellow Breeches, which is now descended to the fifth generation by inheritance, and the sixth is born on it. Some of the remains of his cabin may be found to this day. His other two sons, Thos. & James, were farmers; they had great difficulty in paying the balance due on their land. They took their produce to Annapolis (no business done in Baltimore then)—prices got dull; they stored it; the merchant broke; all seemed gone; they applied for more time; built a sawmill; they had made the money, but the war came on. Thomas was drafted; his son, John, 13 years old, and my father, drove the baggage wagon. It took the money to equip, and bear their expenses, while going to, and in camp. Thos. took the camp fever, and his son the small pox. General Washington gave them a furlough to return home. A younger son, James, met them below Lancaster and drove the team home. He often stopped and looked into the wagon to see if they were still living; but he got them home, and they both recovered. By some mistake in recording their furlough, there was a fine imposed on Thomas for leaving camp a few days before his time was up: when the bailiff came to collect it, he was up on a barrack building wheat; the officer was on horseback; he told him he would come down and pay him: he came down, took a hickory—with that happened to lie near, caught his little horse by the tail and whipped the officer, asking him if he was paid; until he said he was paid. That settled the fine. He was paid off with Congress money; *broke up again*, with a chest full of money. By this time, things began to go up, all prospered. John Craighead, his father, had been an active member of the Stony Ridge convention; which met to petition parliament for redress of grievances: he was closely watched by the Tories; and one Pollock was very near having him apprehended as a rebel, but the plot was found out, and Pollock had to leave the county. Near the place where this convention met at the stony ridge, one Samuel Lamb lived on his land, there was a block house, where the neighbors flew for shelter, from hostile Indians. This is now Hartzler's farm. Lamb was a stone mason; built stone chimneys for the rich farmers, who became able to hew logs and put up what was called a square log house. They used to say he plumbed his corners with a *spittle*; that is, he spit down the corner to see if it was plumb. Indeed, many chimneys are standing to this day, and look like it; but he had a patriotic family. When the army rendezvoused at Little York, four of his sons were in the army; two officers and two common soldiers. His daughters had a web of woollen in the loom; they wool colored with Sumach berries, and made it as red as they could; for all war habiliments were dyed red as possible: made coats by guess for their brothers, put them in a tow cloth wallet, slung it over their young brother, Samuel, to take to camp; he hesitated, the country being nearly all forest, and full of wolves, bears, &c. One of them, Peggy, who is still living, asked him, What are you afraid of? Go on, sooner come home a corpse than a coward. He did go on, and enlisted during the war: came home, married Miss Trindle of Trindle spring; removed to Kentucky; raised a large family, (he was on the Jury that tried the *Nugent* at Carlisle). It seems as if there was

something in the blood; as one of his sons in the last war was a mounted volunteer in Gen. Harrison's army.

At the battle of Tippecanoe, he rode a very spirited horse, and on reining him, to keep him in the ranks, his bridle bit broke, being an athletic long legged fellow, and his horse running at full speed towards the ranks of the enemy, he brandished his sword, hallooing, "clear the way! I am coming;" the ranks opened, let him through, and he escaped safe, and got back to his camp. Peggy Lamb deserves a notice; she afterwards married Captain William Scott, who was a prisoner on Long Island, and she now enjoys a Captain's half pay; lives in Mechanicsburg, near her native place, a venerable old lady, in full strength of intellect, though more than four score years have passed over her. She well deserves the little boon her country bestows upon her. The first horse I remember to ride alone, was one taken in the revolution by William Gilson who then lived on the Conodoguinet creek, where Harlacher's mill now is—he was one of Hindman's Riflemen, and after the battle of Trenton, he being wounded in the leg, two of his brother soldiers were helping him off the field, they were pursued by three British Light Horsemen, across an old field and must be taken, they determined to sell themselves as dear as possible, Gilson reached the fence and propped himself against it, "now says he, "man for man, I take the foremost," he shot him down, the next was also shot, the third was missed, the two horses pursued their course and were caught by Gibson and his companions and brought into camp; his blue dun lived to a great age; Gilson was offered 1500 pounds for him. Gilson removed to Westmoreland county; his wife was also a Trindle; he left a numerous and respectable family. I wish I was able to do those families more justice, for their patriotism and integrity to their country. They have left a long line of offspring, who are now scattered far and wide over the Union. If they but would all take their forefathers for examples. I come now within my own remembrance of Cumberland county. I have seen many a pack horse loaded with nail rods at Ege's Forge, to carry out to Somerset county, and the forks of Yongheigany and Red Stone Fort, to make nails for their log cabins, &c. I have seen my father's team loading slit iron to go to Fort Pitt: John Rowan drove the team. I have known the farmers teams to to haul iron from the same Forge to Virginia, load back corn for feed, at the Forge. All the grain in the county was not enough for its own consumption. I have known fodder so scarce, that some farmers were obliged to feed the *thatch* that was on their barns to keep their cattle alive. James Lamb bought land in Sherman's valley, and he and his neighbors, had to pack straw on horses across the mountain. He was on the top of the mountain waiting until those going over would get up, as they could not pass on the path; he hallooed out, "have they any more corn in Egypt?" I saw the first Mail stage that passed through Carlisle to Pittsburg. It was a great wonder—the people said the proprietor was a great fool. I think his name was Slough. It happened a short time ago to visit a friend, Jacob Ritner, son of that great and good man Ex-Gov. Ritner, who now owns Captain Denny's Farm, who was killed during the revolutionary war. The house had been a tavern, and in repairing it, Mr. Ritner found some books, &c. which are a curiosity. Charge, breakfast, £20, dinner, horse feed £30. Some charges still more extravagant; but we know in was paid with

Congress money. The poor soldier, on his return, had poor money; but the rich boon, Liberty, was a prize to him far more valuable. So late as 1808, I hauled some materials to Oliver Evans' saw mill at Pittsburg. I was astonished to see a mill going without water. Mr. Evans satisfied my curiosity, by shewing, and explaining everything he could to me. He looked earnestly at me and said "you may live to see your wagons coming out here by steam." The words were so impressed, that I have always remembered them. I have lived to see them go through Cumberland county, and it seems to me, that I may see them go through to Pittsburg; but I have seen Mr. Evans' prophesy fulfilled, beyond what I thought possible at that time; but things have progressed at a rate much faster than the most gigantic minds imagined, and we are onward still.

Yours, truly, &c.,

THOMAS CRAIGHEAD, JR.

MILLTOWN, or Cedar Spring mills, on Cedar Hill, in Allen township, consists of a cluster of some 14 or 15 houses, a church, grist mill, saw mill, clover mill, several mechanics' shops, pleasantly situated in a dell, three miles south west of Harrisburg. Casper Weber erected a mill here more than seventy-five years ago.

FROGTOWN, at the head of Cedar Spring, three fourths of a mile south of Shiremanstown, consists of a few houses, all owned by Jacob Markle.

SPORTING HILL, or "Kreutzer's Stand," consists of a cluster of six houses, a store, tavern, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Harrisburg, on the turnpike road leading to Carlisle.

During the French and Indian war, a man was shot by the Indians near this place. Several persons had met on public business, at Mr. Wood's, late John Eberly's; one of the company went down towards McMean's (Kreutzer's) spring, when he was shot and scalped. He had been recently married—they sent for his wife—she was, to use the language of Mr. Silvers', present at the time, almost distracted, casting herself upon the corpse of the deceased, exclaiming, "Oh! Oh! my husband! my husband!"

(Mr. Silvers communicated the facts to George Rupp, senior, more than fifty years ago, from whom I have them.)

At the time when the first immigrants settled in this county they were surrounded by Indians in alliance with the Six Nations, with whom they lived on terms of intimacy for some years. The pioneer settlers were principally from the north of Ireland, with some few from Scotland, and some from England. They were, with few exceptions, Presbyterians, and ardently attached to the church of their fathers; to that end they early made provisions for the support of spiritual instructors, and the erection of churches at suitable places. In the lower part of the county a church was built, at Silvers' spring; one on the Conodoguinet creek, called the Meeting House spring; not a vestige of either of the two, remains; another was built near Newville; and one at Middlespring, in the vicinity of Shippensburg—and several in the western part of the county (now Franklin).

Silvers' Spring Church—The present one was built in 1783. A wooden one had been erected here forty years before. The Cemetery is the oldest place of interment in the lower part of the county. The following epitaphs I copied Dec. 1844.

Here lies the body of William MacMean, who departed this life in the year 1747, aged 35 years.

Here lies the body of John Hamilton, who departed this life Dec. 29, 1747, aged 47 years.

In memory of James Wood, who departed this life, February, 24, 1750, aged 41 years.

In memory of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Gavon, who departed this life, Nov. 9, 1750, aged 49 years.

Beneath this tomb are deposited the remains of Margaret, wife of Samuel Mateer, born in the north of Ireland, county Down, departed this life, July 3d, 1802, aged 100 years.

Besides Presbyterians were some of the Church of England, or Protestant Episcopal Church, and a few Catholics. Of the latter there were in Cumberland county, 1757, twelve; six males, and six females (see pa. 49). A few German Reformed and some Menonites, had settled in Antrim township (now Franklin county;) some of the latter were Swiss.

The custom and habits of the first settlers were, "as the country," susceptible of change. Men wore hunting shirts and moccasins, homespun and home-made. From necessity, they practised, upon the principles:

*Selbst gesponnen, selbst gemacht ;
Rein dabey, ist Bauern Fracht.*

Or, as a certain writer of that day expressed himself:

*Despicit exoticas que dapes, vestesque superbas,
Contentus modicus vivere pace suis—
Esuriens dulces epulas depromit inemptas
Et proprio vestes vellere taxa placet,
Parva humilisque domus, etc., etc.*

Which when versified, reads—

He scorns exotic foods, and gaudy dress,
Content to live on homely fare, in peace—
Sweet to the taste his unbought dainties are,
And his own homespun, he delights to wear.
His lowly dwelling, &c.

Carpets they had none. The floors were not made of sawed and planed boards, but of split wood and hewed; and many a cabin had the earth for a floor. "Their chairs were benches," their tables of the rudest kind, and the furniture of the table for several years after this county had been settled consisted, among those in easier circumstances, of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons; those in more ordinary circumstances, also had dishes, plates, and spoons, bowls, trenchers, noggins, but theirs were all made of wood. And as substitutes, gourds and hard shelled squashes, made to suit their wants, were deemed sufficient. Iron pots, knives and forks, especially the latter, were never seen of different sizes and sets in the same kitchen.

For some thirty or forty years when they first settled in the lower end of the county, and for a longer time in the western part of it, bears, wolves, deer, panthers, wild cats, squirrels, wild turkeys, &c., were abundant in the woods and copse. The otter, muskrat, and other amphibious animals, were numerous on, and along the rivers, creeks, and rivulets, which teemed with the finny race. The luscious shad, in countless myriads, came up the Susquehanna, and its tributaries—fish of all kinds were taken in boundless profusion, in almost all the streams, both small and large.—Thousands of shad were taken in the Conodoguinet creek, some ten or twelve miles up from its mouth, within the recollection of some of our old citizens. Many of them, as

well as other fish, were taken with rude nets or seines, made of boughs or branches tied to grape vines. A seine of this kind was called a "Brush net."

The first settlers were for some years greatly annoyed by the ravenous wolf, which attacked sheep, calves and cows. Several individuals are still living in the lower part of the county, who well remember when wolves came prowling about their houses at night and looked through the openings of their rude, log dwellings, howl about the premises, and destroyed sheep and cattle, that were not protected or stabled.

The compiler's father, an aged man, informed him, that when he was a lad, he saw from his father's house, wolves pursuing deer a mile or more in the direction of Mechanicsburg. It should be borne in mind that the region of country between the Conodoguinet and Yellow Breeches, from the Susquehanna, to ten or twelve miles westward, was a *Barrens*; not a tree to be seen on a thousand acres.

Wolves were not easily taken with a steel trap; pens, built of logs or stout poles, shelving inwards on all sides, were preferred. After the pen had been erected, a *bait*, usually a half devoured carcass of a sheep, upon which they had previously a meal, was placed in it. The wolf could easily clamber up the exterior of the *trap*, and enter at the top, which was left open; but when once at the bottom, glutting his voracious appetite, he was held "in durance fast."

Mr. Gramlig, an old gentleman, pointed out to me, on my father's farm, more than thirty years, the spot where a wolf was taken in this way by his venerable father—and it was the last taken in the lower end of Cumberland.

The sufferings, difficulties and trials the first settlers endured from the privations of the luxuries of life, if they ever had enjoyed them, bear however no comparison with the sufferings they had to endure during the French and Indian war. To attempt to describe these would prove a failure. The reader may form a more adequate idea of their sufferings, &c., by carefully reading the preceding part of this compilation.

The present population is composed of the descendants of the early Irish, Scotch, English and German settlers; and descendants of French Huguenots—of these are the Scherbahns, Youngs, and Le Fevres. The Germans began to

immigrate into this country about the year 1760. Their descendants, at least many of them, still speak the language of their fathers—however, not with that purity. The German, as now generally spoken, is a kind of *patois*, or as we would say in German, *kauderwaelsch*, i. e. jargon. Taken collectively, the inhabitants of this county, are a moral and industrious people, favorably disposed to encourage institutions, having for their object the advancement of education, religion, arts and sciences.

Education.—The common school system has been adopted in every township in this county. There are eighteen school districts, and one hundred and twenty-two schools in the county. In these schools, one hundred and eight males, and nineteen female teachers are employed. In 1844, 4,192 males, and 3,074 females received instruction. Of this number, only 24 were learning German. A district tax of \$12,673 27 was raised, and the state appropriation was \$7,033 90. Total cost of instruction, \$14,107 04; fuel and contingencies, \$1,191 95.

These schools, with their powerful auxiliaries, Sabbath schools, lyceums, &c., aided by an independent press, if properly conducted, must prove the *cordon* to ignorance and its concomitants, vice and immorality.

Religious denominations.—These are Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, German Reformed, Associate Reformed, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, United Brethren in Christ, German Baptists, Mennonites, Reformed Mennonites, Evangelical Association, Disciples of Christ, New Jerusalem Church, Church of God, and Adventists. These all have regular and stated places of worship.

Provision for the Poor.—About 2 miles west of Carlisle is the Poor House; and, says Miss Dix, remarkably well situated, and has a well managed, productive farm. In October (1844) there were one hundred paupers, seven of which were insane. At that time none were constantly in close confinement. The "crazy cells," in the basement, I consider unfit for use in all respects. Chains and hobbles are in use!

HISTORY OF FRANKLIN COUNTY.

CHAPTER XXX.

FRANKLIN COUNTY ERECTED, ETC.

Franklin erected—Act touching the boundary, &c.—Lines of division defined—Trustees for the county appointed—Present boundary—Geological aspect—Geology of the county—Land, different kinds of: limestone, slate, &c.—General statistics, agricultural, &c.—Synopsis of census of 1840—Streams, descriptive of—Natural curiosities—Public improvements, railroad, turnpikes—Common roads—Taxables in 1752.

Franklin county is, in time of order, the *thirteenth* county organized in the state, and was established by an act of Assembly, September 9th, 1784; having previously been the southwestern part of Cumberland county; designated by the name of "The Conococheague settlement," so called from the principal stream, the Conococheague creek.

The following counties had been organized before Franklin, viz: Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, in 1682; Lancaster in 1729, York 1749, Cumberland 1750, Berks and Northampton 1752, Bedford 1771, Northumberland 1772, Westmoreland 1773, Washington 1781, Fayette 1783, then Franklin.

The first section of the act says, "Whereas, many of the inhabitants of the southwestern part of the county of Cumberland have, by their petition to General Assembly of this State, represented the inconveniences and hardships which they suffer, by the large extent of the said county of Cumberland, and the great distance at which the said petitioners dwell from the town of Carlisle, where the courts of justice, and the public offices of the same county are held, and kept, and that by reason of such remoteness of the said courts and offices, the recovery of their just debts is rendered difficult and disagreeable, and in some cases is unequal to the pains and costs which they would be put to in prosecuting and suing for them; and that felons, misdoers, and other offenders, from the same causes, often escape the punishment, due to their demerits.—*Smith's Laws*, ii. 264.

The boundaries and limits in the act are, "That all and singular the lands lying, and being within that part of Cumberland county, which are bounded as followeth, that is to say; beginning on the York county line in the South mountain, at the intersection of the line between Lurgan and Hopewell townships, in Cumberland county; thence by the line of Lurgan township (leaving Shippensburg to the eastward of the same) to the line of Fannet township; thence by the lines of last mentioned township (including the same) to the line of Bedford county; thence by the line of Bedford county, southwardly, to the Maryland line; thence by the said line, east, to the line of York county; thence by the line of York county, along the South mountain, to the place of beginning, be, and hereby are erected into a county, named, and hereafter to be called, the county of Franklin."

James Maxwell, James McCalmont, Josiah Crawford, David Stoner and John Johnston were appointed for the county, who were directed to take assurances of and for two lots of ground, in the town of Chambersburg or Chamberstown, in Guilford township, for the seats of a court house and a county jail or prison—and thereupon to erect a court house and prison, sufficient to accommodate the public service of the county.

The line between Franklin and Cumberland, being doubtful, it was explained by an act of March 27, 1790, in the following manner, "that a line beginning at York county line, in the South mountain, at the intersection of Lurgan and Hopewell townships; thence by a line composed of part of the original line of Lurgan township, and one to be run, so as to leave the tract of land, now, or late of Edward Shippen, whereon the town of Shippensburg is erected, within the county of Cumberland, to the line of Fannet township; thence by the lines of the last mentioned township (leaving the same in Franklin county) to the line of Bedford county, shall be the boundary line between the counties of Cumberland and Franklin."

By an act of 29th March, 1798, "all that part of Bedford, commonly called the Little Cove, and lying eastward of a line to begin in the Maryland line, near the Great Cove, or Tuscarora mountain; thence running northeasterly, along the summit of said mountain, until it intersects the present line between Bedford and Franklin counties, was annexed to Franklin county, and to be considered as part of Montgomery township."

Commissioners were appointed to run the boundary line at the expense of Franklin county.—*Smith's Laws.*

Franklin county is bounded on the west by Bedford; northwest by Huntingdon; northeast by Perry and Cumberland; east by Adams, and south by the State of Maryland. Its greatest extent from North to South is 38 miles, and from east to west 34 miles, containing an area of 734 miles, or 469,760 acres. Population in 1790, 15,655; in 1800, 19,638; 1810, 23,173; 1820, 31,892; 1830, 35,037; 1840, 37,793—at present 40,000. Aggregate amount of property taxable in 1844, was \$11,600,143 00.

The first court was held September 15, 1784, before Humphrey Fullerton, Esq., Thomas Johnston, Esq., and James Finley, Esq.—Ed. Crawford, clerk.

December 2, 1784, the second court, was held before William McDowell, Esq., Humphrey Fullerton, Esq., and James Finley, Esq. Jer-

emiah Talbot, sheriff. The Grand Jury was James Poe, Henry Pawling, William Allison, Wm. McDowell, Robert Wilkins, John McConnell, John McCarny, John Ray, John Jack, jr., John Dickson, D. McClintick, Joseph Chambers and Joseph Long.

The county belongs to the great central transition formation, and the greater part consists of an extensive valley of fertile land, well cultivated and highly improved, amply repaying the husbandman for the labor bestowed upon it.

The eastern portion of the county; especially parts of South Hampton, Green, Guilford, Quincy and Washington townships, are hilly, bordering on the South mountain, the elevation of which, above the middle of the valley, is from 600 to 900 feet.

The north and northwestern townships are mountainous. The Tuscarora mountain forms the boundary between Bedford, Huntingdon and Juniata counties. In Fannet township are several prominent hills, besides the Kittatinny mountain; such as the Round Top, near Concord; the Dividing mountain; Clark's knob. Metal township lies between the Tuscarora mountain and the Kittatinny. Jordan's knob and Parnell's knob, about two miles south of Loudon, which is said to be nearly 1200 feet high, are both in Peters' township. Cove mountain separates Warren and Montgomery townships. In the south and western part of the latter township, are two prominences, called Clay Lick and Two Top Mountains.

In the mountainous and hilly portions are several villages, such as Burns' valley, between the Round Top and Dividing Mountain; Path valley, partly in Fannet and partly in Metal township, is bounded northwest by the Tuscarora mountain, which is about 1700 feet above the middle of the valley, and southeast by the Dividing mountain, which separates it from Amberson's, which lies between the Kittatinny and Dividing mountain. In Amberson's valley is a noted Sulphur Spring. Horse valley extends from St. Thomas township into Letterkenny.

The geological features are briefly stated in the following extract— "The irregular chain of hills, called the South mountain, consists, in this county, almost entirely of the hard white sandstone, which lies next above the primary rocks. In the valley westward of this is the great limestone formation, extending throughout the whole length of this valley, from Easton on the Delaware line. In this county, as elsewhere, interposed beds of differently colored slates are found in limestone, and sometimes also sandstones are met with in a like position. Along the eastern side of the limestone range, and its junction with the mountain sandstone, are valuable and extensive beds of iron ore, which supply the furnaces in operation in that region. Ore is also found at many places in the valley, most of which of that variety called *pipe ore*, is of superior quality.

The soil of the south mountain is sandy and sterile, and not favorable to the culture of grass or grain. It is a wild and desert region, covered with forests which yield fuel for iron works on its borders, and offers but little attraction to any except the woodcutter and the hunter. But on reaching the great limestone valley, on the west of these hills, a most striking contrast is presented. A soil of almost unsurpassed fertility, highly cultivated farms, neat and even elegant buildings, an industrious, intelligent, and happy population, gladden

the eye of the traveller as he passes through this beautiful, favored region.

On the northwest and west of the limestone formation next above it in geological position, the line of junction passing from a little northward of Shippensburg, southwestward by Chambersburg and Greencastle, to the Maryland line. In the southwestern part of the county, however, in the neighborhood of Mercersburg, owing to the disturbance consequent upon the elevation of the mountain chains, we find the limestone again appearing in belts which stretch across east of the Cove mountain, between Parnell's and Jordan's knobs on the north, and Two Top and Clay Lick mountains in the south.

The mountain ranges in the north and west of the county, are composed of the gray and reddish sandstones which belong to the formation next in order above the dark slate last mentioned, and which is found in most of the valleys at their base.

In Horse valley, however, there is a *synclinal axis*, where the mountain sandstone, dipping from both sides towards the centre of the valley, is overlaid by the red shale, next above in position. So in the Little Cove in the southwest corner of the county, we have the same red shale, together with the overlying limestone and the olive slate. A furnace has been erected in this secluded valley, which is supplied with ore from its immediate vicinity."

Franklin county, lying between the North and South mountain, is characterized for its diversity of aspect and soil. The greater proportion of it is limestone. It abounds in the following townships, viz: Antrim, Guilford, Montgomery, Washington, Quincy, also to some extent in Greene and Metal, &c. According to the agricultural statistics of 1838, there were limestone cleared, 101,020 acres; limestone uncleared 31,140; slate land cleared 72,640; slate land uncleared 40,840; gravel land cleared 19,560; gravel land uncleared 13,930; sand land uncleared 12,670; mountain or rock 98,250; known to contain iron ore 1,530.

The whole quantity of cleared land of all kinds 204,720 acres; the whole of uncleared land, but fit for cultivation, 67,010 acres; unfit for cultivation and not cleared 86,870 acres. A greater proportion of all the cleared land is in a high state of cultivation, and principally by the owners of lands themselves. The farms are of different sizes, from one to three hundred acres.

The average value, per acre, of cleared land is \$35; of uncleared land \$30; though some of the best improved farms would sell for \$100 per acre. The average value per acre, of woodland, unfit for cultivation, is \$4 and \$5. The whole of the cleared land was valued in 1838 at \$6,656,430; of all the uncleared land \$1,898,130. The whole number of farms two thousand and sixty-four.

According to the census of 1840 there were 8 furnaces in this county, which produced 3,810 tons of cast iron; 11 forges, bloomeries and rolling mills, produced 1,125 tons of bar iron; the furnaces and forges consumed 8,552 tons of fuel, and afforded employment, including mining operations, to 518 hands; employing a capital of \$258,500.

Silk.—Sixty-four pounds of reeled silk, valued at \$115; a capital invested of \$1100. Tobacco.—Value of manufactured articles \$6,200; employed seventeen hands, with a capital of \$3000. Hats, caps, bonnets, &c.—Value of hats and caps manufactured \$20,300; value of

bonnets \$500; giving employ to 35 persons; capital invested \$9,900.

There were 37 tanneries; tanned eighteen thousand and seventy sides of sole leather; eight thousand and seventy sides of upper; employed 94 men; capital invested \$90,000. All other manufactories of leather, saddleries, &c., 21; value of manufactured articles \$50,200; capital invested \$8,300. Soap and Candles.—Number pounds of soap 28,642; tallow candles 39,334 pounds; employed 2 men; with a capital of \$3000. Distilleries 40; which produced 522,000 52 gallons of spirituous liquors; one brewery which produced 13000 gallons of beer; the distilleries and the brewery employed 75 hands; capital \$73,500.

There were 5 potteries; the value of manufactured articles amounted to \$4,200; employed 5 men; with a capital of \$1,540. Retail dry goods, grocery, and other stores 111; with an aggregate capital of \$524,400; employed 191 men. Bricks and lime manufactured to the value of \$7,860; employed 17 hands. Seven fulling mills; 9 woollen manufactories; value of manufactured goods \$6,950; employed 41 persons; capital invested \$2,150. One paper manufactory; value of all other manufactures of paper \$15,000; employed 38 hands; capital invested \$105,000. Four printing offices; three binderies; 4 weekly and 1 semi-monthly newspaper; employed 24 hands; capital \$8,800. One ropewalk; value of produce \$3000; employed 6 men; capital \$1500. Carriages and wagons; value of manufactures \$23,700; employed 60 men; capital invested \$11,500. Flouring mills, 33; barrels of flour manufactured 63,943; 64 grist mills; 119 saw mills; 7 oil mills; value of manufacture \$18,192; employed 144 men; capital \$109,020.

Furniture manufactured to the value of \$5,000; employed 23 hands; capital invested \$2,300. Brick and stone houses built 119; wooden houses 89; employed 58 men; value of constructing the buildings \$20,950. Value of all other manufactured articles not above enumerated \$400; capital invested \$600. Total capital invested in manufactures \$436,610.

MALES:

PENALTES

Col. no.

CENSUS of 1840 of FRANKLIN CO., PA.		TOWNSHIPS.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
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A SYNOPSIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1840, OF EACH TOWNSHIP.

CENSUS OF 1840 OF FRANKLIN COUNTY. TOWNSHIPS, ETC.	FURNACES.													
	Forges, rol. mills.	Flouring mills.	Grist mills.	Saw mills.	Oil mills.	Tanneries.	Distilleries.	Horses & Mules	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Bushels of Wheat.	Bushels of Rye.	Indian corn.
Andam & G'n'castle,	0	0	2	9	8	1	3	31364	13315	3317	7555	91756	16181	118131
Chambersburg,	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	83	76	10	174	675	150
Fannel,	0	1	0	6	8	2	2	615	2063	2629	2711	23339	18718	32012
Green,	1	1	9	2	19	0	1	2	825	1763	2019	3315	46303	11792
Gaullford,	0	0	1	6	3	0	0	1	1031	2548	2668	4893	84758	16792
Hamilton,	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	474	1086	1255	1911	17859	9146
Letterkeny,	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	617	1824	1886	2136	21630	16774
Lurgan,	0	1	0	5	6	2	3	0	354	930	1192	1380	11571	9251
Metel,	1	1	0	8	11	0	4	5	532	1632	1635	2421	26176	14915
Mont'y & Merc'burg,	0	0	3	6	14	0	4	10	1277	3032	3258	6476	78802	10901
Peters,	1	3	3	1	6	1	4	3	673	1579	2235	3102	43859	7956
Quincy,	1	3	6	2	8	0	2	3	657	1483	1428	3240	47865	13835
St. Thomas,	1	0	0	5	7	1	2	2	653	1814	2273	2500	40570	40416
Southampton,	2	0	1	7	7	0	1	1	526	1492	1490	2873	38008	12609
Warren,	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	228	680	698	1089	8452	2925
Wash. & Wana'sboro'	0	0	6	1	14	0	3	7	1038	2349	1716	7981	75282	13990
									67735	46310				
									278	13305	3392	6794		
									522	45	00			
									8867	1801	5375			
									7703	1810	2752			
									00	297	1800	2972	5781	4384
									513	1175	6008	1351	2266	2484
									206	2400	9101	2331	2666	3310
									00	1448	4062	1284	1921	1599
									00	3021	6906	1499	3086	3805
									64	571	12388	2800	7230	3865
									00	945	7790	1893	4641	2871
									00	23	4488	1643	2912	2832
									240	620	6843	2095	4665	2905
									250	407	6745	1341	2843	2615
									00	688	3653	431	1556	886
									56	269	9174	1952	3864	3416



Streams.—In *Fannet township*, rises a branch of the *Tuscarora*, runs in a northern direction by *Concord*, and steals its way through the *Tuscarora* mountain and unites with the main branch of the *Tuscarora* creek. *Amberson's run* rises in the same township, and flows south-westwardly through the whole extent of the township and empties into the *West Branch* of the *Conococheague* creek, the latter of which flows south of *Tuscarora* mountain, through *Metal*, *Peters* and *Montgomery* townships, and unites, about three miles on this side of the *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland* line, with the *East Branch* of the *Conococheague*, receiving in its course numerous small tributaries, principally on the north, such as *Dickey's run*, *Licking creek*, *Welsh run* and a few others; and affords water power for some fifteen or more grist mills, some saw mills, several forges and a furnace.

The head waters of the *Conodoguinet* rise in *Fannet*, *Lurgan* and *Letterkenny* townships; one of these streams rises in *Horse Valley*, the other between the *Blue mountain* and *Kittatinny*, and unite a few miles north west of *Roxbury*, and in their onward course in *Franklin* county from the dividing line between *Lurgan*, *Letterkenny* and *Southampton* townships; receiving several small tributaries, such as *Read's run*, *Boyd's run*, *Spring run* and others.

The *East Branch* of the *Conococheague* rises in *Adams* county, flows through *Green* township, through the borough of *Chambersburg*; and its southern course forms the dividing line between *Hamilton*, *Gaifford*, *St. Thomas*, *Antrim* and *Montgomery* townships; in its course receives many tributaries, such as *Falling Spring* at *Chambersburg*, *Back creek*, a considerable stream; *Brown's run*; the *West Branch* of the *Conococheague*, and then wends its way through *Maryland* and falls into the *Potomac* river at *Williamsport*.

Back creek, a tributary of the above, rises in *Hamilton* township, receiving *Rocky Spring*, *Dickson's run*, *Campbell's run* and a few smaller ones in its course, and unites with the *East Branch* of the *Conococheague* creek at the south west corner of *St. Thomas* township.

The *Anticturn* creek, consists of two main branches, both rising in *Quincy* township, flowing in a southern direction and uniting near the *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland* line. The *Anticturn* with its several tributaries, affords water power for some fifteen mills, and several forges and furnaces within *Franklin* county.

Licking creek, which rises in *Bedford* county, flows through *Warren* township and receives *Cove run*, a little stream that runs the whole length of this township along the south base of the *Tuscarora* mountain.

Marsh run, which runs southward, separating *Washington* from *Antrim* township.

These streams afford an abundant water power to numerous mills, viz: to 33 flouring mills, 64 grist mills, 120 saw mills, 7 oil mills, 7 fulling mills, 9 woollen factories, clover mills, paper mills, &c.

Natural Curiosities.—A Cave in *Peters* township was discovered in 1832, and is graphically described by a writer in the *Christian Advocate*. "A few days ago, Mr. Reese, of *Peters* township, *Franklin* co., living on the base of the *North mountain*, was about digging for water: and as there is a very large spring issuing out of the rocks, at the foot of a hill of considerable height, and a kind of sink hole some distance above the spring, he thought he could probably come on the stream—

accordingly he commenced digging in the sink hole, and had proceeded but a few feet, when he could plainly hear the water running, seemingly with great rapidity; and at the distance of about twenty feet from the surface, came to the water, at the lower extremity of a fissure in the rock, which immediately expands into a large and beautiful cavern, the entrance of which is partially obstructed by loose rocks, which after advancing a little distance, entirely disappear, and instead of loose rubbish, solid rocks appear with spar of different colors. In every direction are to be seen the most beautiful icicles—*stalactites*—suspended from its noble, and in some places, majestic ceiling. Concretions without number, and of almost every color, size and dimension, are seen pointing downward from the ceiling, and inward from the sloping walls—some white, some red, some brown, some green, and others as transparent as glass, and all solid as marble. They threaten the curious adventurer with being torn to pieces by their craggy points, if he attempts penetrating any further into it; and indeed, in some places he is obliged to proceed in a stooping position, in order to avoid them. In proceeding up this subterranean passage, you are obliged to walk in the run nearly all the way.

The run is in some places dry, at the present season of the year.—Yet it is evident from the bed of the run and other visible marks of the water, that in some parts of the year the water must flow through the different channels in large quantities. Even at this time, there is a great deal running through it, but mostly through channels alongside the principal one, as is evident from the great noise it makes, in falling over the craggy rocks which impede its progress.

There are in the principal channel several falls, which might very properly be denominated cataracts (*cascades*)—the extent of the cave is as yet unknown, as it has been but partially explored; the greatest distance any person has been up it, is about eight hundred feet, at which distance there was no appearance of its termination. In ascending the cave, the eye is most agreeably struck with its grandeur; at every step new wonders present themselves—here is the spar found in trees, shrubs, &c. which makes it have the appearance of a petrified grove—in some places the spar is formed into the likeness of men, birds, beasts, &c., &c., and in one place, raised on a pedestal, is a striking resemblance of a half unfurled flag. Besides this, there are hundreds of other likenesses, which I shall not attempt a description of. When we first saw them, we were only surprised at their diversity and beauty, but on a more minute examination, we were struck with amazement."

Remains of a Mammoth.—In August 1829 the remains of a mammoth were discovered in Path Valley, by Gen. Samuel Dunn. In widening his mill race a tooth of about seven feet in length and fourteen inches in diameter at the root about which a portion of the jaw bone was found. The tusk weighed seventy pounds. Other bones were discovered at the same time; but they crumbled to pieces on exposure to the air. The enamel of the tusk was firm—the inner part was softened, but retained a beautiful whiteness.

Public Improvements.—The Cumberland Valley railroad, noticed before, extends from Harrisburg to Chambersburg, where it connects with the Franklin railroad, extending from Chambersburg to Hagerstown in Maryland.

Turnpikes.—The main turnpike road, by the southern route to Pittsburg, passes through this county by way of Shippensburg, Chambersburg, St. Thomas and Loudon, thence onward to Pittsburg. A vast amount of travelling has been done since the road has been made and is still doing.

The following *note** taken from the Franklin Repository, being an abstract of an account kept by Henry R. F. Mollwitz, keeper of the North mountain turnpike gate, leading from Loudon to McConnellstown, for the years 1830 and 1834, exhibits at one view the amount of travelling, &c., on the turnpike during those years. It might be added that thousands of travellers pass over this turnpike on foot and in stages.

The main turnpike road is intersected by the turnpike from Baltimore by way of Gettysburg. In the south and south western part of the county another turnpike road passes through the county, which branches from the Pittsburg, near McConnellstown, in Bedford county, passes south eastward through Mercersburg, by Upton, Greencastle and Waynesboro' to Emmetsburg in Maryland and thence to Baltimore.

Common roads are numerous and kept in good condition, except in the more mountainous or rough parts of the county, when the roads and the country partake of one common quality. A few bridges, besides those already erected, are much wanted.

Names of Taxables of 1751.—Lurgan township, which has since been divided and subdivided: Alexander Culbertson Alexander Walker Archibald Machan Arthur Miller Alvard Terrence Abraham Wier Andrew Murphey Andrew Neal Andrew Baird jr Alexander Mitchel Archibald Campbell Andrew Finley Alexander McNutt Benjamin Allworth Charles McGlea Christian Irwin Charles Stewart David Watson David Heron David Paxon Dennis Cotter David Johnson David McCright Francis Heron Francis Brain Gustavus Henderson Geo Mitchel Gavin Mitchel Geo Ginley Geo Pumroy Humphrey Montgomery Hugh Wier Henry Machan Joseph Culbertson John Finley sen John Kirkpatrick John Kirkpatrick jr Joseph Thomson John Jones John Weyley John Finley esq John Miller esq James McCamont James Breckenridge John Kerr John Erwin James Norrice John McKeane John McCall James McCall John Lowrie James Henderson John McCrea John McKee John Cesna James Callwell John Wier John Crawford John Johnson John Cumins John Mitchel John Boyd James Patterson James Boall John Rippie James Mitchel John Mitchel jr John Leckey Jacob Donelson John McCrea John Waid James Tait John Finleysawyer Josiah Ramage James Kirkpatrick John Machon James Boyd John Wilson John Gaston John Kenedy John Evans Joshua Henderson James Culbertson Joseph McKibben James Reed sen Isaac Grier John McNaught James Henry John Graham James Ortan James Reed jr

* During the year	1830	1834		1830	1834
Broad wheeled wagons	6641	6359	Riding horses	3116	2817
Narrow wheeled "	495	374	Draft horses	39824	42380
Single horse "	761	1243	Heads of cattle,	5834	6457
Carriages	138	107	Sheep	2180	2852
Two horse wagons	318	779	Hogs	1180	40
Gigs	18	00	Corts	18	00

James Reed John McCappin James Sharp James Finley James Lawder James Allison John Montgomery John McCombs Laird Burns Mahan McCombs Mat McCreary Nathaniel Wilson Nathaniel Cellar Oliver Culbertson Oliver Wallace Robert Kerr Robert McConnell Robert Gabie Robert Boyd Robert Long Robert Scott Robert Urie Robert Miller Robert Finley Ranald Slack Robert Machan Samuel Culbertson Samuel Cochran Samuel Rippie Samuel Buckenstos Samuel Jordan Samuel Laird Steven Collwell Thomas Jack Thomas Urie Thomas McComb Thomas Neal Thomas Grier Thomas Minor Thomas Alexander William Kerr William Erwin William Young William McConnell William Barr William Reed William Linn William Linn jr Wm Cox William Greenlee William Turner William Devanner William Mitchel William Breckenridge William McNutt William Jack Wm Withrow William McCall William Baird turner Wm Baird at Rockspring William Woods William Cochran William Chambers William Walker William Guthrie Robert Reed cordwainer Nathaniel Johnson David Linn John Grier Mr Reily at Mr Hoops David Carson John Kennedy Charles Murray John Hawthorn John Burns Joseph Mitchel Arthur Graham—*Freemen*: Geo McKee James Hawthorn George Ross William Milrea Morgan Linch Charles Moor John Tait.

Andrim, 1751.—Samuel Smith Joseph Walter Jas. Jonston Wm. Allison Wm McGaw Sam. McFaran John Reynolds Wm. Grimes John Mitchel Thomas Brown John Scott Robt. Southerland Wm. McAlmoy Wm. Mearns John Smith Wm. McClean Geo. Martin Wid. Leeper Jacob Bately Peter Leeper Wm. Erwin John Mouk James Scott Jas. Ramsey John Moorhead John Chambers Jacob Piskacker Kath. Leatherman Edward Nichols Paulus Harick Dietrich Lauw Nicholas Gulp James Lilou David Scott John McMath Thomas Patterson George Cassil John Pritchett Wm. Dunbar Thomas Poa Wm. McBriar David McBriar Thos. Nisbet Wid. Adams Jas. McBride Josh. McFaran David McClellan John Gyles Henry Pauling Abraham Gabriel John Staret David Kennedy John Willocks Wm. Clark Wm. Cross Henry Stall Peter Johnston Thomas Long James McClanahan John Roal Joshua Coal Thos. Davis Josh. Crunkleton jr. Robt. Harkness Wm. Hall Hugh McClellan Lorence Galocher Wm. Rankin John Potter Wm. Ramsey Nath. Harkness Josh. Alexander Patrick McIntire John Roass Arch'd McClean Jas. Paile John Davies Peter Craul Henry Dutch Henry Kersort Mathias Ringer Kath. Thomson Jacob Snider Wm. Shaoun Thos. Grogan George Gordon Samuel Monagh Jacob Snively John Crunkleton Anthony Thomson Wm. McClellan John Moor John McCoon Jos. Roddey John McDowell Alex. Miller Jas. Ker Christian Hicks John Stoaner Wm. Brotherton Robt. Erwin David Duncan James Jack Moses Thomson James McKee Robt. Hamilton Wm. Patrick James Finley Pat. McClarin Jas. Pattro John Wallace Adam Hoops. *Freemen*: Jacob Gabriel Hugh Galocher E. Alexander W. Campbell Alex. Cook, James Ross Adam Murray Jas. Young Hugh McKee Daniel McCoy Daniel McCowan Chas. White Wm. McGaughy Jas. McGowan John Snively Joseph Morgan.

Peters' township, 1751.—Daniel Alexander Andrew Alexander Wil'm Armstrong Hex. Alexander Adam Armstrong Arthur Alexander John Baird James Blair Alexander Brown Thomas Barr Ann Black, widow Thomas Boal Samuel Brown William Barnett Joshua Bradner John Black John Baird Jas. Black widow Brown Robert Barnet David Bow-

el John Blair George Brown Hugh Kerrell Wm. Clark Robert Clogage William Campbel Michael Carsell Samuel Chapman Thomas Calhoun Michael Campbell Robert Crawford Patrick Clark Wm. Campbell Robert Culbertson Charles Campbel Thomas Clark John Dickey James Dickey widow Donelson Wm. Cunwoody John Docherty Samael Davis David Davis James Davis widow Davis Philip Davis Joseph Dunlop Arthur Donelson David Davis Nath. Davis Josh. Davis Thomas Davis Joshua Edwards John Erwin Mathew Erwin James Erwin widow Farier John Flanaghin James Flanaghin Moses Fisher James Galbreath John Gillmore widow Garison Samuel Gilesie James Galaway Josh. Hariss John Hariss Jeremiah Hariss Charles Hariss widow Huston James Holland John Huston John Hamilton Joseph How John Holyday William Holyday Wm. Hanbey David Huston John Hill James Holiday Alexander Hutchison Messech James Wm. Lowrie Henry Larkan Wm. Maxwell James Mitchell James Sloan John Morlan John Martin James Mercer John Mercer Wm. Marshall Wm. Moor widow McFarland Andrew Morison John McDowell Alexander McKee Robt. McClellan Wm. McDowell jr. Wm. McClellan John McClellan Andw. Moor Wm. McDowell James McConnell Robert McCoy Wm. McIlhailon Jas. McMahon James Murphy Wm. Morrison James McClellan Robt. Newell Victor Neeley James Orr Thos. Orbison Thomas Owins Nathan Orr Matthew Patton John Patton Francis Patterson Dav. Rees James Rankin Alex. Robertson Wm. Semple Richard Stevens Andrew Simpson Wm. Shanon Hugh Shanon Wid. Scott Alex. Staret Collin Spence John Taylor Jas. Wright Wm. Wilson John Wilson John Winton James Wilkey James Wilson Math. Wallace Moses White John Waason Joseph Williams John Woods Joseph White Thos. Waddel. *Freemen*: Samuel Templeton Wm. Taylor James Wilson Jas. Wallace And. Willabee Oliver Wallace Robert Anderson Gayin Cloggage Robt Banefield David Alexander James Coyle James Brown Alex. McConnell James Carswell James Blair Alex. Hutchison Ed. Horkan William Queen John Laird David Wallace.

Guilford township 1751.—Henry Thomson Charles McGill George Cook James Jack Patrick Jack Wm Adams John Henderson Solomon Patterson Wm McKinney Nathaniel Simpson James Lindsay John Mushet Benjamin Gass Benjamin Chambers John Anderson *Frederick Craft* Peter Coaset John O'Cain John Noble Wm Newjant John Lindsay James Crawford Edward Crawford Marjant Duff Thomas Baird Robert Patrick John Forsyth—*Freemen*: Robert Uart Henry Black Archibald Duglass Alexander McAlister.

Hamilton township 1752.—Joseph Armstrong John Eaton Wm McCord Josh Eaton James Eaton Samuel McCarnish Thomas Patterson John Campbell Josh Barnet Jas Barnet Thos Barnet jr James Denny Jas Hamilton Patrick Knox Samuel Moorhead John Swan Geo Reynolds Jas Boyd Robt Donelson Thos Barnet Widow Swan Robt Eliot Johnston Eliot John Hindman Wm Rankin And Brattan Adam Carson Aaron Watson Josh Blain John Dixon Math Dixon Arthur John Thorn Edward Johnston Wm Boal Joshua Pepper Robert Barnet Alexander Hamilton Wm Eckery John Galaway—*Freemen*: Josh McCamish Dennis Kease.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FALLING SPRINGS, CHAMBERSBURG, MERCERSBURG, &c.

Falling Spring settlement commenced by Benjamin Chambers—Chambers' mill—Fort at Falling Springs—Young's letter—Chambersburg—Synopsis of census of 1840—Freshet at Cumberland 1831—Early incidents, &c., by Geo. Chambers—Mercersburg—History of Theological Seminary and College—Incidents, &c. &c.

Falling Spring, is the name by which the first settlement in the west-part of Lancaster county, was known for many years. As early as 1730, Benjamin and Joseph Chambers, two brothers, visited a spot at the confluence of Falling Spring and Conococheague creeks. Benjamin, a younger of several brothers, settled permanently at the Springs, erected a house, which was, while he had been absent on a visit, reduced to ashes, "for the sake of the nails," by being set on fire by some unprincipled hunter—an act which the Indians at that time, though still numerous, would not have been guilty of; for with them Mr. Chambers was on terms of intimacy.

Mr. Chambers had not been here long before he erected a mill to meet the wants of the times.

When the Indians had become troublesome, after Gen. Braddock's defeat, Mr. Chambers erected a private Fort, garrisoned it with a few men, provided with some cannons. Which on one occasion, he refused to deliver to Col. Armstrong, who speaks in consequence of the refusal, in unkind terms of him in a letter to the Governor.

It appears from a number of letters in the State archives, which I have examined, that Mr. Chambers was a ready writer. He was frequently called on to write; and he never failed to express himself freely. (See his letters p. 90, &c.)

Mr. James Young, in a letter to Gov. Denny makes mention of Chambers' private fort.

Harris' Ferry October 17, 1756.

* * In our journey to Fort Littleton, we stopped at Mr. Chambers' mill, ten miles beyond Shippensburg, towards McDowell's, where he has a good private Fort and on an exceeding good situation to be made very defenceable, but what I think of great consequence to the government, is, that in said fort are two four pound cannon mounted, and nobody but a few country people to defend it. If the enemy should take that fort they would naturally bring those cannon against Shippensburg and Carlisle, I therefore would presume to recommend it to your Honor, either to have the cannon taken from thence or a proper garrison stationed there. Pardon this liberty from —

CHAMBERSBURG, post town, borough and seat of justice of Franklin county, at the junction of Falling Spring and Conococheague creeks,

situated in north latitude 39 deg. 57 min., 137 miles west of Philadelphia; 77 north west of Baltimore, 92 from Washington city, 49 south west of Harrisburg, population 1820, 2300; 1830, 2794; 1840, 3239—within the borough at present about 3600. It is one of the most pleasant inland towns in Pennsylvania—it is in a prosperous and flourishing condition—in the midst of a healthy, fertile, highly cultivated country. It was laid out in 1764, by Benjamin Chambers.

Synopsis of the Census of 1840.—White males, under 5, 230; 5 and under 10, 169; 10 and under 15, 131; 15 and under 20, 145; 20 and under 25, 315; 25 and under 30, 188; 30 and under 40, 107; 40 and under 50, 59; 50 and under 60, 35; 60 and under 70, 18; 70 and under 80, 18; 80 and under 90, 4.

White females, under 5, 267; 5 and under 10, 187; 10 and under 15, 164; 15 and under 20, 182; 20 and under 30, 336; 30 and under 40, 198; 40 and under 50, 116; 50 and under 60, 67; 60 and under 70, 37; 70 and under 80, 18; 80 and under 90, 8.

Colored males, under 10, 23; 10 and under 24, 28; 24 and under 36, 26; 36 and under 55, 20; 55 and under 100, 9.

Colored females under 10, 26; 10 and under 24, 58; 24 and under 36, 41; 36 and under 55, 24; 55 and under 100, 12; 100 and upwards, 1.

Of the above population 3 were engaged in agriculture, 434 in manufactures and trades, one in the navigation of the ocean, 36 in the learned professions and engineers, one pensioner, 2 insane and idiots at private charge, 4 academies and grammar schools, 120 scholars. In 1844 there were in operation 11 public schools, open 7½ months, 5 male and 8 female teachers, 305 male and 316 female scholars; 58 of whom were learning German. The district tax raised \$1088.86; State appropriation \$988.00; cost of instruction \$1,713.33; fuel and contingencies. Several Female Seminaries are in successful operation.

The public buildings are a splendid court house erected in 1843, at a cost of \$44,545.00, built of bricks, with an Ionic colonade in front, surmounted by a beautiful cupola, with a statue of Benjamin Franklin to crown it; a substantially built jail, a large brick structure erected at a cost of \$30,000; a banking house, a market house, a spacious academy, ten churches, viz: Associate Reformed, Presbyterian, German Reformed, two Lutheran, (one of which was originally built by the German Reformed) Methodist Episcopal, Catholic, United Brethren, and two African churches; there are four newspapers published here, viz: The Weekly Messenger, edited by the Rev. R. S. Fisher; The Zeit-Schrift (semi-monthly) edited by Rev. B. S. Schneck; The Repository & Whig, edited by Joseph Prius, Esq., and The Chambersburg Times, edited by F. G. May, Esq. These papers are all conducted with more than ordinary ability. There are a number of well kept hotels and houses of entertainment kept here.

The water power here is unsurpassed; east of the Alleghany, Falling Spring and the Conococheague afford an abundance of water power, and drive 2 flouring mills, 2 fulling mills, a straw paper mill, a cotton and woollen manufactory, oil mill, carding machines, and the machinery of the most celebrated edge tool factory in the State. It is estimated that the water power in, and within 5 miles of Chambersburg, is equal to the propelling 100 pair of mill stones. In times of excessive freshets these streams become flush, and transcend their usual bounds. This was the case in the summer of 1831, when the damage done by the mighty rush of these waters was estimated at forty thousand dollars.

The following, written in 1832, by the Hon. George Chambers, contains many interesting incidents touching the early settlements of Falling Springs and Conococheague—

“James, Robert, Joseph and Benjamin Chambers, 4 brothers, emigrated from the county of Antrim, in Ireland, to the province of Pennsylvania, between the years 1726 and 1730. They settled and built a mill shortly after, at the mouth of Fishing creek, now in Dauphin co., on the Susquehanna, and appropriated a tract of very fine land at that place, which was lately owned and occupied by Archibald McAlister; though the land office of Pa. was not open for the sale of lands west of the Susquehanna, as they were not purchased of the Indians till Oct. 1736, yet the proprietary offices and agents were disposed to encourage settlements west of that river with the consent of the Indians, who were conciliated by the settlers. These settlements were incited and recognised, though without official grants, in order to resist the encroachments of the Marylanders, on what was considered part of the province of Pa. This policy, and the fine country forming that part of the Kittatinny valley extending from the Susquehanna, at the mouth of Conodoguinet, along the waters of the beautiful Conococheague to the Potomac, induced men of enterprise to seek and locate desirable situations for water works and farms, in the valleys of those two streams and of Yellow Breeches creek. These adventurous brothers were among the first to explore and settle in this valley. James made a settlement at the head of Green Spring, near Newville, Cumberland; Robert at the head of Middle Spring, near Shippensburg; and Joseph and Benjamin at the confluence of Falling Spring and Conococheague creeks, where Chambersburg is situated. These settlements and locations were made about or before 1730. By an arrangement among the brothers, Joseph returned to their property at the mouth of Fishing creek, and Benjamin, the younger brother, improved his settlement at the Falling Spring. He built a hewed log house, which he covered with lapped shingles, fastened by nails, a style of building out of the common mode of round logs and clapboard roofs secured by beams. Some time after, Benjamin being induced to visit the east side of the Susquehanna, left his house unoccupied for a short time, and on his return, he found it burned to ashes. This was afterwards ascertained to be the work of an unprincipled hunter, who was induced to do it for the sake of the ~~nails~~, which at that day, in this wild region, were esteemed no ordinary prize.

“Benjamin prosecuted anew his improvements, building houses, clearing lands, and soon after the commission from the proprietary government to Samuel Blunston, allowing licences for the settlement of lands west of the Susquehanna, on 30th March, 1734, Benjamin obtained from Blunston a license authorizing and securing his settlement by a grant of four hundred acres of land at the Falling Spring's mouth on both sides of the Conococheague, for the convenience of a grist mill and plantation, then Lancaster county. Having acquired the art and business of a millwright, he built himself, immediately, a saw mill at the mouth of Falling Spring. This was an important improvement to himself and others disposed to settle in the surrounding wilderness. In a few years, he erected a flouring mill; an accommodation which contributed much to the comfort of the early settlers, and had considerable influence in inducing settlements in the vicinity.

"Benjamin Chambers was about 21 years of age when he made his settlement on the Falling Spring. He had, when living east of the Susquehanna, been attracted to the spot by a description he received from a hunter, who had observed the fine waterfall in one of his excursions through the valley. He was the first white settler in what is now Franklin county. From his acquaintance with the business of a millwright, and the use and value of water power, his attention was directed to advantageous situations for water-works. He married shortly after his settlement a Miss Patterson,* residing near Lancaster, who was the mother of his eldest son, James.

"He maintained a friendly intercourse with the Indians in his vicinity, who were attached to him; with them he traded, and had so much of their confidence and respect that they did not injure or offer to molest him. On one occasion, being engaged in haymaking in his meadow below Chambersburg, where the foundry and brick-yards now are, he observed some Indians secretly stalking in the thickets around the meadow. Suspecting some mischievous design, he gave them a severe chase, in the night, with some dogs, across the creek and through the woods, to the great alarm of the Indians, who afterwards acknowledged they had gone to the meadow for the purpose of taking from Benjamin his watch, and carrying off a negro woman whom he owned; and who, they thought, would be useful to raise corn for them: but they declared that they would not have hurt the colonel.

"He used his influence with his acquaintances to settle in his neighborhood, directing their attention to desirable and advantageous situations for farms. His first wife lived but a few years. Some time afterwards he married a Miss Williams, the daughter of a Welsh clergyman, residing in Virginia. She was born in Wales, and brought over to this country when very young. By her he had 7 children, viz: Ruhannah, married to Dr. Colhoun—William, Benjamin—Jane, married to Adam Ross—Joseph, George—and Hetty, married to Wm. M. Brown, Esq. Col. Benjamin Chambers was commissioned a justice of the peace, and also a colonel of the militia under the royal government at an early period. As an arbitrator he settled many controversies between his neighbors, and from his reputation for judgment and integrity, he was appealed to for direction and advice by the early settlers. He gratuitously prescribed and administered medicine to many, and as there was no regular physician in the neighborhood, it is said he was called upon to bleed and extract teeth for the relief of his acquaintances.

"During the controversy between Lord Baltimore and the Penns, relating to the boundary between the provinces, Benjamin Chambers, who will hereafter be designated as Col. Chambers, was prevailed on to visit England to assist by his knowledge and testimony in terminating this controversy, which was embarrassing and protracting the settlement of these provinces.

"From England he visited Ireland, his native soil, and prevailed on a number of acquaintances to accompany him, with their families, and settle in his neighborhood, having afforded them assistance. As the western Indians, after Braddock's defeat, in 1755, became troublesome, and made incursions east of the mountains, killing and making

prisoners of many of the white inhabitants, Col. Chambers, for the security of his family and his neighbors, erected, where the borough of Chambersburg now is, a large stone dwelling-house, surrounded by the water from Falling Spring, and situated where the large straw paper-mill now is. The dwelling house, for greater security against the attempts of the Indians to fire it, was roofed with lead. The dwellings and the mills were surrounded by a stocade fort. This fort, with the aid of fire-arms, a blunderbuss and swivel, was so formidable to the Indian parties who passed the country, that it was seldom assailed, and no one sheltered by it was killed or wounded; although in the country around, at different times, those who ventured out on their farms, were surprised and either slaughtered or carried off prisoners, with all the horrors and aggravations of savage warfare.

"A man by the name of McKinney, who had sought shelter with his family in the fort about 1756, ventured out in company with his son to visit his dwelling and plantation, where the Hollowell paper-mill is, on the creek below Chambersburg. They were discovered, however, by the Indians, and both killed and scalped, and their dead bodies brought to the fort and buried. Col. Chambers was active in organizing the militia, and was of much assistance to Gen. Forbes in 1758, in giving him information and aiding him in the opening of a road, as well as affording him supplies in his march through the valley, and across the mountains, in his campaign. His saw and flour mills were of such accommodation and notoriety in the Conococheague settlement, that they were long known and spoken of for a great distance around as *the mills*. The first flour-mill, built in part with logs, was burned, and a stone mill was afterwards erected by the colonel, part of the walls of which are incorporated in those of the fulling-mill and cotton factory of Thomas Chambers.

"In 1764, Col. Chambers laid out the town of Chambersburg adjoining his mills. The intercourse with the western country being at that time very limited, and most of the trade and travel along the valley to the south, he was induced to lay his lots in that direction, and the town did not extend beyond the creek to the west. Some of the old trees of his orchard are still standing (1832) on the west of the creek, on the grounds of Joseph Chambers and Mr. King's heirs. The increasing trade with the western country, after the revolution, produced an extension of the town on the west side of the creek, which was located by Capt. Chambers, son of the colonel, about 1791. The first stone house erected in the town is still standing at the corner, built by J. Jack, about 1770, and now owned by L. Denig, Esq. The first courts holden in the county were in this house, up stairs and on one occasion the crowd was so great as to strain the beams and fracture the walls, causing great confusion and alarm to the court and bar.

"Chambersburg remained but a small village until after the erection of Franklin into a separate county in 1784, since which period it has progressively improved.

"Col. Chambers had appropriated to the use of the public for a burial-ground a romantic cedar grove on the banks of the creek. This spot still retains some of the beauties of nature and rural scenery. This, with some additional grounds, he conveyed by deed of gift to P. Varen and others, as trustees, on the 1st January, 1768, in trust for the Presbyterian congregation of the Falling Spring, now professing

and adhering to, and that shall hereafter adhere to and profess the Westminster profession of faith, and the mode of church government therein contained, and to and for the use of a meeting-house or Presbyterian church, session house, school-house, burying-place, graveyard, and such religious purposes. Of this congregation he was an efficient, active and attentive member. He also continued a member of the board of trustees until 1787, when, on account of his advanced age and infirmities, he asked leave to resign.

"The first settlers who were possessed of farms, were mostly emigrants from the north of Ireland, and members of the Presbyterian church. It would seem that the Falling Spring congregation were more numerous in 1786 than in 1832, though at the latter period the population of Chambersburg was tenfold that of 1786. After the revolutionary war and peace, a German population supplanted the first settlers, and possessed themselves of most of their choice plantations by purchase, and the families and descendants of these settlers moved west of the mountains.

"At the commencement of the revolutionary war, in 1775, Col. Chambers was so infirm and advanced in years, being then about 70 years of age, as to be incapable of the fatigues and exposure of a campaign so distant as the heights of Boston. Patriotism shone forth in his family. His eldest son, James, raised a company of infantry from the neighborhood, which he commanded as captain, and in 1775 marched, accompanied by his younger brothers William and Benjamin as cadets, to join the American army, then encamped on the high ground of Boston, where the royal army was besieged: (William was about 22 years old and Benjamin 20). His three sons remained in the army during that campaign; James having been advanced to the rank of colonel, and William and Benjamin to that of captain. They were also with the army during the arduous and trying campaigns of '76-'77 in the Jerseys, as well as at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown in 1778. On account of the infirmity of their father, and the embarrassed situation of his property and pecuniary affairs, which had been deprived of the necessary attentions of the young men, the younger brothers, William and Benjamin, returned home and attended to the farm and mills. They occasionally, however, assisted in the pursuit of Indians who had dared at times to make incursions upon the settlements about Bedford and Huntingdon.

"James remained in the army until the close of the revolutionary war, and afterwards was appointed a general of the militia, a brigade of whom, including a number of volunteers he commanded in the army to suppress the Western or Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794.

"Shortly after the peace of 1783, William, Benjamin and George, erected a furnace in the Path valley, called Mt. Pleasant, the oldest furnace in the county. None of them had any experience in the business, but by industry, perseverance, and judgment, they were successful, and established in the woods an extensive manufactory of iron which was not only profitable to themselves, but highly advantageous to a considerable extent of country.

"Col. Benjamin Chambers, the father of the settlement, died 17th Feb. 1788, aged 80 years. Jane, his wife, died in 1795, aged 70: Capt. Benjamin Chambers died in 1813.

"Col. James Chambers erected a forge where Loudon now is, after the revolution, and with his son Benjamin, and son-in-law A. Dunlap, Esq. erected a furnace about a mile from Loudon.

"In 1760 Col. Benjamin Chambers lived in a small log house near the mill-race at the west end of the garden of George Chambers, near the alley and race.

"From old Henry Snider, aged 75, in 1834, Mr. Chambers learned that his father, Peter Snider, came to the county before 1760—That he was born where he now lives, in 1759.

"A man by the name of Somerfield kept the first store on the northwest corner of Front and Queen streets.

"The first tavern was kept by Robert Jack, in the little log house which stood where the Chambersburg bank now is."

MERCERSBURG, a post town and borough, in Montgomery township, on the turnpike road leading from McConnellstown to Waynesboro', fifteen miles south west from Chambersburg, eighty-three miles north west from Washington city. The town, for its elevated situation, commanding view of picturesque scenery, fertility of soil of the surrounding country, salubrity of air, can vie with any in the State.

The town was laid out about the year 1780, by Mr. Smith, and named in honor of Conrad Mercer, a distinguished officer of the revolutionary army. It was incorporated as a borough by an act passed in April 1831, and contains about 150 dwellings, many of them large and commodious; five churches; Presbyterian, Lutheran, Seceder, Methodist and 2 German German Reformed; one of which has recently been erected.

Marshall College, the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church, and affiliated institutions are located here. The town contains 4 dry goods stores, 1 grocery, 2 druggists, 3 confectionaries, 4 tailor shops, 6 shoe makers, 2 hatters, 2 wagon makers, 1 coach maker, 1 plough maker, 2 weavers, 2 silversmiths, 3 butchers, 2 livery stables, 2 oyster cellars, 4 tan yards, 1 distillery, 1 pottery, 3 hotels, 4 rough carpenters, 6 house joiners, 4 cabinet makers, 5 chair makers, 4 saddlers, 4 coopers, 4 blacksmiths, 1 public school, 1 Female Seminary, 1 flouring mill, 2 brick yards, 7 physicians.

A weekly paper is published here by Messrs. McKinstry and Doyle. The paper is called "The Mercersburg Visitor."

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE GER. REF. CHURCH.—This Institution was established originally at Carlisle. It went into operation first in the spring of 1825, with five students, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Lewis Mayer, who had been previously elected Professor of Theology by the Synod of the Church. At the same time the Rev. James R. Reily, under an appointment from the Board of Directors sailed for Europe, to collect funds and books for the infant interest. His mission proved on the whole quite successful, and resulted particularly in the acquisition of a respectable library.

Great remissness however was shown at home, in carrying forward the undertaking. For years it was left to languish, in the midst of difficulties which continually threatened its dissolution, and severely tried the faith and patience of the excellent man who was placed at its head.

After a short time, the Institution was transferred to York. Here a Grammar School was established in connection with it, in the year

1832. This fell under the care particularly of Dr. Frederick A. Rauch, who had been called in to assist the Professor of Theology, in his arduous work. To the hands of the same gentleman, was committed subsequently the department of Biblical Literature in the Seminary.

It was resolved finally, in view of a liberal offer made from the place, to locate the institutions permanently at Mercersburg. The Grammar School accordingly was transferred to this village in the fall of 1835; where it was raised the following year to the dignity of a regular College. In proper season afterwards, the same transfer took place in the case of the Seminary also. The removal was followed in the course of a short time, by the resignation of the Professor, whose name had been identified with all its fortunes from the beginning.

The vacancy thus created was filled by the appointment and call, on the part of the Synod, of the Rev. Dr. John W. Nevin, who was Professor at the time in the Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh. He came to Mercersburg in the spring of the year 1840, and has been actively engaged in the service of institution from that time to the present.

A great calamity was sustained the following year, in the death of the Professor of Biblical Literature, who was at the same time President of the College. By this event, the Seminary was left again with only a single Professor, as at the beginning; a difficulty for which no remedy has been provided until quite recently.

Early in the year 1843, at a special meeting of the Synod convened for the purpose, at Lebanon, a call was made out for the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, of Elberfeld, in Prussia, the distinguished author of *Elijah the Fishbite*, and other popular works, to occupy what is termed the German Professorship of Theology in the Institution; and two members of the Synod, the Rev. Dr. Hoffeditz and the Rev. Mr. Schneck crossed the Atlantic soon after, as the commissioners of the Church, to place the call in his hands. This movement served greatly to bring both the Seminary and the Church into notice, both in Germany and in this country. Dr. Krummacher found himself reluctantly constrained to decline the invitation. The great object of the mission however, may be said to have been secured notwithstanding. After special inquiry and conference with the best advisers in Germany, the delegates returned prepared to recommend a different man for the vacant station; and the consequence was the unanimous election, at the meeting of the Synod in Winchester, in the fall of 1843, of the Rev. Dr. Philip Schaf, private lecturer at the time in the University of Berlin, to fill the post. A call accordingly was soon after forwarded to him, and accepted. He reached the country in July 1844, and is now laboring in the Seminary as Professor of Church History and Sacred Literature. His lectures are delivered in the German tongue.

The Seminary buildings are handsomely situated on an elevated piece of ground, a short distance east of the town; and by the traveller from the west in particular, may be seen with great advantage, a great way off. They consist of a main edifice 120 feet in length and 4 stories high, and two handsome dwelling houses for professors. The front of the main building is rendered more imposing, by a portico standing out from the central section, with large columns carried up to the roof. The property altogether may be rated at a value of twenty-five thousand dollars.

The Library of the Seminary is estimated at about 7000 volumes. Many of these are very valuable. The proportion of English books is comparatively small.

The number of students in attendance at the institution has been latterly from fifteen to twenty. The regular course of study extends over a period of two years and a half, embracing the branches that are usually taught in institutions of this kind. To the students the instruction is all free; and the opportunities of the Seminary are open alike to all denominations, so far as there may be a disposition in any case to emulate them.

MARSHALL COLLEGE.—Originally, as we have already seen, a mere dependency of the Theological Seminary, the College has since risen to high separate importance, and bids fair yet to throw its parent completely into the shade. No institution perhaps in the country, has within the same short period of time exhibited the same measure of success, or accumulated an equal amount of promise.

Marshall College, (so called in compliment to the memory of the late Chief Justice of that name,) was founded, under a charter from Legislature of Pennsylvania, in the year 1836. It sprang, as before mentioned, from the High School established in connection with the Seminary of the German Reformed Church; which had been removed ten years before from the borough of York to Mercersburg. It stands of course in intimate connection with the Seminary still. The primary object of the two institutions may be regarded as one and the same. The church needs ministers, and she is concerned to have them properly educated for their high and responsible work. It is her zeal for this interest which has given birth to Marshall College. Harvard University, Yale College, and Nassau Hall, owe their origin to a similar zeal mainly, on the part of the religious denominations by which they were founded.

The College is the daughter of the Church, and as such consecrated to the service of religion as well as letters. Like the Institutions which have just been named however, it aims at more than simply to meet the want which is felt with regard to the sacred ministry. It is designed to promote the interest of education generally within the bounds of the German church. At the same time its privileges are not restricted in any way to these limits. Though founded by the Reformed church and looking to it mainly of course for patronage and support, its constitution is altogether catholic and free, as much so as that of any of the colleges of New England. The church as such exercises no ecclesiastical supervision over it, more than the Presbyterian Church does over Nassau Hall.

The Presidency of the Institution at the beginning fell by the election of the Board of Trustees, on Dr. Frederick A. Rauch. In point of personal dignity, scholarship, and general cultivation, few men could have been found more worthy of the station. He had enjoyed and improved all the advantages of a thorough and complete education in Germany. No one could well be more devoted to the interests of science. For philosophy in particular, his zeal might be said to amount to a passion. He was fully at home in the metaphysical speculations of modern Germany; beyond all other men probably in this country. He was admirably qualified moreover for the business of teaching; being full of order himself, and having a happy talent for inspiring

others, young men especially, with similar animation. All his pupils remember him with more than common respect. His interest in the college was large and constant, and terminating only with his life.—He has left behind him a very favorable monument of his scholarship in his *Psychology, or View of the Human Soul*, which was published the year before his death. This may be regarded as the first creditable attempt to present the German style of thinking, in the department to which it belongs in this country, under an English form. Nor is it saying too much, to affirm that no work equal to it, on the same subject, has yet been produced in the country. The system indeed owes much to the philosophy of Hegel; but cannot be charged properly with Hegel's errors. It was a favorite object with Dr. Rauch, to transfer the fruits of German speculation, so far as they may be considered wholesome, into English forms of thought, and to make them available thus, for the interests of science and religion, particularly in his adopted country. His *Psychology*, in accordance with this idea, was intended to be followed by a *System of Moral Philosophy*, and a *System of Ethics*. It is to be regretted that he was not spared to carry this purpose into execution. Few men have been so well qualified for writing on these subjects with advantage. When we remember that his knowledge of the English language was all acquired after his removal to this country, and consider at the same time the nature of the work, and the peculiar difficulties that were to be encountered in bringing English terminology to adjust itself to ideas of foreign growth and structure, the *Psychology* must be regarded as a production of more than common genius as well as talent and learning.

In these circumstances, the death of Dr. Rauch was a loss to the country, and well as to the college which honored him as its head.—This took place to the great grief of all his friends, on the 2d of March in the year 1841. His grave is found in a secluded corner of the tract of ground belonging to the college, which has been set apart as a place of burial for the use particularly of the institutions. It is surrounded and overshadowed with forest trees, and is often visited as a consecrated spot.

On the removal of Dr. Rauch, by the special request of the Board of Trustees, Dr. John W. Nevin consented to act as President of the College, and this relation has continued from that time to the present. According to the late catalogue, the Faculty consists now of the following Professors and Instructors. Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D., President and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Samuel W. Budd, jr., A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Mechanical Philosophy; William M. Nevin, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and Belles Lettres, and Rector of the Preparatory Department; Traill Green, M. D., Professor of Natural Science; Rev. Philip Schaf, Ph. D., Professor of Aesthetics and German Literature; Theodore Apple, A. B., First Tutor; George D. Wolff, A. M., Second Tutor; Maximilian Stern, German Teacher; Jeremiah H. Good, A. B., Sub-Rector of the Preparatory Department; George L. Staley, A. B., and George W. Aughinbaugh, A. D., Assistants. To these must be added also, the Hon. Alexander Thompson, L. L. D. as Professor of the Law School, which is a separate department of the Institution kept at Chambersburg. The number of students connected with the Institution during the year is given in the summary; Resident Graduates 18, Law Stu-

dents 4, Under Graduates 103, Preparatory Department 80. Total 304. The number in actual attendance is about 150. Of the Under Graduates, 6 belong to the Senior Class, 23 to the Junior, 22 to the Sophomore, and 36 to the Freshmen.

The Seminary edifice is used at present for the purposes of the college. Many of the students of course board in private families, in the town. A large tract of ground however has been purchased, adjoining the village on the south, for the separate use of the college; on which a fine edifice has already been erected to accommodate the Preparatory Department, and also a Professor's house; and where the other college buildings are expected to appear in due time. The two literary societies are now engaged in putting up, on this ground, separate Halls for their own use. These when completed, as they will be in the course of a few months, will form a great ornament to the ground. They are built to correspond with each other, one on either side of where the main building is expected hereafter to stand; each of Ionic structure, 40 feet in front and 55 in depth, with a portico and pillars.

This enterprise of the Diognothian and Goethean Societies is entitled to special admiration. The following notice of it is extracted from the College Catalogue: "Never before has the country beheld such an example of daring zeal for the interests of learning, in the same circumstances. There is but one other College in the land, it is believed, where such Halls have been erected by its literary societies; and that is one of the oldest among the whole, with its Alumni, rich and influential in all parts of the Union. But in the present case, the enterprise proceeds from the youngest of all our Institutions. Bold however as the undertaking may appear, it is already in the way of being crowned with triumphant success. One of the Halls is now under roof; while the other is expected to go forward with equal rapidity in the spring. The friends of the Institution have responded generously to the call which has been made upon them by the students for their assistance, thus far; and full confidence is felt that this will continue to be the case, till the work is completed. The enterprise is worthy of the patronage of all who take an interest in letters. These Halls cannot fail, when completed, to give powerful support to the general interest comprised in the college; while each of them may be expected to become hereafter separately, by means of its library and museum, an ornament to the State. Great account is made of the societies, in the general conduct of the college. They include a department of education, that is, to say the least, fully as important as any other belonging to the system. By having their separate Halls, it is believed they will be brought to feel still more than before their true weight and dignity; and that in this manner much will be gained, in the way of promoting among the students that manly sense of self-respect and personal responsibility, which the government of the college is so much concerned to cultivate, as well as in the way of literary improvement generally. Each Hall will furnish room for a large museum of some sort, as well as for an extensive library, on the first floor; the second being appropriated altogether, as a stately chamber, to the regular sittings of the society."

The Seminary and College have an interest in a new, large and handsome church, on Seminary street, recently erected. It is owned

exclusively by the German Reformed. The edifice measures seventy feet in front, and is fifty feet in breadth. The site is a very eligible one, about half way between the Seminary and the town, exhibits a more than common fine appearance. Altogether the village has been greatly improved, in an indirect way, through the influence of the institutions, as well as by the edifices erected immediately for their use. During the past year, the Presbyterian church has been remodelled, within and without, and so much improved as hardly to look like the same building. A number of fine brick houses besides have been put up, at different points in the town; and others still are expected to be put up from year to year.

As it regards the peculiar character of Marshall College, and the claims it is supposed to have upon the favor of the public, we cannot do better perhaps than to present in conclusion the following statement which we find in its recent catalogue:

The Institution has been called to struggle with many difficulties and trials. These, however, have been thus far happily surmounted; and its friends now feel themselves fully authorised to commend it to the attention of the public, as an interest in all respects worthy of its confidence and patronage. On the State of Pennsylvania it may be said to have special claims. Never before, it is believed, has a better foundation at least been presented in the State, for the creation of a literary interest that may be expected in the end to be worthy of its name. The grounds on which the college may be recommended, are in general the following:

1st. Its advantageous location, in a merely outward view. The whole State probably could not furnish one, in all respects, more eligible. Mercersburg, is a village of about twelve hundred inhabitants, situated in Franklin county, in the midst of a fertile limestone region, at the distance of an hour's walk from the base of what is called the North mountain. The scenery formed by the mountains, which bend round it like a vast crescent or amphitheatre, contrasting as it does with the rich open country below, is absolutely splendid. This itself is of high account. Scenery is always educational; and no parent, who is possessed of proper intelligence and right feelings, can be indifferent to its influence in selecting a school or college for his son.—The objects that surround the spirit in the years especially of college life, work upon it continually with a plastic force, the impression of which can never afterwards be wholly lost. They stamp their image into the very constitution of the soul. It is a matter of immense account, therefore, whether a student shall hold communion during his college course, with the loveliness and freedom of nature in her brightest forms, or be shut up to the irksome prosaic fellowship of mere brick and mortar in a large town, or some insipid flat prospect of barren sameness on all sides in the country. In this respect Marshall College is highly favored. Strangers, who are possessed of any taste, are always much taken with the attractions of the place. It might well be selected indeed for a summer retreat, by such as wish to make their escape from the city during the hot months, without caring to follow the crowd to more fashionable, but less graceful places of resort.

2nd. The location is besides, to a proper extent, retired. It is indeed within a few miles of the great thoroughfares of travel on different

sides; and has the advantage moreover of a daily mail through which to communicate with the world at a distance. But in other respects, it forms a full retreat from the stir and noise of public life. So it should be always in the case of a college. The less excitement and distraction it may be exposed to from without, the better. Students cannot fail to suffer, where their situation brings them into daily contact with the busy world. Few Seminaries of learning are so well situated, in this respect, as the college at Mercersburg. All its connections and relations are favorable to the great object for which it is established; while occasions for intellectual or moral dissipation, are wanting almost altogether.

3rd. There is not, at the same time, a more healthy location in any part of the State. In point of air, water and general climate, it is all in this view that the most anxious parents could desire.

4th. The Faculty of the Institution is well filled. All who are acquainted with it know it to be worthy of the position it is called to occupy, and justly entitled to the reputation it has begun to win in every direction.

5th. The government of the college is paternal and free. It is conducted on the principle of training the students to govern themselves. Pains are taken to win the judgment and the heart in favor of what is right, and to invigorate character by treating it with proper confidence and trust. More is lost than gained, in any case, by a system of rigid college police. A discipline which tends to overthrow self-respect on the part of the student, must ever be pernicious and false. No attainments can compensate for the injury that is inflicted in this way. No part of his education, in the case of a young man is half so important, as that by which he is taught to become a law to himself.

6th. The spirit which reigns among the students of Marshall college is in all respects answerable to the favorable influences thus far described. The institution is characterised by a tone of order, regularity, and gentlemanly feeling, beyond what is common in colleges generally. A wholesome public sentiment prevails, that serves to discourage what is wrong, more effectually than any disciplinary restraints that could be employed for the same end. The relation between the students and the Faculty, is one of mutual confidence and love.—It is worthy of remark, that during the whole of the last collegiate year, there has been no occasion for what is ordinarily understood by an act of discipline. A striking peculiarity with the Institution, is the interest which is taken in it almost universally by the students themselves. One of the surest omens of its future prosperity, is presented in this fact. The honor of the college is felt generally to be a personal interest, and all seem inspired with a common zeal to do as much as in them lies to carry forward the enterprise, towards the glorious destination it is expected ultimately to reach. Such a feeling itself speaks volumes for the institution. There is no college in the country, it is believed, in which the same zeal, at once so general and so ardent, is found to prevail. The power of it has been exemplified, on a large scale, in the spirit with which the two literary societies have recently embarked in the great work of erecting Halls, for their separate use.

7th. The peculiar genius of the college as an Anglo-German institution, should commend it to favor, especially in the State of Pennsylvania. It is well known that the colleges of this country generally ex-

hibit only the English system of thinking. The case, however, plainly requires, that the education of the country should not be restricted to these limits. The German order of thought especially, should be brought into combination with the English. And particularly might this seem to be demanded, by the German spirit of Pennsylvania.— Such a union, or marriage of these two different interests accordingly, is aimed at in the course of education established in Marshall college. The college has more of a German character, than any other in the country. This does not consist simply in the encouragement that is given to the study of the German language. It is of little account indeed to provide for the study of the language, as is done now in a number of American colleges, if the entire system of instruction at the same time, be exclusively English in its spirit and form. To make such study of any value, it must be surrounded, to some extent at least, with the life and power of German thought. It is in this sense, that Marshall college aspires to the distinction of being a German Institution. The English language forms of course the regular medium of instruction, as in all other American colleges. But the literature and philosophy of Germany are expected still to shed their influence largely on the whole course. At the same time provision is made for the delivery of lectures, in interesting departments of literature before the higher classes, in the German language itself; and on every alternate Sabbath the same language is employed in the religious services of the chapel. These exercises are all conducted in such a style as to be worthy of the highest cultivation of Germany itself; the language, under its finest form, serving its proper purposes as a vehicle of rich instruction for the soul. In such circumstances, the study of the German language, as a part of the regular course in the lower classes, may be expected to proceed with due life and spirit. Every student finds himself urged to master it, at least so far as to be able to understand the German exercises of the Junior and Senior years; and this is an object which all can accomplish with very little difficulty. Then the exercises themselves prove subsequently the best help that could be had, for rendering the acquisition still more large and complete. It is not easy to conceive of circumstances, in an American Seminary more favorable to the cultivation of the German language and German literature, in a living and effective way.

Dr. Schaf, to whose hands the care of this interest may be said more immediately to fall, has probably no superior as a German scholar in this country.

There may be some probably, who still entertain the prejudice that whatever bears the German character and name, must be of inferior worth; to whom accordingly the advantage here urged in favor of the college at Mercersburg, will seem to have little weight. But the time of such ignorance, it is to be trusted, is fast passing away. It is coming to be generally understood, throughout the country, that to be at all thorough and complete, an education must now embrace some acquaintance with German learning. No modern language so well deserves to be studied as the German, in view simply of its own constitution and life. The claims of the French in comparison, are entitled to no respect whatever. But as a key to the literature and science of Germany, it is of course, more important still. Say what we may, the course of thought in the land of the Reformation forms

still an essential part of the main stream, in the onward flow of the world's true historical life; and it is perfectly idle to dream of a solid culture in art, science, or religion, where it is left out of view. The signs of the time show clearly, that this is likely to now to be felt and acknowledged more fully every year.

It may be proper to add, that where parents desire it, the student can be excused from studying the German. The course is as complete in other respects, as is usual in the best colleges of the country; while the opportunity is furnished at the same time for all to secure this accomplishment besides, under the most advantageous form.—Such an opportunity, it is believed, few intelligent parents will be disposed to undervalue.

8th. It may be noticed lastly, in recommendation of Marshall college, that the expenses, to which a student is subjected in the institution, are low. By referring to the statement of the terms and rates, it will be seen that the cost of an education is brought within the compass of the most moderate means.

In the early days of this county, *Smith's* (Mercersburg) was an important place, where an extensive trade was carried on with the Indians and first settlers on the western frontier. It was nothing uncommon to see here from fifty to one hundred pack horses in a row, laden with salt, iron, and other commodities, for the Monongahela country.

In the life and travels of Colonel James Smith, an interesting incident, having some relation to this place, is mentioned.—The King's proclamation was then circulated, prohibiting any person from trading with the Indians until further orders.

Notwithstanding all this, about the 1st of March, 1765, a number of wagons loaded with Indian goods, and warlike stores, were sent from Philadelphia to Henry Pollen's, Conococheague, and from thence, seventy pack horses were loaded with goods, in order to be carried to Fort Pitt. This alarmed the country, and Mr. William Duffield raised about fifty armed men, and met the pack horses at the place where Mercersburg now stands. Mr. Duffield desired the employers to store up their goods and not proceed until further orders. They made light of this, and went over the North Mountain, where they lodged in a small valley called the Great Cove. Mr. Duffield and his party followed after, and came to their lodging, and again urged them to store up their goods: he reasoned with them of the impropriety of their proceedings, and the great danger the frontier inhabitants would be exposed to, if the Indians now should get a supply: he said, it was well known that they had scarcely any ammunition, and were almost naked, to supply them now would be a kind of murder, and would be illegally trading at the expense of the blood and treasure of the frontiers. Notwithstanding his powerful reasonings, these traders made game of what he said, and would only answer him by ludicrous burlesque.

When I beheld this, and found that Mr. Duffield would not compel them to store up their goods, I collected ten of my old warriors, that I had formerly disciplined in the Indian way, went off privately after night, and encamped in the woods. The next day, Smith and his men brought the traders to their own terms—prevented them from carrying the goods to their place of destination—*Incidents of Border Life, &c. p. 61 and 62, as published by Joseph Pritts, Esq.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

LOUDON.

Loudon—Numerous incidents at, &c.—Gen. Forbes here, writes to Gov.

Denny—Smith and others assaulted Indian traders—Assault Major Grant—Letters showing the "spirit of the time," viz: Grant's and other letters—Singular advertisement—Thomas Gage's letter—Callender's letter.

Loudon, a post town in Peters township, on the turnpike road from Chambersburg to Pittsburg, twelve miles from Chambersburg and five from McConnells town, near the base of the Cove mountain, contains about seventy dwellings, several stores and taverns, and one church and school house. It is in a highly improved limestone valley, bounded by mountains from 900 to 1200 feet high. Here or near was formerly the site of a fort, one of a line of forts during the French and Indian war. Some of the prominent military characters of that day were here occasionally. Numerous are the incidents that transpired here and in its vicinity, of which however, little has been preserved except by "doubtful, uncertain, and conflicting tradition," upon which one cannot safely rely. The earliest records, and subsequently printed accounts, seem to be discrepant. Passing by many traditions, I have preferred to present the reader extracts from public records, and letters, written at the time, and carefully preserved in the Secretary's office at Harrisburg.

Captain Thompson, in a letter to Col. Armstrong, under date at Loudon, April 7, 1758, mentions the arrival of forty Cherokee Indians at Fort Loudon, and that more were daily expected, and desires Governor Denny's immediate directions, in what manner the Indians were to be treated and how to be supplied, as they had come without arms or clothes. These Indians had come for the general service of the colonies.—*Votes Assem. iv. 816.*

General Forbes, on his way to Fort Du Quesne, to expel the French and their savage allies from the frontiers, while here addressed a letter to Gov. Denny, urging the importance of a hearty co-operation of the governor and people of the province of Pennsylvania, to ensure success against the enemy. On the 9th of September, 1758, he wrote the governor, "Every thing is ready for the army's advancing; but that I cannot do, unless I have a sufficient quantity of provisions in the magazines at Raystown." Soon afterwards he steadily advanced till he reached Fort Du Quesne, which the French evacuated, Nov. 24, 1758.

It has been stated that Smith brought certain Indian traders to *his terms*. The next day, says Smith, as usual we backed and painted, and waylaid them near Sidelong hill. I scattered my men about forty

rods along the side of the road, and ordered every two to take a tree, and about eight or ten rods between each couple, with orders to keep a reserve fire, one not to fire until his comrade had loaded his gun—by this means we kept up a constant, slow fire upon them, from front to rear. We there heard nothing of these traders merriment or burlesque. When they saw their pack horses falling close by them, they called out “pray, gentlemen, what would you have us to do!” The reply was, collect all your loads to the front, and unload them in one place; take your private property, and immediately retire. When they were gone, we burnt what they left, which consisted of blankets, shirts, vermilion, lead, beads, wampum, tomahawks, scalping knives, and so forth.

The traders went back to Fort Loudon, and applied to the commanding officer there, and got a party of Highland soldiers, and went with them in quest of the robbers, as they called us, and without applying to a magistrate, or obtaining any civil authority, but barely upon suspicion, they took a number of creditable persons prisoners, (who were chiefly not any way concerned in this action) and confined them in the guard-house in Fort Loudon. I then raised three hundred riflemen, marched to Fort Loudon, and encamped on a hill in sight of the fort. We were not long there, until we had more than double as many of the British troops prisoners in our camp, as they had of our people in the guard-house. Captain Grant, a Highland officer, who commanded Fort Loudon, then sent a flag of truce to our camp, where we settled a cartel, and gave them above two for one, which enabled us to redeem all our men from the guard-house, without further difficulty.

After this Captain Grant kept a number of rifle guns, which the Highlanders had taken from the country people, and refused to give them up. As he was riding out one day, we took him prisoner, and detained him until he delivered up the arms; we also destroyed a large quantity of gun powder that the traders had stored up, lest it might be conveyed privately to the Indians. The king's troops, and our party had now got entirely out of the channel of the civil law, and many unjustifiable things were done by both parties. This convinced me more than ever I had been before, of the absolute necessity of the civil law, in order to govern mankind.

The following letters &c., containing much of interest are here introduced as showing the state of affairs and exhibiting the “spirit of the time.”

Carlisle, June 1st 1765.

I received letters from Lieutenant Grant, commanding at Fort Loudon, complaining much of some late insult received from the rioters near that post. He says, on the 28th ult. (May) he was taking the air on horse back; and about half a mile from his post, was surrounded by five of the rioters, who presented their pieces at him. The person who commanded them, calling to them to shoot the bugger—that one of them fired at him, frightened his horse, that he ran into the bushes and occasioned his being thrown upon the ground. They then disarmed him, carried him fifteen miles into the woods, and threatened to tie him to a tree, and let him perish, if he would not give them up some arms, which, by his orders were taken from the first party of rioters,* that had appeared at his post.

* A party alluded to in March, 1765,

When he saw that they were determined to put their threats in execution, he thought it was best to promise them their arms; and was made to give security, to deliver them up in five weeks, under a penalty of forty pounds, which being obtained in that manner certainly cannot be binding.

Mr. Grant has also sent me a copy of a very singular advertisement,* which was found posted up by the rioters, at some distance from his post; which I have taken the liberty to enclose.

The express, who brought the dispatches from London, tells me, he was stopped by some of these fellows on the road, who would have taken his letters from him; but being armed with a broadsword, and his companion having a pistol, they stood on their defence and would not submit.

Fort London, June 4th, 1765.

The first rendezvous of the rioters was at Justice Smith's about five miles from Fort London, the 6th day of March last. From thence they followed the first convoy of goods, consisting of eighty-one horse loads twelve miles further, and burned and pillaged sixty-three loads. Capt. Callender applied to Lieut. Grant for a sergeant and twelve men, which he agreed to, who saved the remaining loads chiefly consisting of liquor; and made some of the rioters prisoners, who were afterwards released upon bail, and took eight rifles; in all which Lieut. Grant is justified by Brig. Bouquet, in his letter of the 14th of March, who desires him to keep the rifles in his possession till the owners names shall be found out, which was accordingly done.

Lieut. Grant, in his letter to Brigadier Bouquet of the 9th of March,

*ADVERTISEMENT. These are to give notice to all our Loyal Volunteers, to those that has not yet enlisted, you are to come to our Town and come to our Tavern and fill your Bellies with Liquor and your Mouth full of swearing and you will have your pass, but if not your Back must be whipt and your mouth be gagged; you need not be discouraged at our last disappointment, for our Justice did not get the goods in their hands as they expected, or we should all have a large Bounty; but our Justice has wrote to the Governor and every thing clear on our side and we will have Grant the officer whip'd or Hang'd, and then we will have orders for the goods so we need not stop, what we have a mind and will do for the Governor will pardon our crimes, and the Clergy will give us absolution and the country will stand by us, so we may do what we please for we have Law and Government in our hands and we have a large sum of money raised for our support, but we must take care that it will be spent in our Town, for our Justice gives us, and that have a mind to join us, free toleration for drinking, swearing, Sabbath breaking and any outrage what we have a mind to do, to let those strangers know their place—It was first Poses (Black's Town) and we now move it to Squire Smith's Town, and now I think I have a right to call it, and will still remain till our pleasure, and we call it Hells town in Cumberland county the 25th May 1765.

Peters' Township.

Your scripture says that the Devil is the Father of sins, but I assure you this is the plain truth what I say.

God bless our brave Loyal Volunteers and success to Hellstown—Prov. Rec. T. 65-66.

informs that he was threatened if he did not deliver up his prisoners, that two hundred men in arms would come and burn the Fort, and rescue them by force, which obliged Lieut. Grant to keep his garrison under arms a whole night, being in expectation of an assault: and upon their being admitted to bail, Smith, the ringleader of the rioters, had the assurance to come into the Fort, and told Lieut. Grant that they were determined to fire upon the troops, in case they attempted to carry these men prisoners to Carlisle.

Several horses loaded with liquors and necessaries for the troops on the communication, belonging to Joseph Spears, arrived at Fort Loudon, where the goods were deposited, and the drivers carried their horses as usual into the woods to feed, where they were attacked by about 30 of the rioters, in disguise, with their faces blacked, who tied them up and flogged them severely; killed five of their horses, wounded two more, and burned all their saddles. One of the drivers, who made his escape, returned to the Fort, and implored the protection & assistance of the commanding officer, in his rescuing his companions and preventing the horses from being killed. Lieut. Grant thought it his duty to send a sergeant and twelve men for that purpose; the rioters finding themselves pursued fired upon the party, who returned the fire and slightly wounded one of them in the thigh.

The 10th of May, about 150 of the rioters, in arms, commanded, as I am informed, by James Smith, and attended by three justices of the peace, appeared before the Fort, and demanded to search the goods, with an intention, it is believed, to plunder and destroy them, as they had done before. Lieut. Grant suspecting their design, told the justices that the goods were under his protection, by order of the commander-in-chief, (Gen. Gage) who had been pleased to send him instructions to have an inventory of the goods taken by the Justice of Peace, and that he intended to apply to one of their number to have it done, but did not think it safe in presence of such a mob, whom he had reason to suspect. To which the Justices made answer, that they would not come again; and immediately said, they were not under the General's orders; but it is the Governor's they are to obey. The Justices further told Lieut. Grant that they would pay no regard to any military officer's pass, of whatever rank he might be, and that no goods whatever, could be safe in going along the communication, without a pass from a Justice of the peace.

After this declaration, it cannot be doubted that some of these justices have encouraged the rioters, and even protected them in their lawless measures. None of the Justices has taken any notice of this outrage and violence committed on Lieut. Grant, and the 2 sergeants I made mention of in my last; on the contrary, Smith, who heads these villains, together with the rest of the party who committed these violences, have appeared, ever since, openly at Justice Smith's house, and were seen there by Lieut. Grant himself, who complained of them to the said Justices, but could obtain no redress. Mr. Maxwell, a Justice of the peace, who has always disapproved of the measures of the rioters, had the assurance to confess to him, the day before they appeared in arms before the Fort, that they were determined, by force, to seize upon the goods and plunder them; which, he says, the rioters made no secret of. Mr. Maxwell also says the common place of rendezvous for them, is at Justice Smith's, who, he believes, encourages them.

I have seen some passes signed by Justice Smith, and his brother-in-law; not only for traders, but even for soldiers of the garrison, who are not safe to go any where about their lawful affairs by a pass from their own officer. They use the troops upon every occasion with such indignity and abuse that flesh and blood cannot bear it. A party of them had the impudence again to intercept the express I mentioned in my last, on his return from Carlisle to this place—used him cruelly, and detained him all day yesterday. One Wilson who seemed to head the party, told the express that they were determined to stop the clothing of the regiment in its way from Carlisle."

Governor Penn cited June 27, 1765, Justice Smith and Maxwell, to appear at Philadelphia to clear up this matter. The day appointed to hear them was on Friday July 30. The Governor at the same time enjoined it upon all the Justices of Cumberland county, to be constantly diligent and active in exerting all their powers, influence and endeavors to quell and suppress the first appearances of any riots and disorders in the county, to preserve the public peace and to bring the offenders to justice.

The following letter from Gen. Gage to Governor Penn alludes to the trial of some of the rioters, of March 1765.

New York, July 5, 1765.

Sir—I have been honored with your letter of the 28th ult., together with the several depositions concerning the destruction of the goods on Sidling Hill, in March last. The difficulty you lay under to bring the persons concerned in the attack upon the convoy, to punishment, are very obvious, for it is probable that many of the Jury who tried the people, who were prosecuted for the riot, were themselves concerned in it; and the acquittal of these people, no doubt, rendered them more bold and audacious afterwards. They have acted ever since without any reserve, and with as much confidence as if their actions had been legal and warrantable, keeping regular scouts and guards upon the roads. I herewith transmit you copies of Passes given by Justice Smith and Lieut. Smith.

With respect to the Advertisement, which you resent with so much justice, it appears to have been the contrivance of some Leader of the rioters, in order to encourage them, and to endeavor to sanctify their proceedings by every means, however false and audacious. And I most sincerely wish you may be able to discover the author of so doing an insult.

The Governor issued, January 15, 1766, a *supersedeas* to remove W. Smith from the magistracy; and a writ to apprehend James Smith, as a ringleader of the riots. It would appear from the following letter addressed to Messrs. Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, by R. Callender, that the rioters had become desperate. The letter is under date, Pennsborough, March 2d 1766.

Since my return home I have been informed by sundry persons that the rascally part of the Conococheague are determined, and are now laying a plan to do you some piece of injury by either stopping, or destroying some part of your last cargo that yet remains with the carriers in that neighborhood on account of Justice Smith's discharge from the Magistracy, for which they entirely blame your house, thinking that it is you alone have excited the Governor to do it. As you have

already experienced so much of their villainy they are not to be trusted farther than seen, and, therefore, I have advised Irwin to go immediately to that neighborhood and stop the proceedings of the carriers till there is some method fixed upon for the safe conveyance of these goods, now in their charge, lest the Devil should tempt them to commit some outrage of that kind, which I have great reason to believe they will.

Gov. Penn wrote to Justice Smith and Maxwell that they should appear at Philadelphia, to clear up this matter—i. e. charge alleged against them—the above communications.—They were requested to appear on July 30—on Tuesday, at Philadelphia.

The Gov. at the same time wrote to all the Justices of Cumberland county, enjoining it upon them, to be constantly diligent and active in exerting all their power, influence and endeavors to quell and suppress the first appearances of any riots and disorders in the county, to preserve the public peace and to bring the offenders to Justice.—Prov. Rec. T. 68.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Greencastle—Exhumation of human remains—Crunkelton—Funks-town—Quincy—Marion—Waynesboro—Snow Hill—Society at, notice of—Greenville—Fayetteville—Upton—Bridgeport—St. Thomas—Orrstown—Roxburg—Concord—Upper Strasburg—Fannetsburg.

GREENCASTLE, post town and borough, in southern part of the county, in Antrim township, on the rail road from Chambersburg to Hagerstown, ten miles from the former, fifty-nine miles south west from Harrisburg, seventy north west from Washington city. It is situated in the heart of a fertile, limestone country, well watered and highly improved, the rail road, the turnpike road from Mercersburg to Waynesboro, passes through the borough.

Green Castle is a very flourishing place. The town was laid out by Colonel John Allison in the year 1782. Among the first settlers here were Crawfords, Stallers, Nighs, McCulloghs, Carsons, Clarks, Watsons, Grubbs, Lawrence, McLellands. Doctor McLelland, now aged eighty-four, a resident of that place, was the first regularly bred physician in this part of the county. His medical visits extended into the interior of Bedford, Huntingdon and adjacent counties—a distance of some sixty miles.

The town was incorporated by an act 25th March 1805, and now contains nearly two hundred dwellings, five stores, three taverns, five churches belonging to the following denominations; Presbyterian, Lutheran, German Reformed, Methodist, and United Brethren—the three first named Congregations are large, the others small. There are also

five schools here, with upwards of two hundred scholars, one of which is a classical school; and a number of mechanics' shops, viz: 3 blacksmiths, 3 wagonmakers, 4 saddlers, 3 hatters, 7 shoemakers, 1 copper-smith, 2 tinner, 2 tanners, 2 druggists, 5 tailors, 2 coopers, one blue dyer and weaver. These shops give employment from two to four hands each. There are also five physicians to administer to the afflicted.

Population at present is between 1100 and 1200. The town is on the increase, and bids fair to become of considerable importance.

Near this place, a horrid murder was perpetrated by the Indians, in August 1764, upon a schoolmaster and his scholars.—See A. B. Rankin's letter p. 149–151, *ante*.

CRUNKELTON, in Antrim township, on the turnpike road, one mile and a half east of Greencastle, contains a few houses. As early as 1786, a public house was kept here by John Lawrence. James Clark, late Canal Commissioner, passed his youthful days here.

FUNKSTOWN, in Quincy township, contains 12 or 15 dwellings. Alton Furnace is a mile from this village. North of Funkstown are the Pine Lands.

QUINCY, a post village, consists of some 12 or 15 dwellings, one tavern and a store; about 3 miles from Hugh's furnace.

MAHON, formerly called *Smoketown*, a post village in Guilford township, on the road from Chambersburg to Greencastle, midway between both; contains 14 dwellings, 2 stores, a temperance hotel, several mechanics' shops. The Chambersburg railroad passes near. It is in the heart of a fertile country.

WAYNESBORO, formerly called Waynesburg, a post town and borough, in Washington township, on the turnpike road leading from McConnellstown, Bedford county, by way of Mercersburg, Greencastle, Waynesboro, to Emmittsburg, Md. It is a flourishing town, situated in a very fertile, highly cultivated, and very productive limestone country. It is only 2 miles from the Maryland line, 9 from Greencastle, 15 from Chambersburg and 19 from Mercersburg. The borough contains about 100 dwellings, 4 taverns, (one temperance house) 4 stores, 3 churches, viz: German Reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian and Methodist. There are 2 public schools, and an academy, here. A weekly paper—Waynesboro Circulator—is published by M. C. Grate.

A Mr. Wallace laid out the town, about 45 years ago, and for some time, it was named after him—Wallacetown. It is said the first house of the town, occupied by Messrs. Tritle and Davidson, was erected by Michael McCoskrey.

SNOW HILL or *Schneeburg*, in Washington township, is on Antietam creek, near the South mountain. It is a pleasant situation. It is principally a German, Seventh Day Baptist settlement, and in quite a flourishing condition. They keep up the institution, as originally established, at Ephrata, Lancaster county.

The German Seventh Day Baptist Society originated with Conrad Beissel, a native of Germany, about the year 1728. He had been, originally, a Presbyterian; afterwards connected himself with the Dunkards or German Brethren; but conceiving that they erred in observing the first, instead the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, he seceded from them; having previously published in 1725, a tract, entering into a discussion, as to the observance of the Sabbath, which created no small excitement, and consequent disturbance among the

Brethren—Upon which, says Dr. Fahnestock, he retired—went secretly into a cell, on the banks of the Cocalico creek, in Lancaster county, which had been previously occupied by one Elimelich, a hermit. His plan of retirement was unknown for a long time to the people he had left, and when discovered, many of the Society at Mill creek, (with which Beissel had been connected) who had been convinced of the truth of his proposition for the observance of the Sabbath, settled around him in solitary cottages. They adopted the original Sabbath—the Seventh day—for public worship, in the year 1728, which has ever since been observed by their descendants, unto the present day.

“In the year 1732, the solitary life was changed into a conventicle one, and a Monastic Society was established as soon as the first buildings erected for the purpose were finished—May, 1733—constituting, with the buildings subsequently erected, the irregular, enclosed village of Ephrata.”

After the decline of the Institution at Ephrata, they commenced the one here at Schneeburg or Snow Hill. For the particulars of this Society, see “*He Pasa Ekklesia*,” printed at Philadelphia, 1844.

URROR, a post village, in Montgomery township, on the turnpike road leading from Waynesboro to McConnellstown, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Greencastle, and five and a half from Mercersburg. It consists of 6 dwellings, 1 store, 1 tavern and several mechanics’ shops. Peter Cook is the principal owner of the village. About 2 miles from here, in Peters’ township, reside the Mr. McCulloughs whose ancestor had been abducted by the Indians.

BRIDEX PORT, in Peters’ township, on the left bank of the Conococheague creek, 3 miles from Mercersburg, consist of about 18 dwellings, a saw mill, grist mill, fulling mill, 1 store, and a house for public worship. Here is a substantial stone bridge across the Conococheague, contiguous to Hoover’s mill. The town is of recent origin; started about 20 years ago.

ST. THOMAS, a post village, in St. Thomas township, is on the turnpike road lead from Chambersburg to Pittsburg. It is a pleasant village, 7 miles from Chambersburg; contains about 75 dwellings, 2 stores, 4 taverns, a German Reformed & Lutheran church, and school house. It was laid out about 50 years ago. The surrounding country is well cultivated and very productive.

ONESTOWN, a post village, in Southampton township, on the Three Mountain road, south bank of ConodoguINETTE creek, five miles west of Shippensburg, five east of Strasburg, six miles north of Green village, is situated on an elevation, and its location, which is beautiful, is rendered quite imposing by the surrounding country. It was laid out by Messrs. John and William Orr in 1834, after whom the village has been called. It contains thirty dwellings, nearly all built within five or six years; two stores, a tavern, a very extensive tannery, a school house, and a number of mechanics’ shops; also two brick churches, one held by the German Reformed, and the Presbyterians in common, and the other by the so styled Winebrennerians. Population about 180. In this thriving village the people are remarkable for their industry and enterprise.

ROXBURY, post town, in Lurgan township, on the ConodoguINETTE creek, on the east side of the Blue Mountain, twelve miles north of Chambersburg, contains some ten or fifteen dwellings.

CONCORD, a post village, in Fannet township, upon the Tuscarora creek, and in the head of the Valley, consists of several dwellings.

UPPER STRASBURG, a post town, in Letterkenny township, in a fork of Herren's branch of ConodoguINETTE creek, ten miles north west of Chambersburg, thirteen of Shippensburg; fifty miles west of Harrisburg, consists of thirty dwellings, three stores, two taverns, two churches; one held in common by the Lutherans and German Reformed, in which the Presbyterian congregation, enjoys the privilege to worship, and one held by the United Brethren, three tanneries, and two schools, male and female. One grist mill.

The town was laid out by Mr. Deweld Kiefer, about the year 1791—Population 230.

FANNETSBURG, a post village, in Metal township, on the road from Upper Strasburg to Bedford, twelve miles in a direct line north west from Chambersburg, in a secluded, fertile valley, called Path Valley, two or three miles wide, bounded on the east by the North Mountain, and west by the Blue Mountain. The town consists of about thirty dwellings, stores, taverns, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FIRST SETTLERS.

First settlers—Prairie—Schlatter's allusion thereto—Difficulties and sufferings of first settlers—Presbyterians &c. &c—Character of the Nugents and others—Education—Provision for the poor.

The first white settlers were Scotch, and of the Scotch-Irish race. Many of their descendants still remain; but the German population, which has more recently come in, is fast gaining in numbers over the descendants of the pioneers.

It is a tradition well supported, that a great part of the best lands in the Conococheague valley were, at the first settlement of the country, what is now called in the western states *prairie*. The land was without timber, covered with a rich, luxuriant grass, with some scattered trees, hazel-bushes, wild plumbs, and crab-apples. It was then called generally the barrens. The timber was to be found on or near the water-courses, and on the slate soil. This accounts for the preference given by the early settlers to the slate lands, before the limestone lands were surveyed or located. The slate had the attractions of wood, water-courses, and water-meadows, and was free of rock at the surface. Before the introduction of clover, artificial grasses, and the improved system of agriculture, the hilly limestone land had its soil washed off, was disfigured with great gullies, and was sold as unprofitable, for a trifle, by the proprietors, who sought other lands in Western Pennsyl-

vania. It is now under German cultivation, the most beautiful and fertile section of the county.

The Revd. Michael Schlatter, a German Reformed minister, passed through here in 1748. In his Tage Buch May 9, he alludes to the prairie covered with fine grass.

"Woselbst ich den Sten zu Friederichton, einenen angelegte stadt, in dem Schulhause eine Vorbereitungs-Predigt that, und denselbigen Tag meinen Weg in Gesellschaft eines Aeltesten dieser Gemeine, der sich freywillig anerbote mich durch Virginien zu begleiten, noch 34 Meilen weiter fortsetzte bis an Canogogee, da wir ueber das so genante Blau Gebirge zogen, so dass wir nicht vor dem 9ten des Morgens um 2 uhr zu Canogogee in dem Hause eines ehrlichen Schweizers* eine angenehme Ruhe genossen mit Danksagung. Ich predigte alldorten noch den selben Tag. Diese Gemeine, gelegen gegen Mitternacht von Marienland, und also noch unter Pennsylvanien gehoerend, wurde von dem Prediger Monaccacy koennen bedient werden.

"Hier um diese Gegend sind sehr frucht bare Bau-und-Weidfelder, die beinahe ohne Duenge Tuerkisch Korn hervorbringen, worrunter Halmen sind von zehn und mehr Schuhen lang, und ein ueberaus shoenes Grass. Daherum wohnen noch viele Indianern, oder alte Einheimische des Landes, die sehr gutartig und dienstreich, und den Christen nicht ungeneigt sind, wenn sie nur durch starkes Getraenke nicht trunken gemacht wurden."

The first inhabitants were, as already remarked, from Ireland, Scotland, and a few from Germany and Switzerland. Benjamin Chambers, the first settler, induced others, his countrymen, to immigrate to the Conococheague settlement. Soon afterwards, some Germans & Swiss descendants, principally from the lower part of Lancaster county, found their way into this settlement: since then they constitute a great proportion of the present population of this county. Many of the Germans speak the language of their fathers; but of late years the English has the preference with many whose grand-parents immigrated from Germany.

The first settlers of this county, experienced, in common with the frontier settlers, the difficulties and privations in new settlements—to these difficulties and privations, were superadded the horrors of war in its worst form. For eight or nine years, after the defeat of Braddock, in July 1755, the whole frontier of this county was exposed to

* *Eines ehrlichen Schweizers.* The Revd. Schlatter does not name the "honest Swiss." It may have been Jacob Snevely, a Swiss Mennonite, who had emigrated from Switzerland, and settled at first at Conestogo, (now Lancaster county); but moved to the Conococheague settlement about the year 1737 or 1738. He had been tax collector for the south part of Hopewell township in 1739. The date of his warrant for land, bounded by land of King and Brown, is 1743. When Mr. Snevely settled here he was surrounded by Indians. He was, as I have been informed, the grandfather of Joseph Snively, Esq.; and the progenitor of all those, numerous as they are, who bear the name Snively in Franklin county. During the hostile incursions of the Indians into this region of country, Mr. Snevely retreated, for security, to Lancaster.

The original homestead of Jacob Snevely is now occupied by Andrew Snively, Esq., in Antrim township.

the incursions of Indian war parties, who, as is their custom, were marauding the country, and would often surprise the inhabitants, and many of whom were massacred in the most cruel manner, and others abducted, and inhumanly treated by the savages. So artful were these enemies, that notwithstanding the vigilance of the settlers, and the numerous stockades and forts they had erected to protect themselves, many of them fell victims, by day as well as by night, to these barbarians, whose desire for blood and revenge knew no bounds.

The character of these hardy settlers is graphically sketched, by the hand of another.—Patriotism was a predominant trait among the early Presbyterians of Conococheague, as well as the whole Kittatinny valley. They were conspicuous among the provincial troops in the old French war; and throughout all the Indian wars, they sustained nearly the whole burden of defending the frontier.

When a new purchase was made (sometime before), they were the first to make an opening in the wilderness beyond the mountains; and when the alarm of the American Revolution echoed along the rocky walls of the Blue Mountain, it awakened a congenial thrill of blood of that race which years before, in Ireland and Scotland, had resisted the arbitrary powers of England.

Though the great body of them was patriotic, moral, industrious, and by no means diffident in any thing that should characterize a free and independent people, there were still some whose principles were rotten and whom neither reason could sway nor law restrain, as appears from the subjoined extract.

During the French war of 1755, the war of the Revolution, and the intermediate Indian war, Chambersburg was a small frontier village, almost the outpost of civilization. A considerable trade was carried on with the more remote settlements on the Pittsburg road, by means of pack-horses. In time of peace some traffic was carried on with the Indians. The vicinity of an Indian frontier is not the purest school of morals. The restraints of law and religion become relaxed. The laws of the provincial legislation were ill suited to the sudden and analogous emergencies of frontier life, and the people were very apt to make a law unto themselves, and institute a code of morals that would not be tolerated in better organized communities. The rigid discipline of the Scotch Presbyterians was introduced at a very early period into the Conococheague settlements, but it surpassed its powers to curb the wild and lawless spirit of the Indian traders and frontier men. As a consequence of this state of things, the Conococheague towns were infested during the revolution with a band of desperate marauders and counterfeiters, who bid defiance to all laws. They had an organized line from Bucks county through Chester and the Cumberland valley, into Virginia. The Doanes of Bucks county, Fritz of Chester county, and the men of Conococheague, (whose names might be mentioned if it were thought necessary,) together with other confederates in Virginia and Carolina, drove a brisk trade during the revolution by stealing horses and cattle, and disposing of them to the British. When the British retired, they carried on an extensive trade among themselves, by stealing horses at the south; passing them along the line to the north where they could not be recognized, and exchanging them for others stolen at the north; thus at that early day anticipating the golden dreams of our modern financiers, by equalizing the exchanges.

The long narrow valleys and secluded coves behind the Blue Mountain afforded a convenient route, and secure hiding places. These were no shabby villains: they wore the finest dresses, sported the best horses, and could display more guineas and jewelry than any others in the settlement; and though the source of their sudden wealth was suspected, no one dared to prove it against them. When not engaged in the more important department of the trade, they resorted to counterfeiting continental money, and sauntering around the towns, where they would amuse themselves by putting tricks upon travellers. Wo betide the unlucky Doctor Syntax who in those days hitched his horse in the di-amond after night. If fortunate enough to find him at all, he would have great difficulty in recognizing him, with his mane, tail, and ears cropped, and possibly a little paint added by way of ornament. And equally unfortunate was any man who resisted or threatened to bring them to justice. His barn or his crops would be destroyed by fire. They thus for a long time defied public sentiment by threats, or eluded justice by concealment. At last two of them near Chambersburg, meeting a man on the highway with a bottle which they presumed to be whiskey, demanded it of him; he gave it up without remark, and on tasting they found it to be yeast! They broke it over his head in a rage, and otherwise abused him. This led to their arrest, and the detection of other crimes; and they were hung at Carlisle. On being called out to execution, they refused to come; but a smoke of brimstone made in the cell brought them to speedy submission.

The state of education is improving. The common school system has been adopted in every district except one township, Warren. The schools are in operation in 13 districts, in which 112 schools are open about five months and a half in the year, employing 96 male, and 17 female teachers, at an average salary of \$17,72, of the latter \$11,21 per month; in these schools 3,282 male, and 2,711 females are taught, 70 of whom are learning German. A district tax has been raised of \$11,781 74—the State appropriation was \$8,136 00—cost of instruction \$10,490 74; fuel and contingencies \$904 70, for the year 1844.

Besides the public schools, other literary institutions, already noticed, exert a salutary influence upon the several classes of society.

The religious denominations are Presbyterian, Associate Reformed, German Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, United Brethren in Christ, German Baptist, Mennonites, and Church of God.

Poorhouse.—Ample provision is made for the support of the poor. The poor house near Chambersburg, contains on an average about 100 paupers. There is a farm connected with it of 188 acres, and is very productive.

HISTORY OF BEDFORD COUNTY.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BEDFORD COUNTY.

Bedford county erected—Extracts from Court Records, &c.—Limits of Bedford reduced—Surface of the county diversified—Description of, &c.—Geology of the county—General statistics of 1840—Synopsis of census of 1840—Streams described—Public improvements.

BEDFORD county, originally a part of Cumberland county, was taken from it by an act of the Legislature, passed March 9, 1771; the boundary and limits of which were thus defined by said act, "That all and singular the lands lying and being within the boundaries following: that is to say, beginning where the province line crosses the Tuscarora mountain, and running along the summit of that mountain to the Gap near the head of Path Valley; thence with a north line to the Juniata; thence with the Juniata to the mouth of Shaver's creek; thence northeast to the line of Berks county; thence along the Berks county line northwestward to the west boundary of the province; thence southward, according to the several courses of the western boundary of the province, to the southwest corner of the province to the place of beginning.

By the sixth section of the same act it was ordained, "That it shall and may be lawful to and for Arthur St. Clair, Bernard Dougherty, James Coulter, William Proctor and George Woods, Gent. or any of them, to purchase and take assurances to them and their heirs of a piece of land, situate in some convenient place in the said town (Bedford) in trust, and for the use of the inhabitants of the said county, and thereon to erect a court house and prison."

Robert McCrea, William Miller and Robert Moore, were appointed to run, mark out and distinguish the boundary lines between Cumberland and Bedford counties.

The first Court of General Quarter Session of this county was held at Bedford the 16th of April, 1771, before William Proctor, Robert Cluggage, Robert Hanna, George Wilson, William Lochery & William McConnell, Esqrs. Justice of our Lord the King, to hear and determine divers felonies and misdemeanors committed in the said county.

The Grand Jury consisted of the following gentlemen—

James Anderson, foreman: Charles Cesna, James McCashlin, Thomas Kenton, Allen Rose, George Millekin, John Moore, Robert Culbertson, George Funk, John Huff, Rinard Wolfe, Vallentine Shadacer,

Thomas Hay, Samuel Drennin, Edward Rose, Samuel Skinner, William Parker, Christopher Miller, Thomas Croyal, Adam Sam, Jacob Fisher, David Rinard.

The first Justices of the Peace for the county appointed by the Governor, March 12, 1771, were: John Frazer, Bernard Daugherty, Arthur St. Clair, William Crawford, James Millingan, Thomas Gist, Dorsey Pentecost, Alexander McKee, Wm. Proctor, jr., Robert Hanna, William Lochery, George Wilson, Robert Cluggage, Wm. McConnell and Geo. Woods.

April term 1771—Tavern keepers recommended to the Governor were: Margaret Frazer, Jean Woods, Frederick Naugle, Geo. Funk, John Campbell.

July 1771—James Anderson, Andrew Bonjour, Thomas Campbell, Joseph Irwin, John Miller, Samuel Paxton.

January Session of 1783 the Court fixed the following tavern rates, in Bedford county.

	£.	s.	d.
One bowl of West India rum toddy	0	1	6
Do. Continental or other rum	0	1	0
Do. Whiskey " "	0	1	0
Each bowl to have one half pint of liquor			
Half a pint of West India rum	0	1	0
Do. Continental rum	0	0	6
Do. Whiskey	0	0	6
Beer and cider each per quart	0	0	6
Dinner supper and breakfast each	0	1	0
Horse and hay per night	0	0	6

The above to be the rates of tavern expenses and to be set up to public view in every tavern in the county of Bedford.

Done by the Court the 17th of July 1783.

BARNARD DAUGHERTY, President.

The following attorneys appeared and were admitted, on motion of Bernard Daugherty, Esq., Robert Magaw, Andrew Ross, Philip Pendleton, Robert Galbraith, David Sample and James Wilson, and at the July term, July, 16, 1771, David Grier, David Espy and Geo. Brent.

Arthur St. Clair was the first Prothonotary, Recorder of Deeds, Register and Deputy Register for the Probate of Wills.

The first Commissioners were Robert Hanna, Dorsey Pentecost and John Stephenson; the Assessors were James Pollock, Samuel Miller, Solomon Sheppard, Joseph Bealer, James Cavet and Richard Wells, jr.

At the same session the Court appointed the following township officers, viz:

Air township—Jacob Rush Constable, John Burd Supervisor, James Galloway William Lata, Overseers of Poor.

Armstrong township—Edward Cahil Constable, Geo. Leazer Supervisor, William Styphel James Craig, Overseers of Poor.

Barra township—Wm. Shirley Constable, Samuel Anderson, Supervisor, James Siple John Wilson, Overseers of Poor.

Bedford township—John Rodes twp. Henry Creiton town Constables, Thomas Kenton Supervisor, John Miller Samuel Drenrim, Overseers of Poor.

Brother Valley township—John Huff Constable, Henry Rhode, sen., Supervisor, Red. Wells Gabriel Rhode, Overseers of Poor.

Colerain township—John Moore Constable, Samuel Moore Supervisor, Oliver Miller Wm. Parker, Overseers of Poor.

Cumberland township—Thos. Davis Constable, Thos. Jones Supervisor, Thos. Coulter Sam'l Barret, Overseers of Poor.

Dublin township—James Foley Constable, Jas. Cluggage Supervisor, Benj. Elliot Charles Boyle, Overseers of Poor.

Fairfield township—Robert Loughlin Constable, John Campbell Supervisor, Thos. Jameson Garrett Pendegrass, Overseers of Poor.

Hempfield township—Wendel Urie Constable, Joseph Erwin Supervisor, Joshua Meck James Bird, Overseers of Poor.

Mt. Pleasant township—Wm. Perry Constable, Jas. Fletcher Supervisor, Joseph Rone John Sheppard, Overseers of Poor.

Pitt township—Wm. Troop Constable, Wm. Elliot Supervisor, Devereaux Smith Con. Wend. Miller, Overseers of Poor.

Ross Straver township—Wm Lynd Constable, Rob. Thompson Supervisor, Henry Spears Rob. McConnell, Overseers of Poor.

Spring Hill township—Lewis Seltzer Constable, Charles Burkham Supervisor, Jno. Wm. Province Luke Collins, Overseers of Poor.

Tyrone township—Sam'l Lyon Constable, Lawrence Harrison Supervisor, Ebenezer Zane John Stinson, Overseers of Poor.

Tullyleagu township—Andrew Boys Constable, Supervisor none, Overseers of Poor, none.

When the county was first organized it included the whole north-western and south-western part of the province. Since, it has been gradually reduced to its present limits. It was first reduced by annexation of a part of it to the county of Northumberland, March 21, 1772, which was erected out of parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton and Bedford; then by the establishment of Westmoreland in 1773, of Huntingdon in 1787, and Somerset in 1795; and is now bounded as follows: on the north by Huntingdon and east by Franklin counties; south by the State of Maryland, and west by Somerset and Cambria counties. Length about 44 miles; breadth 34; area 1,520 square miles. Population in 1790 was 13,124; in 1800 12,039; in 1810 15,746; in 1820 20,248; in 1830 24,502; in 1840 29,335. Aggregate amount of property taxable in 1844 \$3,294,386 00. The county is at present divided into the following townships, viz: Air, Bedford, Belfast, Bethel, Colerain, Cumberland Valley, Dublin, Greenfield, Hopewell, Londonderry, Napier, Providence, Southampton, St. Clair, Woodberry, Broad Top, East Providence, West Providence, Union, North Woodberry, South Woodberry, Licking Creek, Middle Woodberry, Monroe and Harrison, and several boroughs, which will be mentioned in the sequel.

The face of the country is greatly diversified; mountainous, uneven, broken, undulating and level. Numerous mountains or high ridges intersect the county, passing across it in a direction nearly north and south, which are separated by vallies of irregular width. The first prominent mountain that presents itself is the Cove or Tuscarora mountain. The Tuscarora separates Franklin from Bedford. A small valley or rather Cove intervenes between this and Scrub Ridge, which is not so high as the first mentioned; then we next meet with Sideling Hill, which extends from the Maryland line across the county, and into Huntingdon county as far as the Juniata river, a distance of more than 50 miles. Next is Broad Top, extending northeast from Hopewell

township, into Union township, Huntingdon county—coal abounds in this county. South of Broad Top or Harbour mountain, Ray's Hill, Clear Ridge, and several other ranges extending southward into Maryland. Immediately west of these is Warrior Ridge, which extends from the south boundary of the county, northeast through Southampton and Providence townships, to the Raystown branch of the Juniata river. Next is Tussey's mountain, stretching quite across the county, and thence northward through Huntingdon and Centre counties towards the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Further west is Dunning's mountain, a continuation of Evitt's mountain from the vicinity of Bedford. Evitt's mountain rises in Maryland, north of the Potomac, and runs into this county to the Raystown Branch, dividing Cumberland Valley and Bedford townships, from Southampton & Colerain. Its length is this about 19 miles. Wills' mountain, also rises in Maryland on the north side of Wills' creek, runs into this county a short distance north of the town of Bedford; and beyond then is the Allegheny, which forms part of the western boundary of the county.

Besides these mountains are a number of knobs and elevated, rugged ridges, that contribute much to the diversified aspect of the country. Nor is the aspect of the country more diversified than are the geological features.

Though the aspect of the country is rugged and forbidding, and a goodly portion unproductive, nevertheless, there are to be found between lofty ridges and mountains, delightful valleys, studded with comfortable dwellings; healthy and prolific families, with all the comforts of life in abundance, and every thing that renders life comfortable.

Limestone is found east of Tussey's mountain, crossing the Juniata at Bloody run; and also about the town of Bedford, from which it extends on the west of Evitt's mountain to the Maryland line.

Another long narrow belt of the same limestone, ranges from the southern boundary of the state up Wills' creek on the west of Wills' creek on the west of Wills' mountain, stretching north eastward quite across the country to Juniata near Hollidaysburg.

The fossiliferous sandstone will generally be found to accompany the limestone last mentioned, commonly forming sharp rough hills along the side of the valley which contains the limestone. The dark and olive colored slates, with the gray and red sandstones and red shales of the next two formations, and occupy most of the country between Scrub Ridge and Sideling Hill, and also from the latter to Warrior ridge.

In the western part of the county there is also a broad belt of these formations extending from the limestone and fossiliferous sandstone to the Alleghany mountain. The coarse gray sandstone of the next formation is found in Sideling Hill, Rays Hill, Harbour mountain, and on the eastern front of the Alleghany.

The red shale next below the coal measures is seen at the base of Broad Top in Wells' Valley, and westward in Ground Hog Valley. The sandstone which lies immediately below the coal of the Broad Top region, differs from the general character of the same formation below the other coal measures of the State, having less of the pebbly conglomerate character, and more resembling the sandstone between the coal beds themselves.

Broad Top mountain, only a part of which is in this county, is a broad, irregular plateau, having several spurs running out towards the bounding valleys. Beds of coal have been opened on it in many places, and have been found to be from 3 to 8 feet thick; yielding coal of good quality, though less bituminous than that west of the Alleghany mountain. This region has been but imperfectly explored, and the number of coal seams, with their extent and relative positions, has not been fully ascertained. Iron ore occurs in many parts of the county, and is extensively mined in several places for the supply of furnaces. The best kind is found in Morrison's Cove.

According to the statistics of 1840, Bedford county contained 9 furnaces, which produced 7,765 tons of cast iron; 2 forges produced 8398 tons of bar iron; 14,497 tons of fuel consumed in the manufacture of iron, employing 821 men including mining operations, capital invested \$253,000; coal dug 8,100 bushels, employed 10 hands, capital invested \$900; horses and mules 8,698, neat cattle 53,213, sheep 82,055, swine 95,716 value of poultry \$10,320; wheat 347,704, barley 5,531, oats 591,371, rye 295,051, buckwheat 52,851, corn 329,956, pounds of wool, 66,699, hops 3,516, wax 2,146, bushels of potatoes 284,222, tons of hay 33,384, tons of flax 5½, pounds of sugar made 3,207, cords of wood sold 2,200, products of the orchard valued at \$5,667, home-made goods \$10,544, stores of all kinds 40, capital invested \$120,900; value of machinery manufactured \$2,700; bricks and lime \$4,900, hands employed in making brick 16, capital invested \$650; 11 fulling mills, 1 woollen factory, value of manufactured goods \$9,700, 18 hands employed, capital \$11,500; various manufactures \$26,770, persons employed 94; capital invested \$8,334; value of hats and caps manufactured \$3,200; 16 persons employed, capital \$1,000; 22 tanneries; tanned 6,546 sides of sole leather, 4,847 upper; 43 hands employed; capital \$35,200, 26 hands employed, various other manufactories of leather; \$93,525 value of manufactured articles, capital \$6,735; 9 distilleries, manufactured 40,600 gallons, 9 hands employed, capital \$,600; 1 powder mill, made 4,000 pounds, 2 men employed, \$800 capital; value of drugs, paints, &c., \$1,200, capital \$35,005; 12 potteries, \$5,350 val. of articles, 17 hands employed, capital \$1,900; 2 printing offices, 5 men employed, \$4,800 capital; value of carriages and wagons manufactured \$8,025; 27 hands employed, capital \$4,205; 19 flouring mills, made 8,400 barrels of flour, 12 grist mills, 43 saw mills; value of manufactures \$17,065, 74 men employed, \$69,620 capital; furniture manufacture \$11,850, 38 men employed, \$3,790 capital; houses built 11 brick, 7 wooden, 117 men employed, value of constructing buildings \$32,050. Total capital invested in manufactures \$192,039.

MALES.

FEMALES.

Col. po.

CENSUS OF 1840
OF
BEDFORD CO.,
PA.

TOWNSHIPS.	under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	Males of all ages.	Females &c.
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Bedford boro ¹	81	45	51	59	114	68	38	20	12	2	3	71	57	50	80	89	55	27	23	15	3	1	28	26
Bedford,	155	129	122	91	128	89	69	38	11	7	7	134	127	89	85	131	68	68	29	16	14	1	59	54
Broad Tay,	101	81	69	51	75	46	32	26	4	2	2	79	74	59	61	82	42	36	21	11	0	5	4	
Cumberland Val'y	75	63	62	60	57	44	38	26	4	8	2	60	73	62	52	56	44	38	13	6	6	2	34	19
Colerain,	139	96	91	66	89	48	49	38	13	3	2	104	90	72	64	88	39	50	23	18	3	3	1	0
Greenfield,	172	176	126	124	151	81	86	32	22	7	3	143	118	131	114	146	67	81	34	11	2	2	0	0
Hopewell,	121	100	81	55	91	55	52	28	15	10	4	107	93	75	72	97	52	45	30	14	9	2	2	2
Martinsburg boro ²	35	31	20	30	36	17	15	16	1	3	0	42	34	27	29	34	19	18	9	4	1	1	0	0
Londonderry,	84	68	52	58	59	25	29	22	8	0	2	62	69	43	50	54	33	38	12	6	5	0	16	14
Napier	244	216	170	150	169	113	100	80	25	8	1	230	172	173	150	168	114	107	40	29	7	1	9	0
East Providence,	114	97	62	42	64	66	34	23	9	5	2	99	80	66	57	54	61	46	24	5	4	1	4	1
West Providence,	158	113	94	86	118	79	65	43	30	11	2	138	124	111	114	128	79	65	39	29	8	1	6	1
Shellsbury boro ³	31	23	19	24	29	19	11	9	1	1	0	22	17	17	24	30	12	15	5	3	0	2	3	4
Southampton,	176	121	103	71	107	76	48	32	17	12	1	145	138	95	74	126	59	65	32	17	15	4	3	0
St. Clair,	162	95	92	78	123	79	47	38	15	11	2	139	115	104	86	123	65	39	33	24	7	5	6	1
Union,	111	59	56	71	83	50	28	24	14	3	2	95	93	68	70	81	47	37	21	6	5	0	5	3
North Woodberry,	198	158	145	115	157	94	72	43	14	10	2	174	150	134	138	141	81	83	42	13	9	1	19	8
South Woodberry,	206	150	120	107	159	122	62	31	17	8	0	186	149	140	120	154	96	56	30	20	5	4	0	3
Belhel,	136	117	85	81	94	75	36	31	25	7	0	108	107	84	70	113	71	39	35	20	8	2	11	15
Belfast,	78	75	43	33	46	39	36	10	11	5	3	55	56	52	31	58	73	17	14	13	4	0	0	0
Licking Creek,	56	60	64	44	41	37	36	22	8	7	1	75	52	50	49	72	34	31	22	9	4	1	0	6
Dublin,	89	70	66	39	78	45	34	26	15	4	4	86	55	49	42	70	51	32	26	15	4	1	0	3
Air,	142	102	77	71	132	64	62	35	25	13	2	110	84	82	81	115	70	66	35	19	8	3	26	28
McConnellstown b.	49	21	29	29	45	15	21	9	6	2	1	26	32	23	32	50	21	23	13	6	3	1	13	14
Total Population.	2913	2270	1896	1634	2275	1446	1134	707	327	157	48	2480	2196	1745	1745	2260	1323	1122	605	329	143	39	251	206

Though Bedford county contains no mighty rivers, yet it is well watered.—Every valley has its stream, fed by mountain springs, and these uniting, furnish abundance of water power for all milling and manufacturing purposes. The following are the streams of any note.

THE JUNIATA RIVER, one of the main tributaries of the Susquehanna rises by two principal branches, Raystown and Frankstown branches, in this county. *The Raystown Branch* rises on the east side of the Allegheny mountain, and its course through this county receives, Dunnings creek, Buffalo creek, Shovers creek, Cove creek, Tussey's run, Clear creek, Shavers and Brush creek, Tub Mill run, Harbour run, Yellow creek, Six Mile creek and some smaller streams with their several tributaries, among which are, Bobs creek, Alum creek, Adams creek, Grass Lick run, Beaver Dam Branch, Middle Branch, Meadow Branch, Three Spring Branch, and numerous other rivulets. *The Frankstown Branch* rises near the south east corner of Greenfield township, and flows along the west side of Dunnings mountain north about twelve miles, to the Frankstown gap, through which it passes to Huntingdon county; in its course, through this county it receives the Three Springs, and several other tributaries.

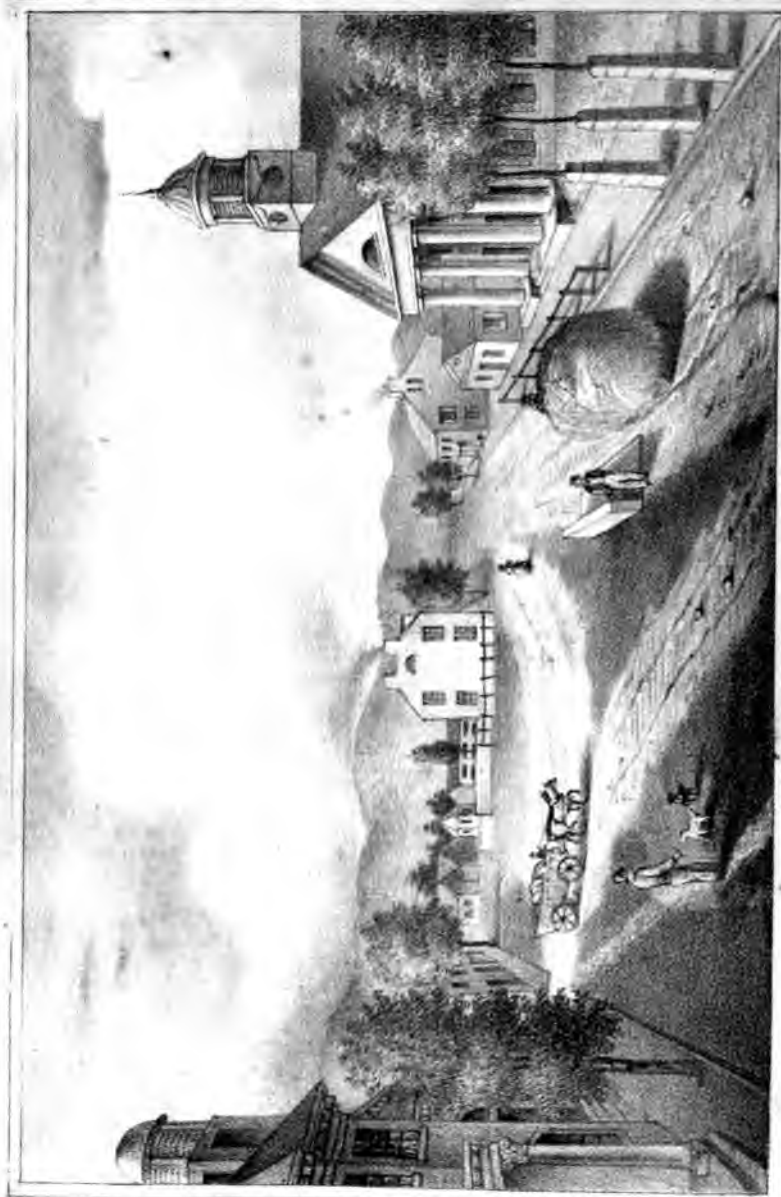
Besides the Juniata branches several other streams rise in this county; Aughwick creek which rises in Hopewell and Dublin townships, receiving several tributaries in its course through this part of the county; and flows onward through Huntingdon county.

In the southern part of the county, are a number of streams, tributaries of the Potomac—beginning at the Franklin county line, and passing along the Maryland line, we meet with Licking, North Branch, Conallaway, Buck, Sideling Hill, Fifteen Mile, Town, Hinlston, Evets and Wills creeks, with their numerous small tributaries, such as Little creek, Pattersons run, Burns run, Barrets run, Five Lick run, Little, Conallaway, Lybersgore run, Hughs Camp run, and others of less importance. These several streams though not large, many of which are mere mountain streams, afford many excellent mill seats, and many are employed as such. Bedford springs will be noticed in the sequel.

This county has no canals, nor rail roads. The turnpike road from Philadelphia passes through it from east to west, entering the county between Loudon and McConnelstown. Near McConnelstown another turnpike road by way of Mercersburg from Waynesburg, connects with the Philadelphia pike; and a little beyond Bedford the turnpike to Somerset, branches from it.

The common roads are generally good, except in the mountainous regions, where they are usually very rough, and little attention is paid to them, by way of repairing them.—In many places the travelling in wheel carriages is exceedingly difficult, and very unpleasant. In some instances the danger of upsetting a vehicle is great, along the acclivity of mountains. Lately, however, considerable attention has been paid to improve them so as to avoid accidents from upsetting, owing to the narrowness as well as the roughness of the roads.





The Old Church and Factory

A SCENE IN HARTFORD

CHAPTER XXXVI.

BEDFORD BOROUGH.

The locality of Bedford—Synopsis of the census of 1840—Fort erected here proving a link in chain of forts &c—Garret Pendegrass receives a grant of lands—Armies here several times during the French war—Joseph Shippen's letter to Richard Peters—Captain Ourry stationed here—Refugees resort hither for protection against the enemy—Numerous interesting incidents noticed—Whiskey insurrection &c—Armies here in 1794—President Washington and other distinguished men here—Extracts from sundry letters &c—Bedford medicinal springs, briefly noticed.

Bedford is a flourishing borough, situated near the head of the Raystown Branch of the Juniata river, on the main turnpike road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg.

The town was laid out by order of the proprietor, in 1766. The order was given to the Surveyor general, John Lukens, who himself saw the order executed. The plan of the town is that generally adopted by the Penns; straight streets and a large square in the centre. It is 95 miles east of Pittsburg; 64 west of Chambersburg; 31 south of Hollidaysburg, and 30 north of Cumberland. The country around it that is not mountainous, is rich limestone land.

Bedford can vie with any interior town, in Pennsylvania, for its beautiful site, and the unsurpassed salubrity of its atmosphere. It is nearly surrounded by mountains, pouring their limpid streams into the valley, shaded by forests, which, in the summer afford refreshing breezes and "lustrated air," so desirable in the hot season of the year.

The site of Bedford, says the Revd. R. Weiser, in a communication to the compiler, is in the estimation of all who love the sublime and romantic one of the most beautiful and picturesque in the state. It is almost entirely surrounded by the sides or sloping ends of high mountains.

The most beautiful view is from the elevation on the turnpike, as the traveller rises up from the Great George through which the Juniata, and the turnpike pass.

As you approach the summit of the hill, Bedford bursts into view, with its spires, and brick walls, an astonishing contrast with the rugged scenery through which you have passed for near 50 miles. The spot on which it stands, seems to have been scooped out of the mountains by the hands of God.

We might adopt the language of Moore in relation to its physical character—

"The bright eyes of angels only
Can look upon us, and behold
A paradise so pure and lonely."

Here in this lovely spot, watered by the clear waters of the Juniata, and fanned by the salubrious breezes of the Allegheny, Ray seems to have pitched his tent. Who this Ray was, or where he hailed from, or what became of him, no one knows. The probability is that amid those scenes of carnage and blood, he and his family were massacred—and none was left to tell the sorrowful tale of his fate. No monument was ever erected to tell the passer by where rest the remains of the first settlers of Bedford.

There is no person living who knows any thing about Raystown. The oldest person, born in Bedford, now living is Mrs. Ernst, now 85 years old; and, she says, that when she was a little girl, the Fort of Bedford was full of soldiers, and the houses outside of the Fort were called Raystown. In 1771, the old regular fort was in a state of dilapidation, according to the united testimony of a number of our oldest citizens. But still we are told after 1771, even up to 1782, the whites were in the habit of running to the fort when alarmed by the Indians. If the fort was in a state of ruin, how could it protect the whites? We have a solution of this apparent contradiction, in the well authenticated fact that, George Woods, the great grandfather of E. S. Anderson, Esq. had a fort made around his own house—a picket fort, and this was called Fort Bedford, and it was into this fort the alarmed whites generally ran after 1771.

The Borough contained in 1830 a population of 879, of whom 417 were white males, 405 white females; 27 black males, and 30 black females—and by the census of 1840, it contained 1,036*, of whom were 498 males; 471 females; 29 black males, and 26 black females. Of this population 7 were engaged in agriculture, 85 in manufactures and trades; 20 in the learned professions, and the others variously employed.

At present (1845) according to an account furnished by the Revd. Weiser, there are in Bedford 225 buildings used as public and private houses. The public buildings are, the Court house, the jail, several churches, viz: Presbyterian, Lutheran & German Reformed, Methodist Episcopal, Catholic, African meeting house, two for primary schools. The professional men are, 7 Clergymen; the Revds. Thos. Heyden, Catholic; Jacob Riegler, German Reformed; Reuben Weiser, Lutheran; J. M. H. Hall, Presbyterian; W. Bergstresser, Episcopal Methodist; 2 Physicians; **Dra. J. H. Hofius**, B. F. Barclay; W. H. Watson.

*The town of Bedford has extended beyond the limits of its corporation, and hence the population according to the census of 1840 seems very small, i. e. 1,036. Bedford like most country towns has its suburbs. On the west we have Boydstown, with a population of 50; on the east, we have a foundry and the poorhouse, and a number of other houses, with a population of nearly 100; then on the south west, we have Grand Hill with a population of 40 or 50, making upwards of 200, who are not counted in the population of Bedford, and yet they are a part and parcel of our population.—R. W.

J. G. Hamill, and G. H. Keyser, 3 Attorneys at Law; J. M. Russell, Job Mann, S. M. Barclay, Wm. Lyon, Alex. King, John A. Blodget, John Mann, S. L. Russell, J. W. Johnson, David H. Hofus, Samuel H. Tate, Francis Jordan, John Cesna, Wm. P. Schell, Oliver C. Hartley, Esqrs. Two Dentists; Dr. C. H. Hickok, James M. P. Russell, 10 dry goods stores, 2 hardware, 2 drug stores, 3 confectionaries, 8 hotels and taverns, 7 cabinet makers, 3 chair makers, 4 blacksmiths, 1 whitesmith, 2 watch makers, 3 house painters, 1 painter and glazier, 1 stage manufacturer, 1 clock maker, 1 brewer, 1 iron foundry, 1 copper and tin smith, 2 coopers, 6 house carpenters, 3 masons, 2 plasterers, 1 paper hanger and upholsterer, 5 boot and shoe makers, 4 tailors, 1 hatter, 2 wheelwrights, 2 turners, 1 machine maker, 2 tobacconists, 3 saddlers and harness makers, 1 potter, 3 butchers.

We have, continues Mr. Weiser, two papers published in Bedford, viz: The Bedford Gazette edited and published by Genl. G. W. Bowman; The Bedford Inquirer by Wm. T. Chapman jr.; the former devoted to the interests of the present administration, the latter opposed to it. These papers are both ably edited and well sustained.

The means of instruction, are not perhaps surpassed by any other town in the State. There are 7 schools in existence and all well patronised. 1. The Academy where the classics are taught. 2. The Bedford Female Seminary, by Thos. H. Davis, R. Weiser, Principal, Prof. Holeman, Teacher of Music, Miss H. N. Hunter, Instructress.— 3. Mr. Harris, private school. 4. Mrs. Mower's private school for females. 5. Miss McDowel's private female school, and two primary schools. These schools continue during the whole year. The people of Bedford see and appreciate the importance of educating their children.

The far famed and celebrated medicinal springs are in the vicinity of the borough, and add much to the liveliness of the place during the hot season of the year.

Bedford was at an early period of the French and Indian war, a frontier military post, and formed a link in a chain of Forts erected on the frontier settlements west of the Susquehanna river.

The following is a list, with the names of the places and principal forts at the time alluded to.

Fort Shirley, on Aughwick branch, a creek that empties into the Juniata a short distance below Huntingdon, Huntingdon county.

Fort Littleton, in Dublin township, east of Bedford.

Fort Loudon, on the Conococheague creek, Franklin county. These three forts ranged in a north and south line. From Fort Shirley there was an Indian path to Fort Augusta, near Salisbury, Northumberland county.

There was another range of forts going westward.

Fort Bedford, Fort Lionier, Hannastown, and Fort Pitt. From Fort Pitt southward was another range at Red Stone creek, on Monongahela, stood Fort Burd, near which there had been two Indian forts.

Proceeding due north from Fort Pitt, on the Allegheny, at the mouth of French creek was Fort Venango; and northeast from thence stood Fort Le Boeuf, at the mouth of Le Boeuf creek, and onward further north, stood Fort Presque Isle, on the margin of Lake Erie.

A similar range of Forts was erected on the east side of the Susquehanna river.

Prior to the French and Indian war, one Garret Pendergrass had settled at Raystown (Bedford) by permission of the chiefs of the Six Nations; but during the French war he fled and took shelter at Fort Littletown, where one of his daughters was killed by the Indians in June, 1757; and before he could safely return to this place, others had settled here, on his land, and to atone for his disappointment, several of the Indian chiefs granted him a large tract of land opposite Fort Pitt, as appears from the subjoined deed of settlement, which I copied from the records at Bedford; and which it appears had been recorded Sept. 19, 1772.

Know all men by these presents, that whereas a certain Garrett Pendergrass, senior, of Bedford settlement, in the province of Penna. &c. of Cumberland, was settled some number of years past, by leave of the chiefs or deputies of the Six Nations of Indians, on a tract of land where Bedford now is situate, while the said land was yet the property of us, and our said chiefs and deputies, said Pendergrass being dispossessed of said land, in time of the war between the French and English, and before said Pendergrass could safely return to live on said land, it was entered upon by people, who have from time to time, and yet continue to keep said Pendergrass from the enjoyment of said tract of land, said Pendergrass at the last treaty held at Fort Pitt with the representatives of the said Six Nations, informed our said chiefs, or their representatives or deputies, that he was deprived of the above tract of land as above mentioned, whereupon we, and our deputies, did then, at said treaty, give him the said Pendergrass our leave in writing, under our hands, to settle on a tract of land called the Long Resch, near the mouth of Youghagain, but the said last mentioned tract, being at the time of the said treaty, or before, improved by some other person or persons, contrary to our expectation, for which reason, he, the said Pendergrass, has not obtained possession of the latter mentioned tract, and cannot quietly enjoy neither of the two above mentioned tracts, know ye, therefore, that we the under, or within bound subscribers, who have hereunto caused our names to be set, and have put our marks; the first of us, assigning one of the chiefs, and the other, two deputies of the said Six Nations, do give and grant, to the said Garrett Pendergrass, his heirs and trustees forever, our, full leave and liberty of us, and for behalf of the Six Nations, to settle on a tract of land on the north side of Allegainia river opposite to Fort Pitt: to join the said river on the one side, and to extend one mile and a half from the landing on the north side of the said river Allegheny opposite to Fort Pitt, in form of a semi-circle, from said landing, hereby granting to him, and his trustees and assigns, full liberty to build houses, make improvements and cultivate the said tract of land, or any part thereof, and that he, the said Pendergrass may the more quietly enjoy the said land, and any benefit that he, his heirs or assigns, shall make or can make thereby; we do for ourselves, and in behalf of said Six Nations, discharge all people whatsoever from molesting or disturbing him, the said Pendergrass or his heirs, or trustees, or assigns, in the possession or quiet enjoyment of the said land, or any part thereof, and we do by these presents firmly engage and promise to answer all objection that any Indian tribe or tribes have to making of the above settlement.

AMONQUIT,
ENGLISHHEAD,
CONNEHAGANECAT.

In 1758 England determined to humble her enemies on the American continent. The plan of the campaign was well considered and wisely matured. Abercrombie, instead of Loudon, who had been recalled, was the Commander in chief; Amherst, was his Second, Wolfe and Forbes, Brigadiers. Several strong points were to be simultaneously attacked. General Forbes was to assail fort Du Quesne with a detachment from General Abercrombie's army, strengthened by the Southern militia, the whole computed at seven or eight thousand men, viz: four companies of, 350 Royal Americans; 1200 Highlanders, thirteen companies; 2600 Virginians; 2700 Pennsylvanians; 1000 wagoners, sutlers, and followers of the army.

Forbes began his march from Carlisle in July 1758, to join Bouquet, who was posted at Raystown (Bedford).

This was a stirring time at Bedford—an army of many thousand men to assemble here, Colonel Bouquet, who had been here some time, with several thousand soldiers, advanced to Loyal Harmer, with two thousand five hundred men. The main body delayed at Raystown for several weeks, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring carriages and military stores, and the tardiness with which the orders to the Virginia Regulars, under Colonel Washington, to join, had been given.

Joseph Shippen, in a letter dated at this place, to Richard Peters, mentions that there were some Cherokee and other Indians here at this time, to aid the English.

Camp at Raystown, August 16, 1758.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with the commissions for Major and Lieut. Col. for which I am very much obliged to you. When I wrote to you about them from Carlisle I beg leave to assure you I did not mean to impute any neglect to you. I have shown those commissions to Col. Bouquet, which was my duty to do, that he might know my rank in the Pennsylvania regiment, with which he was pleased. I think it absolutely necessary to take them with me, as many circumstances may require me to produce them before the campaign is over.

I find my duty as Brigade Major keeps me continually employed; I am therefore prevented from writing so frequently and fully to my friends, as I intended.

It is very uncertain what number of Indians we shall have with us; it seems little dependence can be put on any of them. I believe there have been above one hundred and forty Cherokees at this place since the army first formed a camp here; but they have all left us except twenty-five of them. Besides these we have Hambus and three Delaware warriors, who came two days ago from Fort Augusta and two or three of the Six Nations; and Col. Bouquet expects Capt. Bullen (a Catawba captain) with thirty of his warriors to join us very soon. I understand they are to come from Winchester by the way of Fort Cumberland.

The army here consists now of about 2500 men exclusive of about 1400 employed in cutting and cleaning the road between this and Loyal Harmer; a great part of which I suppose by this time is finished. So that I am in hopes we shall be able to move forward soon

after the General comes up, who we hear is at Shippensburg on his way up. Colonel Montgomery with part of his battalion, is with him. Col. Washington and 400 of his regiment have not yet joined us, nor has any of Col. Byrd's (of Virginia) except two companies.

We have a good stoccade built here, with several convenient and large store houses. Our camps are all secured with a good breast work and a small ditch on the out side; and every thing goes on well. Colonel Burd desires his compliments to you.

I am, very respectfully, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JOSEPH SHIFFEN.

Before the detachment under Bouquet proceeded further west, Maj. Grant was detached with 800 men, to reconnoitre the fort and vicinity. He however met with a considerable loss of men, and himself made prisoner. Colonel Bouquet still remained at Loyal Harmer. The enemy, inspired by their want of success, resolved to attack him in his camp. De Vetri made an attack upon him, October 13th. He repeated his attack, but not with as much success as in the day—67 of Bouquet's men were killed and wounded.

On the 24 October, General Forbes proceeded from Raystown to Loyal Harmer, where he continued till the seventh of November.—On the 12th, Col. Washington, being out with a scouting party, fell in with a number of the enemy, several miles from the camp, whom he attacked; killed one, took three prisoners, among whom was one Johnson, who had been captured by the Indians, in Lancaster county.

Col. Bouquet again passed along the Raystown road in 1763. This summer Fort Pitt was literally entrenched by the enemy. Gen. Amherst appointed Col. Bouquet for their relief. He commenced his march in July, from Carlisle. His object was first to relieve Fort Ligonier; and as Bedford and Ligonier were now the principal depositories for military stores; he did not proceed farther with his wagons than Ligonier, thence he proceeded with pack horses. At that time there was a garrison of soldiers at Bedford under the command of Captain Ourry. Here distressed families, for miles around sought protection, leaving most of their effects a prey to the savages. All the necessary precautions were taken by the commanding officer to prevent surprise, and repel open force, as also to render ineffectual the enemy's fire arrows. He armed all the fighting men, who formed two companies of volunteers, and did duty with the garrison till the arrival of two companies of light infantry, detached as soon as possible from Col. Bouquet's little army.

These two magazines being secured, the colonel advanced to the remotest verge of our settlements, where he could receive no sort of intelligence of the number, position, or motions of the enemy—not even at Fort Bedford, where he arrived with his whole convoy on the 25th of July; for though the Indians did not attempt to attack the fort, they had by this time killed, scalped, and taken eighteen persons in that neighborhood—and their skulking parties were so spread, that at last no express could escape them. * * * In this uncertainty of intelligence under which the colonel labored, he marched from Fort Bedford the 28th of July, and as soon as he reached Fort Ligonier he

determined, prudently, to leave his wagons at that post, and to proceed only with the pack-horses.

Col. Smith, who has been mentioned before, performed a daring exploit, at this place; an account of which is given in his own language.

In the year 1769 the Indians again made incursions on our frontiers; yet the traders continued carrying goods and warlike stores to them. The frontiers took the alarm, and a number of persons collected, destroyed and plundered a quantity of their powder, lead, &c., in Bedford county. Shortly after this some of these persons, with others, were apprehended and laid in irons in the guard-house in Fort Bedford, on suspicion of being the perpetrators of this crime.

Though I did not altogether approve of the conduct of this new club of black boys, yet I concluded that they should not lie in irons in the guard-house, or remain in confinement by arbitrary or military power. I resolved therefore, if possible, to release them, if they even should be tried by the civil law afterwards. I collected 18 of my old black boys that I had seen tried in the Indian war, &c. I did not desire a large party, lest they should be too much alarmed at Bedford, and accordingly be prepared for us. We marched along the public road in daylight, and made no secret of our design: We told those with whom we met that we were going to take Fort Bedford, which appeared to them a very unlikely story.—Before this I made it known to one William Thompson, a man whom I could trust, and who lived there: him I employed as a spy, and sent him along on horseback, before, with orders to meet me at a certain place near Bedford, one hour before day. The next day a little before sunset we encamped near the crossings of the Juniata, about 14 miles from Bedford, and erected tents, as though we intended staying all night, and not a man in my company knew to the contrary, save myself.—Knowing that they would hear this in Bedford, and wishing it to be the case, I thought to surprise them, by stealing a march.

As the moon rose about 11 o'clock, I ordered my boys to march, and we went on at the rate of 5 miles an hour, until we met Thompson at the place appointed. He told us that the commanding officer had frequently heard of us by travellers, and had ordered 30 men upon guard. He said they knew our number and only made game of the notion of 18 men coming to rescue the prisoners; but they did not expect us until the middle of the day. I asked him if the gate was open? He said it was then shut, but he expected they would open it as usual at daylight, as they apprehended no danger. I then moved my men up privately under the Juniata, where we lay concealed about 100 yards from the Fort gate. I had ordered the men to keep a profound silence until we got into it. I then sent off Thompson again to spy. At daylight he returned and told us that the gate was open, and 3 sentinels were standing upon the wall—that the guards were taking a morning dram, and the arms standing together in one place. I then concluded to rush into the Fort, and told Thompson to run before me to the arms. We ran with all our might, and as it was a misty morning the sentinels scarcely saw us until we were within the gate and took possession of the arms. Just as we were entering two of them discharged their guns, though I do not believe they aimed at us. We then raised a shout, which surprised the town, though some of them were pleased with the news. We compelled a blacksmith to take the irons off the

prisoners, and then we left the place. This I believe was the first British fort in America that was taken by what they called American rebels.

Smith was subsequently arrested, on a charge of murder; as one of the men in the scuffle of the Bedford affair, was accidentally shot. He says—Some time after this I took a journey westward in order to survey some located land I had on or near Yohogany. As I passed near Bedford while I was walking and leading my horse, I was overtaken by some men on horseback, like travellers. One of them asked my name and on telling it they immediately pulled out their pistols and presented them to me, calling upon me to deliver myself or I was a dead man. I stepped back presented my rifle and told them to stand off. One of them snapped a pistol at me, and another was preparing to shoot when I fired my piece: one of them also fired near the same time, and one of my fellow travellers fell. The assailants then rushed up and as the gun was empty, they took and tied me. I charged them with killing my fellow traveller, and told them he was a man that I had accidentally met with on the road that had nothing to do with the public quarrel. They asserted that I had killed him. I told them that my gun blowed or made a slow fire—that I had her from my face before she went off or I would not have missed my mark; and from the position my piece was in when it went off it was not likely that my gun killed this man, yet I acknowledged that I was not certain that it was not so. They then carried me to Bedford, laid me in irons in the guard-house, summoned a jury of the opposite party and held an inquest. The jury brought me in guilty of wilful murder. As they were afraid to keep me long in Bedford, for fear of a rescue, they sent me privately through the wilderness to Carlisle, where I was laid in heavy irons.

Shortly after I came here we heard that a number of my old black boys were coming to tear down the jail. I told the sheriff that I would not be rescued, as I knew that the indictment was wrong: therefore I wished to stand my trial. As I had found the black boys to be always under good command I repeated I could prevail on them to return, and therefore wished to write to them—to this the sheriff readily agreed. I wrote a letter to them, with irons on my hands, which was immediately sent; but as they had heard that I was in irons they would come on. When we heard they were near the town, I told the sheriff I would speak to them out of the window, and if the irons were off I made no doubt but I could prevail on them to desist. The sheriff ordered them to be taken off and just as they were taken off my hands the black boys came running up to the jail. I went to the window and called to them and they gave attention. I told them as my indictment was for wilful murder to admit of being rescued would appear dishonorable. I thanked them for their kind intentions and told them the greatest favor they could confer upon me would be to grant me this one request, 'to withdraw from the jail and return in peace;' to this they complied and withdrew. While I was speaking the irons were taken off my feet and never again put on.*

Before this party arrived at Conococheague there were about three hundred more on the way coming to their assistance and were resolv-

* See article Carlisle.

ed to take me out; they then turned and all came together to Carlisle. The reason they gave for coming again was because they thought that government was so enraged at me that I would not get a fair trial; but my friends and myself together again prevailed on them to return in peace.—*Loudon's Nar.* i. 258.

In the fall of 1794, a number of distinguished personages, and a numerous force to quell the Western Insurrection, assembled here. The following extracts are presented in this connection, as they cannot fail to be read with interest:

“Bedford, October 19, 1794.

“Pursuant to an arrangement for this purpose, the Pennsylvania troops which formed part of the legion, and which had arrived the preceding Friday evening, [the Governor with part of the army arrived on Saturday, Oct. 18] met the Governor about one mile from Bedford. He immediately took the head of the whole column and proceeded to the town. This spectacle was superb. It was the quota of Pennsylvania, including cavalry, infantry, artillery and riflemen, marching in the most complete order, and brought to the spot of their destination to await the further orders of the President. Here had the Governor the exalted satisfaction of depositing this great mass of patriotic exertion, and of evincing to the world that Pennsylvania, although tainted by some licentious men in the extremities of her extensive territory, is still amongst the foremost in public virtue, and in her punctual obedience to every continental requisition.

The encampment is very spacious—the town is in the centre of an amphitheatre. Lofty hills at a small distance appearing on all sides to surround it. The tents spread out on the cleared ground on the bases of some of those hills, and occupying the common adjoining the town, form, particularly at night when the fires are lighted, a beautiful appearance.

The President is expected here this evening from Fort Cumberland.

Bedford, October 19, 1794.

We are encamped at this place about seven thousand strong and shall proceed to Pittsburg in three or four days—we are healthy since our arrival here and have duty to do by day and night, in riding after the enemies to the peace the liberty and prosperity of our country.—Two nights ago we picked up ten of these anarchists, and a large party of our troop now out have been riding all night to cross the Alleghany mountain in order to apprehend some notorious offenders—Our duty has become so hard that our straw beds are very comfortable at night. About thirty miles south west of us (at Fort Cumberland) is an army of five thousand men, I hope they will not form a junction with us, as provisions are scarce—we are in great want of sugar, chocolate, brandy and wine, neither of them to be bought here; nor have we had a sutler to the army, tho' much wanted.

Bedford, Oct. 20, 1794.

Our army at this place amounts to upwards of six thousand men, amongst whom are about twelve hundred horse, generally are and have been very orderly, healthy and in good spirits. The President arrived yesterday from Fort Cumberland from whence the Maryland and Virginia troops march this day for Fayette, we follow probably in two or three days. The two columns are about equal in number and at pre-

sent about equally distant from the seat of insurrection. The Whiskey Boys are most seriously alarmed at our approach and are ready to tender any kind of submission if we will but return—This however, they cannot be indulged in. We shall march into the country and their leaders and principals must suffer or abandon their homes. Our horsemen have already taken thirteen of the most inveterate in this county, some they have brought from the other side of the mountain forty-five miles off, amongst whom are Tilson, Wincanen, Lucas and Husbands. In those expeditions of the horse into the most seditious parts of the country, no opposition has been offered, that is at least till we retire.

General Lee, the Commander, came with the President.

Bedford Oct. 20, 1794.

Last evening the President of the United States arrived here from Fort Cumberland—fifteen guns were fired on his arrival, and except this, no other ceremony was observed. He was escorted by four dragoons only.

On Saturday evening, at 8 o'clock, a party of thirty horse, under Capt. Singer, left our camp, and after riding about forty miles, at daylight took Harman Husbands, and one Wilson, both of whom had been active in the late oppositions to the laws. The party returned about 10 o'clock last night, with their prisoners, and are entitled to great credit for the expedition and secrecy with which they performed their mission. The detachment was taken from the city troops.

This morning Gen. Bloomfield arrived here with a detachment of Jersey troops—and I believe, the amount of the forces now encamped near Bedford is about six thousand. It is supposed some of the troops, that first arrived here, will be ordered in a day or two, perhaps to-morrow.

Bedford, Oct. 21, 1794.

The Governor arrived here on Saturday, and the President on Sunday last.—The President arrived by the most private road, and thereby escaped that formal reception which must be so disagreeable to a man of his worth and feeling.

Yesterday we were reviewed by Gov. Lee from Virginia—(who is to take the command in chief, and who also arrived on Sunday). Both he and Gen. Frelinghuysen expressed their approbation at our military appearance. Gen. Lee has appointed Benjamin R. Morgan, from the Blues, one of his aids.

Major McPherson has been offered the rank of a Colonel over another regiment, to be succeeded as Major, Capt. Baynton; but I am informed he has refused the offer, giving a preference to his present situation.

Capt. Lyman's regulars, (a handsome company) Capt. Clun's artillery, Taylor's riflemen, Graham's volunteers, the Philadelphia Horse and McPherson's Blues, are to be completed a legion by a few of the Jersey troops. They are to be under the command of Gen. Frelinghuysen, and will march from this place to-morrow, though I cannot say by what route. A second column departs by a different route the next day; and a number of troops are to remain stationed here for some time. We do not expect (though we may be disappointed) to pierce more than 50 or 60 miles into the country. It will be only

to show ourselves, and to intimidate the inhabitants; for we can hear of no enemy in array against us.

On the 20th Oct. Gen. Washington addressed Gen. Lee, commander-in-chief, the following :

“ United States—Bedford, Oct. 20, 1794.

To Henry Lee, Esq., commander-in-chief of the Militia army on its march against the Insurgents, in certain western counties of Pennsylvania.

Sir—Being about to return to the seat of government, I cannot take my departure, without conveying through you to the army under your command, the very high sense I entertain of the enlightened and patriotic zeal for the constitution and the laws which has led them cheerfully to quit their families, homes and the comforts of private life to undertake and thus far to perform a long and fatiguing march and to encounter and endure the hardships and privations of a military life. Their conduct hitherto affords a full assurance that their perseverance will be equal to their zeal; and that they will continue to perform with alacrity whatever the full accomplishment of the object of their march shall render necessary.

No citizens of the United States can ever be engaged in a service more important to their country. It is nothing less than to consolidate and preserve the blessings of that revolution which at much expense of blood and treasure, constituted us a free and independent nation. It is to give to the world an illustrious example of the utmost consequence to the cause of mankind. I experience a heartfelt satisfaction in the conviction that the conduct of the troops throughout will be in every respect answerable to the goodness of the cause and the magnitude of the stake.

There is but one point on which I think it proper to add a special recommendation, it is that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind, that he comes to support the laws, and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming in him to be in any way the infractor of them, that the essential principles of the government confine the province of the military, when called forth on such occasions, to these two objects—1st. To combat and subdue all who may be found in arms, in opposition to the national will and authority—2d. To aid and support the civil magistrates in bringing offenders to justice (the dispensation of this justice belongs to the civil magistrate; and let it ever be our pride and our glory to have the sacred deposit there inviolated;) convey to my fellow citizens in arms, my warm acknowledgements for the readiness with which they have hitherto seconded me in the most delicate and momentous duty the chief magistrate of a free people can have to perform, and add my affectionate wishes for their health, comfort and success. Could my further presence with them have been necessary, or compatible with my civil duties at a period when the approaching commencement of a session of Congress, particularly calls me to return to the seat of government, it would not have been withheld. In leaving them I have less regret, as I know, I commit them to an able and faithful direction, and that this direction will be ably and faithfully seconded by all.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The next day General Lee issued his general orders, as follows—and concluded with a few remarks to the army:

HEAD QUARTERS.

Bedford, Oct. 31, 1794.

General Orders :

To-morrow, at the hour of 8 in the morning, the Light Corps will advance; Maj. Gen. Morgan will lead the one acting with the left wing and Maj. Gen. Frelinghuysen the one with the right wing.

On the next day, at the same hour, the army will move in two columns, the right wing composed of the New Jersey and Pennsylvania lines, forming the right column, under the immediate command of his excellency Gov. Mifflin; the left wing composed of the Maryland and Virginia lines forming the left column with the commander-in-chief.

The Quartermaster General will continue with the right wing, and the proper officers in his department and in the department of forage attended with a sufficient number of axe men, must accompany the Light Corps, under whose protection they are to prepare all necessities for the army. Abundance of straw must be ready for the troops, inasmuch as their health greatly depends on their keeping dry and warm.

The utmost regularity must be preserved in the march and in the mode of encampment, which must always be in two lines with the cavalry in the centre, unless prohibited by the nature of the ground.

Dragoons are dreadful in light, and impotent in darkness, their safety during night must therefore be regarded.

The artillery to move as a park, and march in the centre.

Constant communication must be preserved between the Light Corps and the main body and between the respective columns, with all other precautions necessary to protect the troops from surprise and insult.

Whatever may be the professions of the insurgents they are not to be regarded. Men who have acted a part so atrocious will cheerfully add to their guilt, if it can be done with impunity—Carelessness in the conduct of the army will invite attempts upon it, and produce war, while vigilance in the conduct of it will arrest the one and the other.

The different columns will be precise in the execution of the daily marches assigned to them respectively, and if from unavoidable accidents either should fall short one day, the deficiency is to be made up the next day; otherwise the mutuality in operation will be lost and the army will be exposed to disgrace, and evils of discordant movements.

The particular routes with the necessary instructions will be given to the commanding Generals, and will of course form the rule of their conduct.

When the right wing reaches it will divide into two columns, the New Jersey line and brigade of cavalry under Brigadier White, forming one column, to be commanded by his excellency General Howell, will take a direction to the right, while the Pennsylvania line, with the Light Corps, will pursue the original route under the order of Governor Mifflin. When those columns divide, the right will move from their right, and the left from their left.

Chosen parties of Horse must follow the rear of each wing to arrest stragglers from the line, and to protect the property of the individuals,

to the due preservation of which in every respect the utmost attention is to be paid by officers of every rank.

The President of the United States being about to return to the seat of government, has been pleased to direct the commander-in-chief to present to the army his affectionate wishes for their welfare and happiness: in no way can the very grateful command be so fully executed as by publishing the very words of the President, which are accordingly subjoined.

To this parental counsel of our beloved chief magistrate, the commander begs leave to add the flattering hopes he entertains, that the conduct of the army will justify the favorable anticipation formed of it, thus shall we establish to ourselves a character the most amiable, and exhibit to posterity a model to all future armies. Lest, however, some individual may have crept into the ranks, callous to all the feelings of honor, of virtue, and consequently the fair character so justly due to the great body of the troops may be snatched from them by the licentiousness of the few, the commandants of divisions, brigades, regiments and corps are required to examine minutely their respective troops before the army moves, and dismiss all whom they deem unworthy of participating in the honorable service in which we have embarked. Six rounds of ammunition are to be issued to all corps as yet unfurnished.—The troops are to draw two day's provisions, on alternate days during the march. The Penn'a. and Maryland lines to draw on one day, and the New Jersey and Virginia lines on the next day; this system will be convenient for the superintendants of provisions, and consequently tend to produce punctuality in the supplies. The commander-in-chief has been pleased to appoint Major Wm. Alexander, & Major Nelson deputy Adjutant-Generals, and Doctor Welford Surgeon General—Majors Hand, Morgan and Chetwood, aids de camps to the commander-in-chief; they are to be respected accordingly. It is to be understood that no appointments in the line of the army is to affect appointments heretofore made.

The army moved westward to the arena of war, where, the soldiers remained on duty for several weeks. The following extracts give some particulars as to the number slain, wounded and missing, during the whole campaign, west of the mountains:—

Pittsburg Nov 22, 1794.

The army having completed the business which called them to the field, viz. restoring order and submission to the laws in this country, without firing a gun or seeing any person that would acknowledge himself an insurgent, are now on their return home.

Gov. Miffin, escorted by the Lancaster and Berks troops of horse left this place on Tuesday last (18 Nov.) and the day following the whole of the Pennsylvania line, under the command of Major General Irwin.

Governor Howell with the Jersey troops, marched on Friday (21). We hear that part of the Jersey horse will pass through Northumberland county—we regret that some restless, discontented characters inhabit that part of the state.

The Virginia and Maryland lines are also on their return home.

The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States left this town on Wednesday last (19) for the seat of Government.

Pittsburg Nov 29, 1794.

Governor Lee, the Commander-in-Chief, left town on Wednesday last (26 Nov.) on his return to Virginia.

Major General Morgan, who is appointed to command the troops left this country, has established head quarters at Bentley's farm, on the Monongahela, where they have erected a fortification.

On Tuesday last, Judge Peters and Mr. Rawle, the attorney for the United States for this district, closed the examination of the persons apprehended in this county, said to have been active in the late insurrection—some were discharged, others held to bail.

Having now given an account of the town of Bedford, I proceed to the Bedford Springs. These celebrated Springs are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Bedford. The medicinal properties of the Bedford spring, i. e. of the mineral spring, were first discovered about 50 years since, or in 1796, by a queer sort of a man by the name of Nicholas Schouffler, whose eccentricities are yet remembered by many of our oldest citizens. This man, though no alchymist, yet was a monomaniac on the subject of gold. He was always hunting for gold; indeed he spent all his time along the eastern spurs of the Alleghany mountains, and along the streams in our vallies, looking for the indications of gold—at last he got on the stream called Shover's run, followed it up until he got into a kind of bog thickly covered with underwood: he found what he thought sure indications of gold, in the sedementary deposit left by the waters of the Bedford Spring, upon the wood and stones over which it ran.

He immediately built a rude furnace and commenced his work of melting the stones, and evaporating the water. Enraptured with the idea of having now found the El Dorado of his wishes, he went to Thomas Vierey and told him he had found something valuable. Did you find iron? says Vierey. No: better than iron, replied Schouffler. Well, did you find silver? No: better than silver. Well, did you find gold? No: better than gold. Well, Nicholas, what on earth did you find? Why I have found loadstone. This anecdote was related to me by an old citizen. Well, old Nicholas was right; he did find that which was better than iron, silver or gold. He found the Bedford mineral spring. He found no loadstone—but that which has the power of attraction equal to the magnet. The land on which the Bedford spring was found, belonged to Frederick Nawgal, sen. Afterwards, it was owned by a Mr. Wirtz, and about the year 1803 it was purchased by Dr. Anderson, and is now owned by Espy L. Anderson, Esq. Little notice seems to have been taken of the Bedford Spring prior to 1804.

Dr. Anderson perhaps deserves the credit of first having discovered the chemical properties, and the medicinal qualities of the water. In 1804 the citizens of Bedford joined together with the full determination of knowing all about the spring that had become famous by affording relief to many who were afflicted. They followed the main current of the spring through the loose soil and thick underwood, until they traced it to a fissure in a limestone rock. The point where the spring issues, is about 16 feet above the level of Shovers' run. The water runs out very copiously; at the rate of $16\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per minute. The stream is constant; and the writer has noticed no increase or diminution, summer or winter, for 5 years—neither does the drought ef-

feet it. The spring comes from under a mountain, whose height is 480 feet; and the bed of magnesia (or sulphate of magnesium) through which the water percolates, may be 4 or 500 feet deep. Hence no ordinary drought can effect it. That the waters of this spring flow over an immense bed of magnesia, is evident from the composition found in it.

The analysis of this water by Dr. Church, gave the following result, viz:

1 quart of water contained 18½ cubic inches of carbonic acid gas; 20 grains of the sulphate of magnesia 3.75; of the sulphate of lime 2.50; of the muriate of soda .75; of the muriate of lime 1.35; carbonate of iron 2; carbonate of lime, loss .75. Total, 31. grains of sediment.

Or thus: 1 quart of water being evaporated, left a sediment of 31. grains, and consisted of the following ingredients, viz:

Sulphate of magnesia	20 grains.
Sulphate of lime	3½ "
Muriate of soda	2½ "
Muriate of lime	1½ "
Carbonate of iron	1½ "
Carbonate of lime	2 "
Loss—or substances not detected	1 "
<hr/>	
31. grains.	

P. S. I strongly suspect the presence of the nitrate of copper in the ½. of loss.

Here then we have this valuable medicine mixed in nature's great laboratory, to an extent of refinement that art and science can never approximate. From the composition held in solution by this water, it must be of immense importance to the afflicted.

Taken in moderate quantities, it must be one of the finest aperient or deobstruent medicines in the whole *Materia Medica*; and taken in large quantities it must be a powerful cathartic. As a deobstruent, it must also have a powerful diuretic effect: hence its utility in obstructions; and especially in liver complaint and greater debility of the system. In addition to the spring just described, there are 6 or 7 other medicinal springs in the neighborhood. Nature has done much for this beautiful and romantic spot. There is perhaps no other place in the United States where nature in her grandeur and sublimity is so closely connected with the embellishments of art. Here you can stand by the fountain of health, as it gushes from your mother earth, and gaze upon just so much of the blue heavens, as two mountains of nearly 500 feet high will permit. The base of those mountains nearly come together in Shovers' run, and slope off at angles of about 50 degrees. Here, too, you can see some of the finest forest trees in the world. Close by the spring stands a beautiful *Sireodendron Tulipefera*. Close by that the *Libia Americana*; and near it the gloomy Pine, and the beautiful *Kalmia Satifolia*, covers the mountain above you. Here is a field for the Botanist, the Entomologist, and the Ornithologist. The Geologist, too, can find plenty of employment; for near the Bedford Springs are some of the finest fossil localities in the country. Here are found the

Nautilus Pseudo Pompilius, the *Ammonites*, the *Encrinurus*, the *Serripoda*, the *Spireifer*, the *Producta*, &c.

The improvements made by the present enterprising proprietor, are in every respect commensurate with the place.

The buildings are, 1 large centre building, 162 feet long, 3 stories high and 70 deep; 2 other large 3 story buildings, 130 feet in front, each; and 1 other building, 120 feet in front—giving a front of 557 feet—besides 4 or 5 other buildings.

In front of the buildings there is a fine yard and on the mountains there are graded walks. There are cold and warm plunge and shower baths, and in short every comfort and convenience that could be wished. This is a palace in the wilderness—here you have the “*urbis in rure*”—the city in the woods.

Just below the yard is a large mill dam with a beautiful artificial island. Dr. H. Heyden, in a letter written for Silliman's Journal in 1832 says—in relation to the Bedford Springs, “In fine the beautiful and wonderful supply of water which flows from no less than seven highly medicinal springs, all within the radius of a stone's cast; the beauty of the valley and its susceptibility of the highest state of improvement, the lofty adjoining hills; and the extensive and beautifully romantic view from their summits to the north and east, present a combination of attractions hardly surpassed in this or in any other country on the globe.—Add to this the facility of obtaining all the delicacies and comforts of life, including wild and tame animals, and vegetables of almost every kind and quality, and move over the high value of the perennial and other medicinal waters, which are not excelled in certain complaints by any in the world. All these circumstances combine to recommend the Bedford Springs as a place of unrivalled attraction.

This is the general opinion of all who visit the Bedford Springs.

Every thing about the Bedford Springs, nature as well as art is on a large and magnificent scale. Let those who are afflicted come to this beautiful and romantic spot, and have their debilitated constitutions strengthened and invigorated—let them inhale our pure, bracing and salubrious air, and drink from our gushing fountain of health, and the trembling limbs will soon become firm, and the pallid cheek will soon be turned to the roseate hue of health.—*R. Weiser.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MARTINSBURG, &c.

Martinsburg—Waynesburgh, or Bloody Run—McConnellstown—Werefordsburg—Licking creek—Fairview—Rainsburg—St. Clairsville—Shellsburg—Stonerstown—Freedom—Woodberry—Fort Littleton.

Martinsburg, a post town and borough, in North Woodberry township, on a branch of the Juniata, 23 miles north of Bedford, is a flourishing place, situated in a fertile, limestone valley, in Morrison's cove, bounded by Tussey's Mountain on the east and Dunn's Mountain on the west. It contains about 100 dwellings, 4 churches, viz: German Reformed and Methodist; Lutheran, Methodist and a Winebrennerian, two Schoolhouses and 4 stores and one tavern.

The town was originally laid out by William Entriken; but derives its name from Mr. John Martin, who was an early settler here from the Conococheague settlements. The Cove was first settled by a Mr. Morrison from Washington county Maryland. Immediately after the Indian war, says the Revd. Rupley the Cove was resorted to by those desirous of seeking their fortunes in the "far west;" for by this term was the section known to the inhabitants of the eastern counties—it being immediately upon the out-skirts of civilization. The early settlers were compelled to undergo difficulties and privations, well nigh calculated to overcome the stoutest heart. Even now an aged pioneer is occasionally met with, narrating the wonderful adventures, the hazardous exploits performed, and extreme sufferings endured in days of yore, the attentive listener is sometimes led to inquire: "Can these things be?"

Hagerstown in Maryland (and afterwards Mercersburg, in Pennsylvania) was the nearest place of resort, where the products of the soil could be exchanged for other necessities of life; such as salt, sugar, iron, &c. &c. No continuous roads then, as now, chequered the country, affording facilities to convey produce, goods, &c. all transporting was then done by means of pack horses, along narrow and sinuous paths, over hills, through valleys, till the last mountain was surmounted. Times and circumstances, with their concomitants have changed. The Cove is no longer in the wilderness. It is a place of plenty, even to all the luxuries of life, surrounded by forges, furnaces, mills, &c.

The first mill built in the Cove was erected by Mr. Jacob Neff originally from Lancaster county. It is said that while Mr. Neff was working at his mill, two Indians lay in ambush bent on taking his life. When he espied them, he pointed his gun at them, and they theirs at him. Neff sped a bullet through the heart of the older one, and retreated; the younger pursued him, but Neff soon despatched him also. Their bodies, he cast into the creek, and hastened to Holliday's Fort

to take shelter. To avenge their disaster, the Indians the next day, reduced Neff's mill to ashes.

Waynesboro' usually called "Bloody Run," is a post village in West Providence township, on the turnpike road eight miles from Bedford. It is pleasantly situated on the left bank of the Juniata river, contains rising of twenty-five dwellings; two churches, German Reformed and Lutheran, and Methodist, three stores and three taverns.

The town was laid out by Michael Barndollar, June 16, 1795, then called in honor of George Wayne, Waynesburgh. Bloody Run passes through the town.

The affair, mentioned on page 576-7, may have given rise to this name. The account of Smith's assault upon the reckless traders, was published in London. The following is a literal extract from a London paper:

"Robbery and Murder."

"Council Chambers, London, June 21, 1765.

"By advices from Philadelphia we learn that the convoy of eighty horses loaded with goods, chiefly on his Majesty's account, as presents to the Indians, and part on account of Indian traders, were surprised in a narrow and dangerous defile in the mountains by a body of armed men. A number of horses were killed, some lives were lost, and the whole of the goods were carried away by the plunderers. The rivulet was dyed with blood, and run into the settlement below, carrying with it the stain of crime upon its surface. This convoy was intended for Pittsburg; as there can be no long continuance of peace, without such strong demonstrations of friendship towards the Indians.

"The King's troops from Fort Loudon marched against the depredators, seized them, but they were again rescued by superior force. Some soldiers carried some stragglers, whom they apprehended, into the Fort; but their friends came to their rescue and compelled the garrison to give up the prisoners. We understand, however, that many of the rioters are bound over for their appearance at court."

Tradition has "varied tales" as to the origin of the name of Bloody Run.

McConnellstown, a post town and borough in Air township, on the turnpike road leading from Chambersburg to Bedford; twenty-two miles west of Chambersburg and thirty-four east of Bedford, contains upwards of one hundred dwellings, four churches, viz: a Presbyterian German Reformed, Lutheran and Methodist; four taverns, six stores, 2 schools, 2 tanneries, 2 wagon maker shops, 7 shoe makers, 2 weavers, 4 cabinet makers. Population in 1840, 486; at present 575, of which 24 are colored persons.

This town is pleasantly situated in a Cove 15 miles long and 3 broad, bound by Tuscarora or Cove mountain and Scrub Ridge, Cove creek a fine mill stream passes through it. Lime stone country around the town. It was laid out by Daniel McConnell, April 20, 1786.

Weresfordburg, a post village in Bethel township, near the Maryland line, on Conalloway creek, contains about fifteen dwellings, a store and tavern. It is 23 miles south of Bedford. There is some lime stone land in the township in which the village is situated.

Licking Creek, a post village on the turnpike road from McConnellstown to Bedford, and upon Licking creek, after which the village is named, consists of fourteen dwellings, two taverns, a store and several

mechanic's shops and a mill. It is six miles and a half from McConnellstown.

Fairview, hard by Ray's hill, is a pleasant post village on the turnpike nine miles east of the Bloody Run, and consists of a cluster of houses—nine dwellings, store, tavern, a blacksmiths' shop, tinner shop, an extensive tannery, and a wagon maker's shop. The whole is owned by Mr. John Nycum, a gentleman of wealth, and who, for many years past, kept a public house at this place.

Rainsburg, a post village, in Colerain township, consists of about 20 dwellings, two stores and tavern. The township is limestone soil.

St. Clairsville, or *Buckstown*, in St. Clair township, ten miles north of Bedford, on the main road leading to Hollidaysburg, contains some 20 or more dwellings, a store and tavern. The surrounding country is hilly.

Shellsburg, a post town and borough in Napier township on the turnpike road leading from Bedford to Greensburg, nine miles west of Bedford, contains between 50 and 60 dwellings, several stores and taverns, one school with rising of 120 scholars. It is in a mountainous region of country, of which the soil is principally clay and loam. The town has not improved much within the last ten years. Population about 450.

Stonerstown, a post village in Hopewell township, on the Raystown Branch of Juniata river, consists of ten or a dozen of houses. It is nineteen miles north of Bedford. It is near the north east boundary of the township and the county.

Besides these villages there are others of less note, Freedom and Claysville, in Greenfield township; Loysburg, in South Woodberry; and Millerstown in North Woodberry.

Woodberry, is a small post town in Middle Woodberry township, on the Meadow Branch of Yellow creek, contains between 20 and 30 dwellings, 2 stores and 2 taverns. It is 15 miles north of Bedford.

Fort Littleton, in Dauphin township, was during the French and Indian war a conspicuous frontier post; and occasionally a strong garrison stationed here to protect the settlers and prevent the hostile incursions of the Indians to the interior. In April 1756, the people had all fled from this neighborhood. Elisha Salter, an officer, wrote Gov. Morris from Carlisle April 5, 1756—Upon my arrival here (Carlisle) I found the people in the greatest confusion, the troops abandoning the forts, and the country people gathering in the greatest consternation. • • I have prevailed on the people that left the Forts to escort me to Fort Littleton. &c.

Captain Hance Hamilton was here at the time, when Salter was at Carlisle, with a company of men (see p. 105). On his return from the Kittaning expedition in Sept. 1756, Col. Armstrong stopped several days here. In June 1757, several murders were committed near this Fort.

In a letter from George Croghan to Col. Armstrong, dated Fort London, June 28, 1757, he says, "On Friday evening there was a man killed near Henry Paulin's and two of his children taken. The same evening there was a young lad fired on by seven Indians, from whom he made his escape, wounded in three places. The same day a daughter of Gerrard Pendegrass, was killed and scalped in sight of Fort Littleton.

Croghan adds, that the troops were to march from Fort Littleton,

this evening, &c. In February 1758, a force of 110 men were stationed here.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FIRST SETTLERS, &c.

First settlers—Intruders upon Indian lands at Path Valley and Aughwick; their cabins or log houses burnt. In Big Cove, similar fate—Petition sent to the Governor—Incidents in the early history of this county—Education—Support of the poor.

The first traders in this county were some Indian traders, and adventurers from the Conococheague and ConodoguINETTE settlements. Some of the more daring acted as pioneers and settled at Path Valley, some at Aughwick, and others in the Big Cove, within the present limits of the county. These settled between 1740 and 1750. The principal pioneers in Path Valley, or Tuscarora Valley, were Abraham Slach, James Blair, Moses Moore, Arthur Dunlap, Alexander McCartie, David Lewis, Adam McCartie, Felix Doyle, Andrew Dunlap, Robert Wilson, Jacob Pyatt, Jacob Pyatt, jr. William Ramage, Reynolds Alexander, Samuel Patterson, Robert Baker, John Armstrong, John Potts. Those at Aughwick, Peter Falconer, Nicholas De Long, Samuel Perry, John Charleton and others.

The adventurers at Big Cove were Andrew Donaldson, John MacClelland, Charles Stewart, James Downy, John Macmean, Robert Kendell, Samuel Brown, William Shepperd, Roger Murphy, Robert Smith, William Dickey, William Millican, William MacConnell, Alexander MacConnell, James MacConnell, William Carrel, John Martin, John Jamison, Hans Patter, John Macollin, Adam MacConnell, James Wilson, John Wilson, and others.

All the above named had settled on lands not then purchased from the Indians, and were warned by government to leave the settlements. In May, 1750, Richard Peters, Secretary, accompanied by the sheriff of the county and others, proceeded to Path Valley, and burned 11 cab-

* In January 1758, two companies, each consisting of upwards of one hundred men, were stationed at Littleton, Loudon, Shippensburg and Carlisle; the officers west of the Susquehanna were Lieut. Col. John Armstrong, Maj. Hugh Mercer; Captains Hance Hamilton, George Armstrong, Edward Ward, Robert Callender, Wm. Armstrong; Lieutenants James Potter, Thos. Smallman, Jacob Sneider, John Prentice, Henry Geiger, Thos. Hutchins, Wm. Blyth; Ensigns Frederick Van Hamback, Robert Anderson, Hugh Crawford, John Butler, James Pollock, John Philip De Haas, John Conrad Bucher, (see pa. 233.

ins; at Aughwick they burnt 1, and in Big Cove 3, and required the settlers to enter into recognizance to appear at the following court.

The settlers in the Little Cove & Conalloways were Joseph Coombe, John Herrod, William James, Thomas Yates, Lewis Williams, Elias Stillwell, John Meeser, John Newhouse, Rees Shelby, William Lofton, Charles Wood, Henry Pierson, George Rees, William Morgan, John Lloyd, Levi Moore, John Graham, William Linn, Andrew Coombe, John Polk, Thomas Haston.

The next day, after Mr. Peters had left, and while yet at the house of Mr. Philip Davies, a number of the inhabitants of Little Cove met, handed him the following petition with the request to present it to Governor Hamilton.

We are exceedingly sorry, as well we may, that any part of that letter sent from the Great Cove to the magistrate of this county should have given your Honor any umbrage to suspect we should desire to get rid of being under the government of this Province, and forcibly to maintain the possession of these lands on which we at present live; in opposition to your authority. It is, and always has been our strong inclination to enjoy the privileges of the Government of Pennsylvania, above these of any other of his Majesty's colonies in America. We never did directly or indirectly apply to Maryland for a right to said Land, and should anything in said letter seem to insinuate as if we had a mind to do so, or should any of our inconsiderate or even guilty expressions be reported to you, we hope you will not interpret these things to our ruin; but in mercy forgive them; for your Honor may know, what extremes, people of weak policy, when they see their all in danger, may be guilty of.

Yet suffer us to inform your Honor, notwithstanding of what was done by us before, when perplexed and confounded, that the most of us did not take up said land, in opposition to the authority of a Governor's proclamation, but after we were informed some in power did permit, if not grant liberty to settle said land with honest men; yet by this we would not be understood, as if we would oppose what proceedings your Honor might judge necessary for the safety or interest of the Province with regard to us. No, in this we resolve to be entirely at your disposal, or that of any whom you may appoint.

We humbly and earnestly beg, if consistent with the great designs of your government, you would permit us yet longer to cultivate these lands for the support of our families. But if this cannot be granted, that you would interpose with the Proprietors, for our obtaining a right to these plantations, on which we at present live, when said land shall be purchased from the Indians, we paying what is due to the Proprietor, and recommend it to the Secretary to be active for us: on whose mercy we would notwithstanding all our folly depend much.

And the blessing of many, who will otherwise be reduced to pinching, distressing difficulties, shall come upon your Honor, Sept. 27, 1750.

Robert Smith, Roger Murphy, John Jamison, Samuel Brown, Robert Kendall, William McConnell, John McClellan, Andrew Donallson, William McClarell, James Downey, Alexander McConnell, Charles Stewart, William Dickey, William Mulligan, John McCollom, John McMeans, John Martin.

To Gov. Hamilton.

The sufferings of the first settlers of this county during the French and Indian war, and at a much later period, were almost intolerable. They were exposed for more than 25 years to hostile incursions and the depredations of savages. Hundreds fell victims to the relentless fury of the Indians. Numerous instances of massacres that happened have been related in a preceding part of this compilation.

From the Provincial Records at Harrisburg, it appears that in the upper part of Cumberland county, 27 plantations were burned, and a great quantity of cattle killed; that a woman 93 years of age was found lying killed with a stake run through her body. That of 93 families which were settled in the Coves and Conollaways, 47 were either killed or taken, and the rest fled, besides numerous of whom no account has been preserved, except in the traditions handed down in the massacres.

The following incidents in the history of this county were collected by the Hon. George Burd and John Mower, Esq. of Bedford, and appeared originally in a work on a similar subject:

The county contained within its present limits, at a very early day, a number of forts, erected by the inhabitants for their protection. The first, and principal, was Fort Bedford, although that name was only given to it when it began to assume the appearance of a settlement. The others were Fort Littleton, Martin's fort, Piper's fort, and Wingam's, with several other unimportant ones. Bedford was the only one ever occupied by British troops; and about 1770, the earliest period of which we have any traditionary account, the walls of it were nearly demolished, so that it must have been erected many years before.

The first settlement, it is conjectured, must have been made prior to the year 1750, how long before, cannot be stated with any thing like accuracy; but I not long since conversed with a very old man, named John Lane, who told me that he was born within the present limits of the county. His age fixed his birth about 1751, and from the account he gave, settlements must have been made several years previous to that. It was also before that time that the Indians had made complaints of the encroachment of the whites upon their hunting grounds, and particularly in the neighborhood of the Juniata.

As early as 1770, the whites had made considerable settlements at a distance from the fort at Bedford, as far as twelve and fifteen miles, particularly on Dunning's cr., and on the Shawanee run, near the Allegheny mountains, where the tribe of Indians of that name once had a town.

The principal building at Bedford, at that day, of which there is any account, was a two story log house, called the "King's House." It was occupied by the officers of the fort until the marching of the English troops at the breaking out of the revolution. It is still standing, and is now, with two additions, one of stone, the other brick, occupied as a public house. At the time Bedford county was erected, the only building in which the court could sit was a one-storied rough log house. It was for some time also occupied as a jail. It stood until a few years since.

The town of Bedford was laid out, by order of the governor, in June, 1766, by the surveyor general, John Lukens. The settlement was originally called Raystown, but at the time of laying it out, it was called Bedford. This, Mr. Vickroy says, was in consequence of some simil-

arity in its location to a place of the same name in England. [But more probably derived from the name of the fort, which was supposed to be named in honor of the Duke of Bedford.]

For a considerable time after the town was laid out, the inhabitants had to go upwards of 40 miles to mill. It was then an undertaking that occupied sometimes two weeks, those taking grain having to wait until others before them were accommodated. The first mill was built near the town by an enterprising man named Frederick Nangle, a merchant, doing what was, at that day, called a large business.

For many years Bedford was the principal stopping-place for all persons, and particularly packers going from the east to Fort Pitt. All government stores, as well as groceries and goods of ever description, were for a long time carried west on pack-horses. One man would sometimes have under his control as many as a hundred horses. For the protection of these, guards had always to be supplied, who accompanied them from one fort to another. Bedford always furnished its guards out of that class of the militia in service at the time they were required. These guards travelled with the packers, guarded their encampment at night, and conducted them safely across the Alleghenies to Fort Ligonier, west of Laurel hill.

At the commencement of the revolution, the county of Bedford furnished two companies, who marched to Boston; and although but a frontier county, at a distance from the principal scenes of excitement and points of information, contained as much of the patriotic spirit of the day as could be found anywhere. A meeting was held, composed of farmers and the most substantial citizens, who, entering fully into the spirit of the revolution, passed a number of resolutions, prohibiting the introduction and use of every article of foreign manufacture.

The prominent men of that day who lived at and about Bedford, were Thomas Smith, who held several appointments under the government, and was afterwards a judge of the supreme court, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, who was the first prothonotary of the county, George Woods, county surveyor, under whose instructions the city of Pittsburg was laid out, Thomas Coulter, Col. Davidson, and Thomas Vickroy, who afterwards, in 1783, laid out the city of Pittsburg. He is still living.

Although the inhabitants were from the time of the first settlements constantly on their guard against the Indians, yet the principal troubles commenced at the breaking out of the revolutionary war. A frontier life at that time was one constant scene of strife and danger. Bedford county was at that time the Allegheny frontier, and her inhabitants were, consequently, exposed to the full force of savage fury, and severely did it often fall upon them. The following incidents of those times are well authenticated.

The oldest native of the county living [in 1843] is Wm. Fraser. His father left Fort Cumberland about 1758, and came to the fort at Bedford. He built the first house outside the fort, and Wm. was the first white child born outside the fort. He was born in 1759, and is now about 84 years of age. He was in my office a few days since. He had come about 14 miles that morning, and intended returning home the same day; this he frequently does.

The original white population was composed of Scotch-Irish, and their descendants, constituting the frontier settlers. It is said by one, whose opportunities for accuracy of research, were favorable, "that

he county did not prosper much until 1780, or thereabouts, when the Germans from Franklin, Cumberland, York and Lancaster, began to pour into our fertile vallies and caves. This was not until the Indians had ceased to be a terror to the settlers." The Germans here now own much of the best land, and form a great proportion of the present population.

The religious denominations are Lutheran, German Reformed, Presbyterian, Episcopal Methodist, Protestant Methodist, Catholic, Baptist, United Brethren, Evangelical Association, Quaker, Mennonites, Dunkards or German Baptist, Seventh Day Baptist, Church of God or Winebrennerians. The Lutheran, German Reformed and Methodist, are the most numerous.

The cause of popular education had been long much neglected among the people of this county; but of late, an increased attention has been paid to this all important cause, and seems to advance steadily.

The common school system has been adopted in every township except Londonderry, Napier, St. Clair, Southampton and Union. Eighteen districts have adopted it, in which 127 schools are open for about 4 months in the year, employing 127 male and 1 female teacher; 2,770 male and 2,001 female scholars are taught. A district tax of \$5,237 63 was raised in 1844; the State appropriation was \$4,813 00. Cost of instruction \$6,450 51.

Provision for the poor, or paupers, is made in this county. A poor-house within the town of Bedford has been established within the last 4 years. There is connected with it, a farm of upwards of 600 acres. The average number of poor is between 30 and 40.

HISTORY OF ADAMS COUNTY.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ADAMS COUNTY.

Adams county organized—Controversy—Extract of Court Records—
Geological features & Geology of—General statistics—Productions;
various kinds of, &c.—Synopsis of census of 1840—Streams in th
county—Notice of public improvements.

749 When York county was erected, by an act of Assembly, passed August 19, 1744, it embraced "all and singular the lands lying within the Province of Pennsylvania, to the westward of the river Susquehanna, and southward and eastward of the South mountain—bounded northward and westward by a line from the Susquehanna, along the ridge of said South mountain, until intersected the Maryland line, southward by the said Maryland line, and eastward by the said river Susquehanna," then embracing an area of little more than 1400 square miles.

The ample limits of this old county, were however reduced, but not without some considerable opposition from, and was nothing uncommon at that early period; or at even an earlier period.

As early as 1735 there was a contest between the Marylanders and a number of settlers on the west side of the Susquehanna. One Thomas Cressap, a restless, quarrelsome individual, and some 50 or 60 of kindred spirits with him, resolved upon displacing the first settlers who had located under Pennsylvania titles, and to divide their possessions according to the agrarian laws of Rome—"To distribute the property of the conquered among the victors;" for Cressap, the head of this motly host, had promised his consociates in plunder, 200 acres each. Affrays, as a consequence, were the result. Several lives were lost.—[See His. York co].

In the vicinity of McSherrystown, similar affrays occur at the sacrifice of life.

As early as 1790, the subject of a division of the county of York, was agitated, and soon eventuated in a controversy, between the inhabitants of the eastern, or lower end, and the western, and upper end of York county, touching a division of the "Old county;" or the organization of a new one, to be taken from the west end. From the nature of the subject, and disposition of those engaged in it, the controversy grew warm—much zeal was manifested by both the *pro* and *anti* new-county-men.—Long and ardent debates ensued—essays, for and against the division, were written, published and industriously circu-

lated. Public meetings were called—petitions for, a remonstrance against the erection of a new county were circulated, signers thereto obtained, and presented to the legislature. Finally, however, after much debating, the antagonist party was satisfied and reconciled to the organizing of a new county. The legislature passed an act, January 22, 1800, for dividing Adams county from the western part of York.

These Commissioners, to mark and run the line, were appointed by Thomas McKean, governor of Pennsylvania—these were Jacob Spangler, deputy surveyor of York county, Samuel Sloan, deputy surveyor of Adams county, and Mr. William Waugh.

The separation of the county was agitated, 1790, commissioners had been appointed, namely, James Cunningham, Jonathan Hoge, and James Johnston, to fix upon a site for the county seat; they selected a tract belonging to Garret Vandsdal, in Strabane township between the two roads leading from Hunter's and Gettys' towns to the brick house, including part of said road. In 1791 the subject was a second time agitated. The Revd. Alexander Dobbin and David Moore, senior, were appointed trustees for the county of Adams, with full powers, for them or their survivors, to take assurances of all offers for the payment of money, or the conveyance or transfer of any property, in trust for the use of erecting public buildings in the town of Gettysburg.

The county then contained 2741 taxables. The first court of Quarter Session was held on the second Monday of June 1800. The following are extracts from the Record of Court.

"At a Court of General Quarter Sessions of Peace, opened and held at Gettysburg, for the county of Adams, on the second Monday of June, A. D. 1800, before William Gilleland, John Agnew and William Scott, Esqrs., Associate Judges, &c.

Proclamation being made, the commissions of the judges were severally read from the Books of Records.

Nicholas Gelwick, Esq., High Sheriff for the county of Adams attended, but as there could be no precepts, or processes to him directed at this court, the constables were then called as per list.

Berwick township, Jacob Noel; Mount Pleasant, Joseph Lindsay; Mountjoy, Samuel Adair; Cumberland, Emanuel Ziegler; Heidelberg, Jacob Trine; Hamilton Barr, Henry Ferguson; Reading, Valentine Hollinger*; Straban, Samuel M. Reed; Franklin, Charles Good; Huntingdon, John Wireman; Mamallen, Daniel Rice; Tyrone, Nicholas Wertz; Germany, Martin Hoffman.

At a Court of Quarter Sessions, &c., Monday, August 4th, 1800, the following were Grand Jurors, viz: Alexander Russell, Esq., Walter Smith, Esq. John Dickson, Esq. James Brice, George Lasshells, David Scott, Thomas Abbott, Peter Ickes, Robert Doyle, Jacob Wertz, Alexander Cobean, Esq., Henry Kuhn, William Baily, Samuel Russell, sen. Henry Walter, Nicholas Dietrick, Robert Campbell, Jacob Greenamayer, Alexander Irwine, John Lees, William Miller.

The court appointed the following named persons as overseers of the poor of the county, viz:

For Cumberland township, Adam Black and James Sweney; Hamilton Barr, Robert Ray and Thomas Merideth; Liberty, Barnabas Mc-

* Valentine Hollinger has been constable from 1800 to 1845, till the day of his death.

Sherry and John Adcur; Franklin, Nicholas Peasecker and Charles Shisler; Menallen, John Wright and Henry Petter; Tyrone, William Walker and John Duffield; Huntingdon, John Muntorf and Benjamin Wireman; Reading, Jacob Brugh and John Vance; Berwick, John Null and Peter Marshall; Straban, Robert Graham and John Graft; Mount Pleasant, Nicholas Shiely and Cornelius Lott; Mountjoy, Francis Allison and Jesse McAllister; Germany, Joseph Stealy and Leonard Seitzinger.

Adams county is bounded on the north by Cumberland, east by York, south by the state of Maryland, and west by Franklin. Length 27 miles, breadth 24 miles; area 528 square miles—containing about 338,000 acres. Population in 1800, 13,172; in 1810, 15,152, in 1820, 19,370; 1830, 21,378; 1844, 23,044. The aggregate amount of property taxable, in 1844, was \$4,339,531 00.

The geological features of this county are diversified. A belt of limestone passes through the southeast corner from near Hanover in York county, by Littlestown, nearly to the Maryland line, when it comes to a point, being overlapped by the middle secondary red shale and sandstone. This latter formation prevails over the greatest portion of the county, being broken, however, in many places by ridges and dikes of trap rock, which form rough and rocky hills. In the upper portion of the red shale formation, near the base of the South mountain, is a belt of calcareous conglomerate, similar to the famous variegated Potomac marble, which, in some place, would yield blocks susceptible of a fine polish. It occurs in great variety and beauty, near the village of Fairfield or Millerstown. The South mountain, with its protruding ridge, consists chiefly of a hard white sandstone, accompanied by a variety of curiously altered rocks, highly interesting to the scientific geologist. Native copper, together with the blue and green carbonate of this metal occurs in the South mountain—and epidote, asbestos, zeolite and other minerals are found here. Iron ore occurs in several parts of the county, but is not much used. The soil partaking of the several rock formations is of three kinds. The limestone is in the south-eastern part, and highly improved.

The face and soil of this county is diversified. The soil is principally of three kinds as stated before, partaking of the several rock formations, viz: limestone, red shale, trap or sienetic, also flint, sandstone and gravel. Limestone is principally found in Conewago and Huntingdon townships. Agriculture has been much improved within the last ten years. The broken portions are not well adapted for cultivation. Some of the best, as well as the very worst soil in the state, is to be found in this county. The county contains about 338,000 acres of land; whereof about 20,000 is limestone, very productive and much of it in a high state of cultivation. The other portion is susceptible of improvement; and no doubt will be much improved when the system of farming has reached so near a state of perfection as in some counties of the State. The application of lime as a stimulating, with other manures, and a judicious rotation of crops will conduce much toward the improved of the soil. When lime has been tested, it produced great changes. It is worth from 15 to 20 cents a bushel as a manure.

Twenty or twenty-five years ago considerable quantities of bread stuffs, and feed for horses were brought into this, from other counties; but in 1840, there were raised in it upwards of 200,000 bushels of

wheat; nearly 300,000 bushels of rye; also nearly the same quantity of corn, and between 5 and 6,000 bushels of buckwheat, and between 20 and 25,000 tons of hay, also about 70,000 bushels of potatoes.

According to the census of 1840, there were in this county, three furnaces, which produced 50 tons of cast iron, and consumed 50 tons of fuel; employed ten men including mining operations; capital invested \$10,000.

Live Stock—6,376 horses and mules; 9,343 neat cattle; 9,140 sheep; 31,583 swine; poultry of all kinds is estimated at \$7,377.

Cereal Grains—216,666 bushels of wheat; 1,660 bushels of barley; 274,960 bushels of oats; 88,561 bushels of rye; 5,404 bushels of buckwheat; 390,724 bushels of corn.

Various products and crops—26,618 pounds of wool; 69,915 bushels of potatoes; 22,809 tons of hay; 172 pounds of silk cocoons; 1,982 cords of wood were sold; value of products of the dairy \$25,875; value of products of the orchard \$1,770; value of home made goods \$7,313; value of tobacco manufactured \$1,100; value of hats and caps manufactured \$8,900; 28 tanneries tanned 21,160 sides of sole leather, and 5,348 of upper; all other manufactories of leather, saddleries, &c. 15; 4,000 pounds of candles were manufactured.

Distilleries 18; produced 80,600 gallons; two breweries, which produced 2,120 gallons; 8 potteries, value of manufactured articles \$3,350; value of produce of nurseries and florists \$1,520.

Retail dry goods, grocery and other stores 59; 2 lumber yards; 13 butchers; 72 barrels of tar manufactured; brick and lime manufactured, value of \$18,577; 3 fulling mills; 5 woollen manufactories; 5 printing offices; 5 weekly papers printed; 1 book bindery; 42 flouring mills; 76 saw mills; 4 oil mills.

MALES.

FEMALES.

Col. pos.

CENSUS of 1840 of ADAMS CO., PA.																										Males of all ages.		Females &c.	
TOWNSHIPS.		under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90	under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and under 50	50 and under 60	60 and under 70	70 and under 80	80 and under 90						
Berwick,	117	117	80	69	114	73	56	35	27	15	0	115	86	97	85	137	78	58	37	24	18	2	12	8					
Conewago,	73	63	50	43	79	39	30	31	17	7	2	67	55	55	58	79	56	36	23	14	12	1	5	7					
Cumberland,	92	66	67	45	89	62	52	36	22	9	4	98	70	58	57	100	60	42	36	15	11	3	65	57					
Franklin,	143	121	103	93	146	85	63	49	40	14	3	112	120	109	97	154	87	52	46	24	8	2	15	12					
Freedom,	42	38	34	18	21	25	26	12	16	3	1	32	45	33	18	23	27	22	3	5	5	1	9	11					
Gettysburg,	123	90	102	178	198	102	72	40	15	4	3	123	114	91	81	154	111	75	31	22	14	3	59	103					
Germany,	110	196	109	85	92	72	60	54	18	11	3	135	121	93	89	125	80	81	38	20	13	5	00	5					
Hamilton,	75	70	69	56	82	54	49	29	22	12	1	90	75	69	60	77	70	46	27	22	11	2	58	46					
Hamilton Ban-	114	128	90	60	107	74	63	29	19	8	4	110	96	95	70	100	81	50	34	11	8	2	12	13					
Huntingdon,	122	93	93	82	118	84	48	45	30	5	2	114	93	87	73	144	75	57	47	33	10	0	9	7					
Laitmore,	85	71	64	54	73	51	44	34	13	2	3	78	69	65	63	86	56	37	25	10	7	1	13	8					
Liberty,	67	60	54	42	33	55	35	78	7	6	3	66	41	49	49	66	34	30	19	6	8	3	29	28					
Menallen,	197	154	127	123	173	112	74	67	34	15	7	200	170	134	127	193	122	74	62	22	12	3	5	13					
Monunioy,	116	91	61	36	69	55	44	29	14	9	1	88	66	57	56	92	49	42	25	15	5	1	17	30					
Mount Pleasant,	138	117	107	78	88	83	70	44	25	14	2	124	94	94	95	120	75	72	35	30	7	0	00	30					
Reading,	96	78	76	55	79	46	50	31	15	4	1	70	69	59	64	94	51	44	20	17	6	0	5	0					
Strabane,	112	85	102	61	93	64	59	37	24	10	6	89	101	85	63	126	94	42	37	18	12	6	20	0					
Tyrene,	50	62	44	39	59	35	32	28	11	9	1	55	37	66	46	55	44	36	23	14	2	3	2	0					
Total Population.	1872	1680	1432	1217	1741	1149	938	648	361	157	46	1780	1552	1396	1251	1925	1247	896	573	332	169	38	340	348					

CENSUS OF 1840 OF ADAMS COUNTY, TOWNSHIPS, ETC.		Furnaces.	Flouring mills.	Grist mills.	Saw mills.	Oil mills.	Tanneries.	Distilleries.	Horses & Mules	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Bushels of Wheat.	Bushels of Rye.	Indian corn.	Oats.	Barley.	Potatoes.	Tons of hay.	Pounds of wool raised.	Bushels of Buckwheat.	Value of the products of the dairy.
1. Berwick.	0	3	3	2	0	3	3	3	327	954	766	1833	18132	6381	16538	14014	480	5342	1449	550	139	\$19355
2. Conewago.	0	4	5	2	0	0	2	2	268	906	417	1605	20260	9170	19139	20665	152	3557	1534	111	0	3277
3. Cumberland.	0	3	4	3	0	1	2	222	682	650	958	3445	9780	7171	706	6320	0	637	444	888	265	266
4. Franklin.	0	6	0	5	0	6	0	530	1793	1471	2618	18444	3801	24003	26932	0	12757	2352	2736	484	1386	1386
5. Freedom.	0	2	2	0	0	1	154	531	549	737	305	1346	6550	4120	0	0	0	170	24	150	0	130
6. Gettysburg.	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	107	71	00	146	654	00	00	600	432	0	3279	766	576	13	1799
7. Germany.	0	3	4	4	1	3	1	334	992	737	1775	8254	4034	18659	12278	0	4444	1171	1416	98	1004	1004
8. Hamilton.	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	309	838	908	1373	14748	1899	18658	12278	0	4444	1171	1416	98	1004	1004
9. Hamilton Ban.	2	1	0	8	0	6	433	916	1166	1703	14958	6193	16450	15704	898	3363	1229	3500	164	800	800	800
10. Huntingdon.	0	0	3	5	0	2	0	432	1336	2120	1971	10899	6184	16440	15704	0	5942	1499	1785	919	1411	1411
11. Lattimer.	0	0	4	6	2	0	1	375	1089	1527	1833	13350	6877	1851	21025	0	4582	1884	2103	495	1411	1411
12. Liberty.	0	4	0	6	0	2	2	245	631	522	1289	992	1855	7370	5310	60	0	0	0	66	0	66
13. Menallen.	0	8	6	23	1	0	1	513	1732	1544	2389	18064	5305	17418	17707	0	5387	2210	1810	307	1012	1012
14. Mountjoy.	0	2	2	3	0	0	1	344	968	837	1663	8874	3723	10485	8335	0	1278	644	452	75	121	121
15. Mount Pleasant.	0	3	3	3	0	0	1	364	1651	1339	2790	19929	9964	27620	25808	0	5089	3075	1878	363	3310	3310
16. Reading.	0	1	0	0	2	1	438	1346	1512	1982	18423	8645	22507	233873	0	3504	1943	2198	165	2677	2677	
17. Strabane.	0	1	1	2	0	1	649	1886	1971	3102	21507	10145	36651	45122	3740	1030	0	16032	2122	3740	1030	409
18. Tyrone.	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	332	1035	1106	1816	9368	4628	15558	15666	0	4542	1338	1875	771	154	154

CENSUS OF 1840 OF ADAMS COUNTY, TOWNSHIPS, ETC.		Furnaces.	Flouring mills.	Grist mills.	Saw mills.	Oil mills.	Tanneries.	Distilleries.	Horses & Mules	Neat Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Bushels of Wheat.	Bushels of Rye.	Indian corn.	Oats.	Barley.	Potatoes.	Tons of hay.	Pounds of wool raised.	Bushels of Buckwheat.	Value of the products of the dairy.	
1. Berwick.	0	3	3	2	0	3	3	3	327	954	766	1833	18132	6381	16538	14014	480	5342	1449	550	139	\$19355	
2. Conewago.	0	4	5	2	0	0	2	2	268	906	417	1605	20260	9170	19139	20665	152	3557	1534	111	0	3277	
3. Cumberland.	0	3	4	3	0	1	2	222	682	650	958	3445	9780	7171	706	6320	0	637	444	888	265	266	
4. Franklin.	0	6	0	5	0	6	0	530	1793	1471	2618	18444	3801	24003	26932	0	12757	2352	2736	484	1386	1386	
5. Freedom.	0	2	2	0	0	1	154	531	549	737	305	1346	6550	4120	0	0	0	170	24	150	0	130	
6. Gettysburg.	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	107	71	00	146	654	00	00	600	432	0	3279	766	576	13	1799	
7. Germany.	0	3	4	4	1	3	1	334	992	737	1775	8254	4034	18659	12278	0	4444	1171	1416	98	1004	1004	
8. Hamilton.	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	309	838	908	1373	14748	1899	18658	12278	0	4444	1171	1416	98	1004	1004	
9. Hamilton Ban.	2	1	0	8	0	6	433	916	1166	1703	14958	6193	16450	15704	898	3363	1229	3500	164	800	800	800	
10. Huntingdon.	0	0	3	5	0	2	0	432	1336	2120	1971	10899	6184	16440	15704	0	5942	1499	1785	919	1411	1411	
11. Lattimer.	0	0	4	6	2	0	1	375	1089	1527	1833	13350	6877	1851	21025	0	4582	1884	2103	495	1411	1411	
12. Liberty.	0	4	0	6	0	2	2	245	631	522	1289	992	1855	7370	5310	60	0	0	0	66	0	66	
13. Menallen.	0	8	6	23	1	0	1	513	1732	1544	2389	18064	5305	17418	17707	0	5387	2210	1810	307	1012	1012	
14. Mountjoy.	0	2	2	3	0	0	1	344	968	837	1663	8874	3723	10485	8335	0	1278	644	452	75	121	121	
15. Mount Pleasant.	0	3	3	3	0	0	1	364	1651	1339	2790	19929	9964	27620	25808	0	5089	3075	1878	363	3310	3310	
16. Reading.	0	1	0	0	2	1	438	1346	1512	1982	18423	8645	22507	233873	0	3504	1943	2198	165	2677	2677	2677	
17. Strabane.	0	1	1	2	0	2	1	649	1886	1971	3102	21507	10145	36651	45122	3740	1030	0	16032	2122	3740	1030	409
18. Tyrone.	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	332	1035	1106	1816	9368	4628	15558	15666	0	4542	1338	1875	771	154	154	

The streams, though numerous, are not large. The Bermudian creek rises in Cumberland county near the boundary line; flowing through Tyrone, Hunting and Latimore townships; it receives several small streams in its course—it continues its way into York county, and empties into the Conewago creek. Its entire length is 22 miles—affording water power to 6 or 8 mills.

Latimore creek rises in Cumberland county, flowing a southerly direction, and empties into the Bermudian. Muddy creek rises in Hunting township; flowing in a northeastern direction, it forms the boundary line between Reading and Latimore townships, and empties into the Bermudian in York county.

Conewago creek rises south of Green Ridge in this county—receiving in its course, Oppossum creek, Plum run, Miley's run on the north; Beaver dam run, Swift run, Little Conewago, Deep run and Beaver creek on the south side—running north and northeast enters York co., between Paradise and Washington townships—emptying into the Susquehanna. It affords abundance of water power for mills, &c.

Oppossum creek rises near the northern boundary of the county, in Menallen township, and empties into the Conewago. Plum run—there are 2 streams of this name in this county, one a tributary of Rock cr., on the line between Strabane and Mount Pleasant townships; one of which rises near the head of Muddy run and is a tributary of the Conewago. Miley's run rises in Reading—flows south a few miles and empties in the Conewago creek west of East Berlin. Beaver dam run rises in Straban township, flowing a circuitous course by Hunterstown; it empties into the Conewago creek. Little Conewago creek rises in the southern part of the county, in Germany township, near the Maryland line; flowing in a northern direction receives many small streams. Its whole course is 16 miles. Swift run rises in Mount Pleasant twp., and in its course receives Brush run, and empties into Big Conewago. Deep run rises in Berwick township, and empties into Conewago crk. Beaver creek rises in the Pigeon Hills; flowing northward, and empties into the Conewago creek, affording water power to several grist mills, saw mills, and one or two factories. Rock creek rises in Straban twp.; flows southward, and receives in its course, eastward, Plumb run, Little's run, and several other streams: its entire course through this county is 14 miles. Little's run rises near Little's tavern, in Germany township, and flows 3 or 4 miles westward, and empties into Rock creek. Rock run rises in Cumberland twp.; flowing a southern course of 4 miles, and falls into Rock creek. Hunter's run rises in Mountjoy twp. flows 6 miles in a southern course, enters Maryland & unites with Rock creek. Piney creek rises partly in Maryland and partly in Germany twp. In its course, it flows 5 or 6 miles through the southern part of this county, and then enters Maryland. Marsh creek rises south of the Green Ridge; in its course receives North Branch and Willoughby's run. Its course within this county is about 17 miles. Willoughby's run rises in Franklin twp.; flows 6 or 7 miles south and empties into Marsh creek. Middle creek rises south of Green Ridge in Hamilton and Ban twp., flowing south, and receives in its course Muddy run and several smaller streams. Flat run is a small stream, rising in Liberty twp, and flows into Maryland. Tom's creek rises north of Jack's mountain in Hamilton and Ban twp.; flowing south through Liberty twp. it receives several streams.

The several streams of this county afford ample water power for 40 or 50 flouring mills, 45 grist mills, 80 saw mills, numerous oil mills, and factories of various kinds.

The public improvements are several turnpikes.—The York and Gettysburg rail-road was commenced in 1818, is about 29 miles long. It was completed 1820 at a cost of \$4,000 per mile. The turnpike road from Hanover to East Berlin passes through the eastern part of the county; another from Carlisle to Hanover, passes through the north-eastern and eastern part, by way of Petersburg and York springs. The Chambersburg and Baltimore turnpike passes nearly diagonally from the north western to south east part of the county. There is also another from Gettysburg to Mummasburg. There is an unfinished rail-road, the far-famed Gettysburg Extension, which was designed as a connecting link between the Philadelphia and Columbia rail-road at York, and the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road, and the Chesapeake and Ohio canal near Williamsport, Maryland. More than half a million of dollars were expended upon in grading the road, before it was suspended, or perhaps abandoned. From its circuitous route, some whose optics were "vermiculated," styled it "*The Tape Worm*."

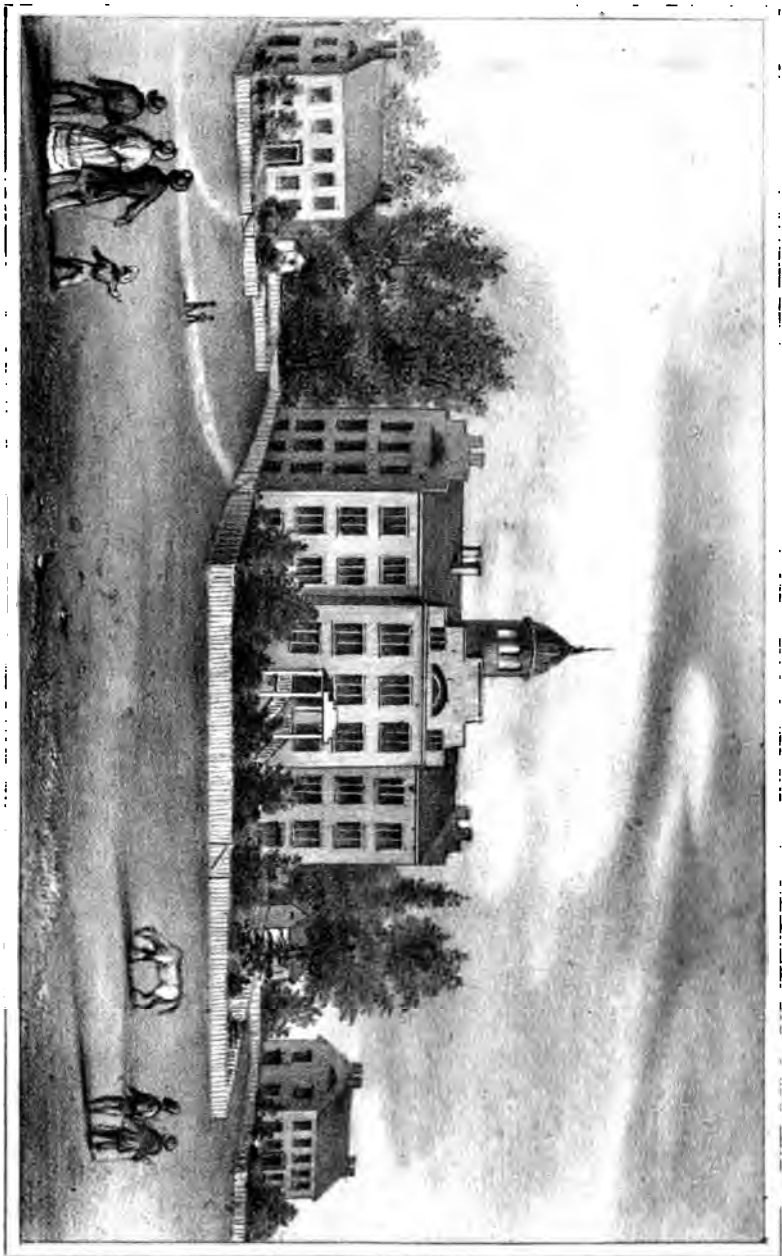
The common roads are usually kept in good condition, these with the turnpikes, and some 15 or 20 well built bridges, afford access to every portion of the county, adjacent counties, and to the metropolis of this State, and Maryland; the latter being the principal market whither the farmers go to sell their surplus produce, and the merchants to lay in stocks of goods.

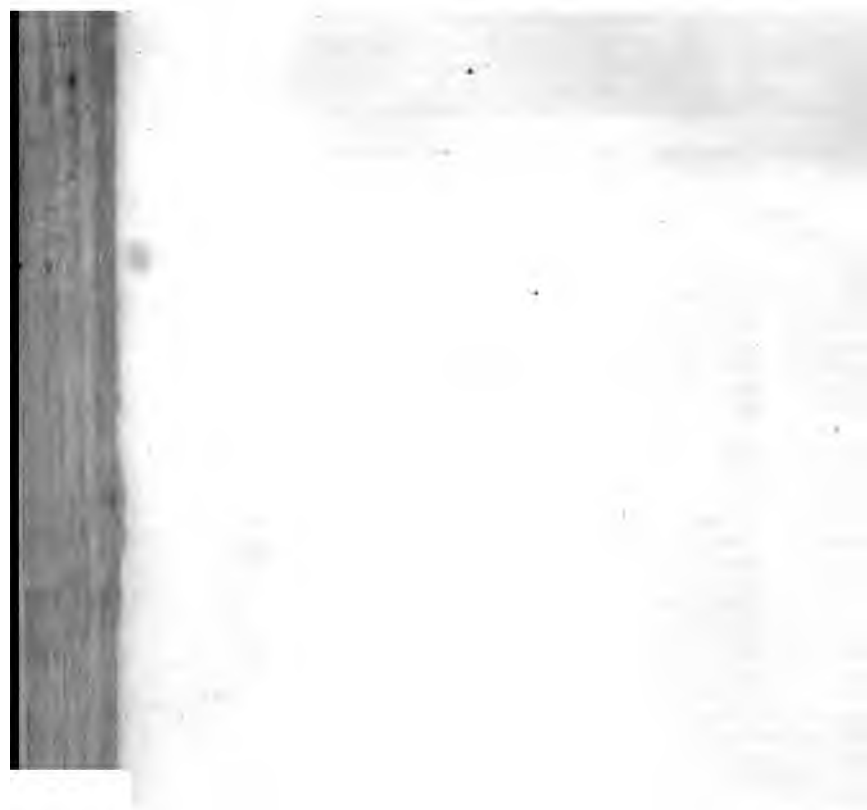
CHAPTER XL.

GETTYSBURG, PETERSBURG, &c.

Gettysburg, the county town, its locality, census of 1840, &c.—The Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary—Pennsylvania College, &c.—Petersburg—York sulphur springs—East Berlin—Abbotstown or Borough of Berwick—New Oxford—Hampton—New Chester or Pinetown—Hunterstown or Woodstock—Fairview or Millerstown—Cashtown—Mummasburg—Heidlersburg—Bendersville, or Wilsonsville—Bonaghton—Little town or Peterstown or Petersburg—McSherrystown.

Gettysburg is within sight of the South Mountain, and cannot be surpassed for its beautiful scenery and salubrious air. It has ever been esteemed as one of the healthiest districts in Pennsylvania. It is the county seat, and rather in the southern part of it, in Cumber-





land township between Marsh creek and Rock creek. It is one of the best and most travelled routes between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, being 114 miles distant from the former, and 180 from the latter place. It is about 52 miles from Baltimore, 25 from Frederick city, 30 from Hagerstown, and 35 from Harrisburg; with all these places the communication by public stages is frequent and easy, so that it offers peculiar facilities to persons desirous of passing through, or coming to it, from every point of the compass, east, west, north or south, or any intermediate point, or from the interior part of Pennsylvania.

It is as favorable a location, as any other in the Union, for literary and theological institutions. Its advantages, in that respect, are presented in the sequel.

The borough of Gettysburg contained in 1830, a population of 1,473; in 1840, 1,968.

The town contains about 300 dwellings, which are generally neat and substantial, though not expensive. The public buildings, the Court House and public offices are of brick. The inhabitants are industrious and enterprising, many of whom are devoted to mechanical pursuits, and particularly to the manufacture of carriages of every description, a branch of business which has been commenced here since 1817.

Previous to 1818, not a saw was drawn, not a plane pushed, neither auger nor wimble turned, a burnisher or a paint brush used, by the hand of a Coach Maker in Gettysburg.—In that year, an old shed was occupied as a shop, and in which two hands were engaged in making repairs to old stages; depending exclusively upon repairing and now and then a new stage, for support.—For two years the proprietor had to twist and screw to get ahead—and withal, failed in his enterprise.—Soon, however, another attempt was made; and in 1830, there were no less than ten or eleven shops, great and small, in successful operation, giving at the different branches connected with the business, employment to 130 workmen. The amount of work sold, is not much short of \$40,000—principally disposed of in Maryland and Virginia.

According to the census of 1830, the town contained 9 stores, one furnace, 1 foundry, 2 tanneries, 1 brewery, 1 pottery, 4 printing offices, 3 weekly newspapers, 1 periodical, 2 colleges, 190 students, 1 academy, 42 students, 8 schools, 330 scholars. At present (1844) it contains 7 schools, 3 male and 4 female teachers; 190 male and 160 female scholars; district tax raised \$1,613 84; state appropriation \$390 00; cost of instruction \$1,353 00; fuel and contingencies \$167 00.

The town contains 8 churches, viz: Presbyterian, Lutheran, Union, Methodist, German Reformed, Independent, Catholic, and African.

Literary and Theological Institutions.—Gettysburg is distinguished for the highly respectable institutions of learning and piety of the place, & which constitute the prominent local source of its prosperity. Among these, the eldest is the "Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States." This institution, which stands related to the Lutheran church at large, and is also open to students of all denominations, was established in 1825. The early ministers of the Lutheran Church in America, having themselves been educated in the Theological institutions of Germany, and having been among the most learned and pious ministers of any denomination in their day, were deeply impressed with the conviction of

their utility, and often expressed a desire to establish one in this country. Sundry preparatory measures were adopted by individual Synods, which were however not attended with the desired effect. Among the motives which led to the establishment of the General Synod, was the desire of concentrating the energies of the Church, that they might be adequate to the establishment of a respectable Theological Seminary. Accordingly, at their third session, held at Fredericktown, Maryland, November 1825, the General Synod resolved no longer to defer this important matter; took measures to obtain the necessary funds, elected a Board of Directors, and also the Revd. S. S. Schmucker, D. D., then pastor of a church in Virginia, as their first professor. At a meeting of the Board, held in Hagerstown, the institution was located at Gettysburg, not only as having made the largest pecuniary offer, but principally as being most central to the whole body of the church.

By the active and laudable exertions of the Revd. Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., who visited Germany for this purpose, about \$10,000, and a very respectable collection of books were contributed by the Lutheran churches in the Father-Land, to aid in establishing this Institution.

The Professor elect spent the summer of 1825 in visiting the principal Atlantic cities, and then, and in several extended efforts since, obtained subscriptions to the amount of more than \$25,000, the greater part of which has been realized. The Revd. J. G. Schmucker, D. D., the Revd. J. Herbst, Revd. Benjamin Keller and Revd. Ruthrauf, ~~sen.~~, at the same time visited the Lutheran churches in the interior of our country; as has also since been done by the Revds. C. Weyl, F. Ruthrauf, W. Heilig, S. Sprecher, & F. W. Conrad, and thus a secure foundation was laid, by the divine blessing, for the successful operation of the institution.

The inauguration of Professor Schmucker took place September 6, 1826, and the instruction of the institution forthwith commenced. Upwards of two hundred students have already enjoyed the benefits of this institution; the greater part of whom are now preaching the gospel in the different parts of the Middle, Southern and Western States; and one, the Revd. Gunn, is laboring as a missionary among the Telagoos in Hindostan.

According to the last Catalogue, the number of students connected with the institution, during the current year, was 30. At the same time there were between 60 and 70 others in the College & Grammar School of the town, preparing to enter the Seminary.

The Seminary edifice is a plain, but handsome four story brick building, 100 by 40, situated on a commanding eminence about half a mile to the west of the town, of which it commands a beautiful view. A number of rooms have been furnished by congregations and benevolent individuals, by which the expenses of the indigent students are materially diminished. At a short distance on each side of the Seminary are the Professor's houses, likewise constructed of bricks.

By the industry and taste of the students, the yard around the Seminary edifice was, at an early day, beautifully improved by flower beds and ornamental trees. Handsome walks, shaded by trees, were also more recently made from the Seminary to the public roads, which pass equi-distant on either side of it; and within the present year, a larger avenue, 40 feet wide, lined by two rows of ornamental trees, has been opened by them, directly in front of the Seminary, extending about a

quarter of a mile to the turnpike. The following gentlemen have been appointed Professors of the Institution, according to dates, as follow :

S. S. Schmucker, D. D. 1825, E. L. Hazellus, D. D. 1830, C. P. Krauth, D. D. 1833, H. J. Smith, A. M. 1839, C. A. Hay, A. M., 1844. The present Faculty are Samuel S. Schmucker, D. D. Chairman of the Faculty and Professor of Didactic and Polemic, Homeletic and Pastoral Theology. Charles P. Krauth, D. D. Professor of Sacred Philology and Exegesis. Charles A. Hay, A. M. Professor of Biblical Literature, &c.

The Library of the institution is one of the most valuable collections of Theological works in this country, containing about 7,500 volumes, three-fourths of which, written in all the languages of Europe, and treating of every branch of Theological science, were procured in Germany by the Revd. Benjamin Kurtz, D. D. and the remainder, consisting of the latest and best works of English and American Theological Literature, were obtained by the exertion of Dr. S. S. Schmucker.

There are two Societies in the Seminary; one the Society of Inquiry on Missions, and the other the Theological Society. Tuition, use of Library and rooms, are gratis.

The Seminary is in a flourishing condition, and the healthiness of the situation, the moderate expense, the advantages of a good library, the acknowledged high standing of the faculty, warrant the hope, that this institution is destined to become, yearly, more useful to the cause of the Redeemer.

The government, design and character of this institution may be more fully learned from the following extracts from its Statutes and Constitution.

Whereas, The General Synod regard it as a solemn duty imposed on them by their Constitution, and due from them to their God and to the Church, to provide for the proper education of men of piety and talents, for the Gospel Ministry :—Therefore,

Resolved, That the General Synod will forthwith commence, in the name of the Triune God, and in humble reliance on his aid, the establishment of a Theological Seminary, which shall be exclusively devoted to the glory of our Divine Redeemer, Jesus Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever. And that in this Seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the Sacred Scriptures, as contained in the Augsburg Confession.

That this Institution shall be under the sole government of a Board of Directors, which shall regularly meet semi-annually, and as often at intermediate times as they may think expedient. This Board are not, in any respect, under the control of the General Synod; but each member is responsible, individually, to the Synod by which he is elected.

That this Board consist of five Directors, viz : three pastors and two laymen from each Synod, which is connected with the General Synod, and contributes pecuniary aid to the support of the Seminary.

That the General Synod elect the first Board of Directors agreeably to the preceding article, whose term of service shall be determined by their respective Synods; after which, the several Synods shall elect their Directors in such manner, and for such time, as may be deemed most expedient by themselves: Provided always, That one half of their quota of Directors vacate their seats at one and the same time.

That a Professor shall be elected by the General Synod, after which

the Board of Directors shall forever have the exclusive authority of electing additional Professors and filling up all vacancies.

Any Professor may be impeached, at any time, for fundamental error in doctrine, immorality of deportment, inattention to the duties of his office, or incapacity to discharge them; and, if found guilty, may be dismissed from office, by two-thirds of the Directors present: Provided always, That a motion for impeachment be made at one semi-annual meeting, and lie over for consideration until the next; and that the Secretary of the Board of Directors be required to give written notice to every Director absent from said meeting, within four weeks after the meeting at which such motion was made.

The Directors are responsible for their conduct to the respective Synods by which they were elected, and may be removed for such causes, and in such manner as said Synods shall specify.

CONSTITUTION.—The design of this institution is, to provide our churches with pastors who sincerely believe, and cordially approve of, the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as they are fundamentally taught in the Augsburg Confession, and who will therefore teach them in opposition to Deists, Unitarians, Arians, Antimonians, and all other fundamental errorists.

To meet the exigencies of our Churches, many of which require Ministers capable of preaching in both the German and English languages.

To educate for the Ministry poor young men of piety and talents; by affording them gratuitous instruction, and, as far as the funds will admit, and their necessary requires, defraying also their other necessary expenses.

To make the future ministers of the Church devoted, and deeply pious men; by educating a number of them amid circumstances most favorable to the growth of genuine godliness, and affording the most powerful stimulus to its attainment.

To make the future Ministers of the Church zealous and learned men; workmen that need not to be ashamed, being qualified rightly to divide the word of truth, and to give unto each hearer his portion, both of instruction and edification, in due season.

To promote unanimity of views and harmony of feelings, among the Ministers of the Church, by having a large number educated by the same teachers, and in the same course of study; and thus to enable them to co-operate more effectually in promoting the kingdom of the Redeemer.

To increase the number of Ministers, and make it commensurate with the increasing wants of the Church.

The Board of Directors shall inspect the fidelity of the Professors, as well with regard to the doctrines actually taught, as to the manner of teaching them. If any just reason be given them to suspect the orthodoxy, or piety, or habitual diligence, or capacity of a Professor, or his devotedness to the Lutheran Church, it shall be their sacred duty to institute an investigation at the next regular meeting; or, if the case be one of fundamental heterodoxy, they shall call a special meeting for the purpose. If, after candid and deliberate examination, they shall judge any Professor guilty of either of the above charges alleged against him, it shall be their sacred duty to depose him from office, to appoint immediately some suitable Minister of our Church to conduct,

pro tempore, the instruction of the Seminary, (requiring of him the same doctrinal profession, and oath of office, as of the Professor) and to take the earliest constitutional measures to elect a new Professor.

At every stated meeting of the General Synod, the Board shall forward to said Body in writing, a detailed and faithful account of the state of the Seminary.

In their efforts to promote the grand designs of this Seminary, and in short, in all their official acts, the Directors shall conform to the Constitution of the Seminary, and the statutes on which it is founded: and if, at any time, they should act contrary thereto, or transcend the powers therein granted them, the party deeming itself aggrieved, may have redress by appeal to the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, who are hereby constituted and authorized to judge in such cases, and a majority of whom may declare null and void any decision of this Board, from which an appeal is made to them, and which, after mature deliberation, they believe to be contrary to the Constitution of this Seminary, or the Statutes on which it is founded, and with which it must ever harmonize.

Every Professor elect of this Institution, shall on the day of his inauguration, publicly pronounce and subscribe the oath of office required of the Directors, and also, the following declaration: "I solemnly declare in the presence of God and the Directors of this Seminary, that I do *ex animo*, believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the inspired word of God, and the only perfect rule of faith and practice. I believe the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God. I declare that I approve of the general principles of church government adopted by the Lutheran church in this country, and believe them to be consistent with the word of God. And I do solemnly promise not to teach any thing, either directly or by insinuation, which shall appear to me to contradict, or to be in any degree more or less remote, inconsistent with the doctrines or principles avowed in this declaration. On the contrary, I promise, by the aid of God, to vindicate and inculcate these doctrines and principles, in opposition to the views of Atheists, Deists, Jews, Socinians, Unitarians, Arians, Universalists, Pelagians, Antinomians, and all other errorists, while I remain a Professor in this Seminary."

The preceding declaration shall be repeated by each Professor at the expiration of every term of 5 years, in the presence of the Directors: and at any intermediate time, if required to do so by a vote of the Board of Directors. And no man shall be retained as Professor who shall refuse to make and repeat this declaration, in the manner and at the times above specified.

Course of Study, Examination and Vacation.—The regular course of instruction and study in the Seminary, shall embrace the following branches: Greek and Hebrew, Philology, Sacred Geography, Sacred Chronology, Biblical and Profane History corrected, Jewish Antiquities, Philosophy of the Mind, Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Criticism, Exegetical Theology, Biblical Theology, Systematic Divinity, Practical Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, Polemic Theology, Church Government, Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Pastoral Theology.

Particular attention shall be paid to the German language, and the

course of studies shall be so regulated, that a due portion of them may be pursued in the German language by all the students who wish.

There shall be two vacations in each year, of six weeks continuance each, to commence on the third Thursday of April and September. When the third Thursday of April falls into the week of Good Friday, the spring vacation shall begin one week later.

Of the devotional exercises of Students.—It ought to be considered as an object of primary importance by every student of the Seminary, not to lose that inward practical sense of the power of godliness which he may have attained, nor to suffer his intellectual pursuits at all to impair it; but on the contrary, to aim at constant growth in piety and enlightened zeal for the interests of religion.

Religious exercises shall be performed every morning and evening during term time, either by the Professors, or such Students as they shall appoint. In the morning a devotional chapter or psalm shall be read, and a prayer offered up. In the evening a hymn shall be sung, and the services concluded with prayer.

Every Student shall constantly, and punctually, and seriously, attend these religious exercises; as well as all the stated public worship in the Church.

This important institution has received several small legacies from the friends of religion, and it is to be hoped will hereafter be similarly remembered by those who feel it a duty and a privilege to consecrate a portion of their early substance to the cause of the Redeemer.

Pennsylvania College.—This had its origin in the want of the German community in general, and especially of the Theological Seminary. Some of the applicants for admission to that institution, being found deficient in classical attainments, they resolved May 16 1827, to establish a Preparatory School, to be under their direction, and appointed S. S. Schmucker, D. D., and the Revd. J. Herbst to select a teacher and carry their resolution into effect. The Revd. D. Jacobs, A. M., was chosen, and in June, 1827, the school went into operation, as a preparatory department of the Seminary, although students of every description were always received into it. From this humble beginning it gradually rose to importance and influence. In 1829, when the County Academy, in which the school was held, was sold for debt, it was purchased by Dr. Schmucker, who divided the price of the cost to him, into shares of \$50, and invited the prominent ministers in different parts of our country to purchase shares, and join with him under certain articles of agreement, giving to the stockholders the management of the fiscal interests, and to the Directors and Professors of the Theological Seminary, the selection of teachers and regulation of the course and study and discipline, and assuming the title of *Gettysburg Gymnasium*. Under this concentration of interest, the number of pupils grew with increasing rapidity. In 1830, Revd. Mr. Jacobs died, and was succeeded in 1831 by Revd. H. L. Baugher, A. M. As the prospects of successfulness, especially to the German community of our country, who were at that time without any collegiate institution of their own, continued to brighten, measures were adopted, chiefly thro' the exertions of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, to obtain a charter from the Legislature, by which the Gettysburg Gymnasium was erected into a College, under the name of Pennsylvania College. Under these favorable auspices, the College was organized on the day of American

Independence, July 4th, 1832, on which occasion the Hon. C. Blythe delivered an appropriate oration; and in October following went into full operation. The Trustees immediately appointed Professors in the different departments. Drs. Schmucker and Hazellius of the Theological Seminary, by request of the Board, officiated temporarily and gratuitously; the former as Professor of Intellectual and Moral Science, and the latter as Professor of the Latin language, until the funds of the institution would justify the appointment of additional teachers. Rev. H. L. Baugher and Mr. Jacobs, who had already established a high reputation as teachers in the Gymnasium, were regularly appointed, the first as Professor of the Greek Language & Literature, and the second as Professor of Mathematics and the Physical Sciences. In October, 1834, the Revd. C. P. Krauth, D. D., a gentleman of established scholarship and learning and connected with the Faculty of the Seminary, was inducted into his office as President of the College. Other teachers were successively added, until the present faculty embraces in it an amount of talent, learning and experience, surpassed by no institution in the State.

Revd. C. P. Krauth, D. D., President, and Professor of Intellectual & Moral Science. Revd. H. L. Baugher, A. M., Professor of Greek Language and Literature, Rhetoric and Oratory. Revd. M. Jacobs, A. M., Professor of Mathematics, Chemistry & Mechanical Philosophy. Revd. W. M. Reynolds, A. M., Professor of Latin Language and Literature. M. L. Stoever, A. M., Professor of History and Principal of the Preparatory Department. Rev. Charles A. Hay, A. M., Professor of German Language and Literature. Herman Haupt, A. M., Professor of Mathematics. Rev. W. H. Harrison, Assistant Professor of Languages. David Gilbert, M. D., Lecturer on Anatomy and Physiology. John G. Morris, D. D., Lecturer on Zoology.

There are two Literary Societies—the Philomatheon and the Phrenakosmian—which exert a favorable influence on the improvement of the young men in these important studies.

The course of instruction in the Preparatory Department, which is in a very flourishing condition, embraces a solid and thorough English Education, whilst those who desire to prepare for business, or for College, have every advantage for the acquisition of the elements of Mathematics and the Latin, Greek, German and French languages. For those who propose taking a regular Collegiate Education, the course of instruction contemplates a period of 3 years, but the student is taken through in a longer or shorter period according to his attainments, abilities and application.

Libraries and Apparatus.—The College Library, to which the students have access, contains many valuable works and is regularly increased by annual appropriations for that purpose. The Libraries of the Phrenakosmian and Philomatheon Societies also comprise a large number of well selected volumes.

Linnæan Society.—The object of this Society is to promote cause of Science in the Institution, by fostering among its members a spirit of investigation and a love for the works of God. For this purpose they are increasing the Cabinet by Zoological Specimens, Minerals, Dried Plants, Fossils, Coins, Antiquities, and such curiosities.

• • • • • The College edifice is a short distance from the town. It is a chaste specimen of the Doric order of architecture, consisting

of a central building and two wings, with end projections, front and rear. Whole length 150 feet. The building is four stories high, of brick, painted white, making a very imposing appearance. It is well aired by a spacious hall, and passages on every floor, the whole length of the building. The number of students at present connected with the college, including its preparatory department is upwards of 150.

In addition to these Theological & Literary Institutions, Gettysburg has a *Female Seminary*, under the charge of Mr. H. Haupt, who has for some years been known as our able and successful teacher. The entire arrangements of the institution are such, as to merit the confidence and encouragement of those, who wish to give their daughters, or wards a decidedly useful, as well as ornamental education.

Petersburg, a post village, in Huntingdon township, is on the Carlisle and Hanover turnpike road, 14 miles from the former, and 16 from the latter; 14 from Gettysburg, and 21 from York. The State road from Harrisburg to Frederick city also passes through here. The town contains about sixty dwellings, many of which are substantial brick edifices, three brick churches; a Lutheran, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal; an Academy, which was erected in 1826, and a Lyceum numbering sixty members; 3 stores; 3 taverns; an extensive Coach Manufactory, a tanyard and the usual number of handicrafts found in country villages.

The town was laid out about the year 1803 or '4, by Peter Fleck who, and Isaac Saddler, erected the first two houses in the place; soon afterwards Jacob Gardener, Joshua Speakman, Vincent Pilkington and others added dwellings.—It is now quite a brisk place for business. A good public school and an academy are supported by the inhabitants of the place and vicinity.

The York Sulphur Springs, are within a mile and a half of Petersburg. They were discovered in 1790, on a plantation of Mr. Jacob Ficks, who had the qualities of the water analyzed by M. Heterick and Dr. James Hall, who ascertained that it contained ingredients highly valuable for their medicinal effects; and when this was made known, crowds soon flocked together to try the virtue of the water. Tradition has it, that deer and other game, guided by instinct, frequented the pool, before the country was settled, because the saline properties of the water attracted them.

The first buildings erected at the Springs, were owned by Messrs. Joseph Worley and Long; a Mr. Lowrey made some additions afterwards; Mr. McCosh improved the appearance of the place very much. The Springs are now owned by Messrs. Pennington and Baggs of Baltimore, and are kept by Mr. Arnold Gardner. It has been for a long time a favorite place of resort, of the wealthy citizens of Baltimore and from other parts of the country.

East Berlin is a neat, and pleasantly situated post town in Hamilton township. It was laid out in 1764 by one John Frankenberger, who had settled here nearly a century ago.—He named it Berlin. Mr. Frankenberger, the proprietor, disposed of his interest in 1774 to Peter Houshill; who, in 1782 sold to Andrew Comfort. In 1794 John Hildebrand became proprietor. The first house, it appears that was erected after the town had been laid out, was built by Charles Himes in 1765; the second by Jacob Sarbach in 1766; the third by James Mackey in 1767, who opened a small store, and was the first tobacco seller in Berlin.

The first English school taught here, or in the vicinity, was opened by Robert John Chester, an Englishman, in 1769.—He afterwards turned his mind to keeping tavern in the new village. The Conewago flowing hard by affords mill power—Peter Lane, a German, erected a mill about 1769 at the west end of the town. Thirty years after it had been built, a fresher swept it away.

The progress of the town had been rapid and a considerable stir of business caused, being a thoroughfare place from the northern part of York and Cumberland counties in Baltimore; but like many other villages of equally rapid growth, it met with its reverses, owing to the construction of other roads, and modes of transporting produce from Cumberland &c. to Baltimore, much, if not nearly the whole of wagoning through here, was diverted from this point.

The town consists of 84 dwellings, 3 taverns, 3 stores, 3 apothecaries, 2 school houses, 1 Union church, held in common by the Lutherans and German Reformed; a public library; a Sunday school, and one or two other institutions, having for their object the improvement of mind and morals. There are 2 grist mills, a fulling mill, &c. near the town; one on Beaver creek, southeast of the town, and the others on the Conewago, north of it. A printing press has been in operation for some time. Population 410.

Abbottstown, or Borough of Berwick, a post village of Berwick twp., on the turnpike road leading from York to Gettysburg, 14 miles east from the latter place. The Hanover and Berlin turnpike road and the York and Gettysburg turnpike road intersect within the borough.—This town was laid out some time in 1753, by John Abbet. The first lot sold here, was purchased by Jacob Pattison, October 19, 1763—Beaver creek, a tributary of the Conewago flows near by it, forming the boundary line between York and Adams counties. The borough, which was incorporated in 1835, contains between 40 and 60 dwellings, 4 taverns, 3 stores, 1 apothecary, a printing office, owned by W. F. Koehler, Esq., who edits and publishes a German paper called "*Der Intelligencer*." There are two churches here, one belonging to the German Reformed, and the other to the Lutherans; also a public school house. A Union Sunday school consisting of about 80 or 90 scholars. The population is German. The usual number of handicrafts are found here.

New Oxford, a post village, of Berwick township, on the turnpike road leading from York to Gettysburg, 10 miles east of the latter place was laid out in 1792 by Henry Kuhn, it consists of 33 dwellings, 2 stores, 1 tavern, 1 Union church held in common by the German Reformed and Lutherans, 1 school house and a literary institute called, "*New Oxford College and Medical Institution*." The institution has not, as yet, been patronized commensurately with the efforts of its stockholders and proprietors. Meilys stand has been kept as a public house for nearly a century—for many years, familiarly known as "*Butcher Frederick's stand*." This village is pleasantly situated in a level country.

Hampton, a post village, of Reading township on the Carlisle and Hanover turnpike road, twelve miles east of Gettysburg, six from Petersburg and ten from Hanover, was laid out by Dr. John B. Arnold and Daniel Deardorff in 1814; it consists of about 30 dwellings, 2 taverns 2 stores. The first house erected here was built by David

Albert. There is a Union church here erected in 1844; and a school house. The population is about 180.

New Chester or *Pinetown*, usually so called, because of a pine ridge contiguous to it—is a post village in Strabane township, was laid out in 1804, by Henry Martzsaal; consists of some 15 dwellings, 2 stores, 1 tavern, 1 school. This village is about 9 miles from Gettysburg; situated in a somewhat rugged country, and within a bend of the Conewago creek. There is a German Reformed and Lutheran church a little south west of it.

Hunterstown, formerly called *Wood Stock*, a post village, of Strabane township, nearly centrally situated in the town, on the road from East Berlin to Gettysburg, six miles from the latter place; contains between 15 and 20 dwellings, 1 store and 1 tavern. Beaver Dam creek flows close here. The surrounding country is level.

Fairfield or *Millerstown*, a post village in Hamilton-ban twp. 10 miles southwest of Gettysburg, contains 50 dwellings, several stores and taverns, 2 churches, a school-house, and a number of mechanics' shops. It is quite a brisk place; situated in a region of country well cultivated and productive—the scenery imposing—a fine view is had of Jacks mountain. There is some iron ore west of the village.

Cashtown, a fine village in Franklin township, 8 miles northwest of Gettysburg, on the turnpike road to Chambersburg, contains 20 dwellings, a tavern and store, and several mechanics' shops. The north branch of Marsh creek flows past, near the village. The soil is considerably improved and productive.

Mummasburg, on Little Marsh creek, in Franklin twp., is a small town, containing about 25 dwellings, store, tavern, and school-house. A turnpike road extends from Gettysburg to this town.

Heidlersburg, a small village in Tyrone township, on the road leading from Petersburg to Gettysburg, and on the road westward from East Berlin, containing about 15 dwellings, store, tavern, school-house and several mechanics' shops—nine miles northeast from Gettysburg.

Bendersville or *Wilsonville*, in Manallen township, is 10 miles north of Gettysburg, on the State road leading from the latter place to Newville in Cumberland county. It is near the base of the South mountain, five miles from the Laurel forge, and the same distance from Pine Grove turnace.

It was laid out about 12 or 13 years ago; but did not thrive till 1840, when an impetus was given to it, and soon some 20 houses were erected; at present it numbers 23 dwellings, principally brick, with a few frame, stone and log houses—the latter rough cast or weather-boarded. The village presents a neat appearance.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is the only one at present in the place; by the liberality of this body of Christians, the German Reformed have, for the last 3 years, occupied, once a month, this house of worship. The Lutherans and German Reformed have erected one recently.

Bonaghton or *Bonnigstown*, is a small village in Mount Pleasant twp., on the road leading from Gettysburg to Petersburg, about five miles from each. Here three main roads branch off, viz: to Gettysburg, to Hunterstown, and to New Oxford. The soil of the country around is red shale—with careful cultivation is rendered productive.

Littlestown or *Petersburg*, a brisk town, in Germany twp., on the road

leading from Gettysburg to Maryland, consists of about 50 dwellings, several stores, a tavern, and an academy, in which the higher branches are taught. The town is pleasantly situated, in a fertile, highly improved country.

McSherrystown, (on the main road leading from Hanover to Lashels tavern, on the turnpike) in Conewago twp. 3 miles from Hanover, is a small village, containing 25 dwellings, a store and tavern; and a flourishing school of advanced standing, under the auspices of the Catholics—situated in a fertile region of country.

CHAPTER XLI.

BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN MD. & PA.

Controversy touching the boundary line—Boundary line defined and settled—Diggets' choice, &c—Kitzmiller shoots Dudley Digges—Trial and acquittal—Adam Farney assaulted, beaten and taken to Baltimore—Petition touching the conduct of disorderly persons.

For a long time, from 1682 to 1760, there was an unsettled dispute touching the boundary line between the Province of Pennsylvania and Maryland. The controversy occasionally grew warm, and while it lasted, was stirring and exciting—nay, blood was, in several instances shed, in encounters arising from the unsettled and undefined boundary line. The Cressap case has already been cited. The following is here inserted, defining the boundary line &c.

The boundaries of Pennsylvania as described in the royal charter by King Charles, the second, to William Penn, the first founder of the Province, are as follows: "All that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware river, from twelve miles distance northward of New Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward; but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river so far as it doth extend, and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line, to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the forty-third degree; the said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle northward, and westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

There was a series of contention between the proprietaries of Mary-

land, concerning the boundaries and extent of their Provinces, from the time of the original grant of Pennsylvania till the year 1732, when they entered into articles of agreement for the settlement and establishment of their boundaries, by which it was agreed, that a due north line should be drawn from the tangent point of the twelve mile circle of New Castle so far only until it should come unto the same latitude fifteen English statute miles due south of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia; and that a due east and west line should be run in manner following:—

To begin at the northern point or end of the said due south & north line, and should from thence run due west across Susquehanna river to the utmost extent of the province of Pennsylvania, which said east and west line was to be the lines of division between Maryland and Pennsylvania. And these lines are established as the boundaries between them, by a decree of Chancery in England, after a long, tedious and expensive suit, instituted in that court, by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania against the proprietary of Maryland, for a specific performance of those articles.

In the year 1760 another agreement was made between the proprietaries of these two provinces, Frederick, Lord Baltimore of Maryland, and Thomas and Richard Penn, of Penna., rectifying and ratifying the agreement of 1732, and the decree aforesaid, and this latter agreement was also established by a decree of Chancery. These lines were run by Jeremiah Dixon and Charles Mason, commissioners, on both sides, in consequence of the several agreements and decrees, and at the joint petition of the proprietaries of each province, the agreements and decrees, and the execution of them were ratified by his Majesty and council on the 11th day of January, 1769, so that those divisional lines thus established, and the charter bounds of Pennsylvania, so far as the province of Maryland does not interfere according to the agreements and decrees aforesaid were established as the reputed bounds of Pennsylvania; and which, however, are considerably short of the intention of the original grant, which appears by the minutes of council at the time of the grant, and from the expressions of the grant itself, to have been an extent of three degrees of latitude and five of longitude; from which the province of Maryland took off about 50 miles in latitude in the full extent of Maryland from east to west.—[Answers to Earl of Dartmouth 1775.]

Prior to the adjustment of the boundary line, settlements had been made under Maryland rights, north of the fixed boundary. This was the case in Conewago township, especially as to Digges' choice, out of which grew not only inconveniences, afterwards loudly complained of; but blood was shed.

The following facts relate to this choice. John Digges, as tradition has it, was advised by a noted Indian chief, Tom, of an excellent tract of land, at present within the limits of Heidelberg township, York county, and Conewago and German townships in Adams county.

Oct. 14, 1727 a warrant was granted to John Digges for 10,000 acres of land, which was continued by renewments until April 1st 1732, on which renewal of survey was made, April 18, 1732, of 6,822 acres, and certificate of survey by course and distances only, except the closing line, returned. Oct. 11, 1735, patent issued for the 6,822 acres, without any thing particular in it; May 25, 1738, Royal order was made

(see below). July 15, 1745, John Digges petitioned for a re-survey of the land, suggesting errors, and praying the addition of contiguous vacancy. July 15, '45 warrant issued according to the prayer of the petitioner, directing a re-survey, *correct errors*, and add vacancy, whether *cultivated* or otherwise. Aug. 1st '45 re-survey was made, and returned and accepted by Lord Baltimore, Agent and Land office—no errors in the original survey mentioned; but 3,679 acres, expressed vacancy, added without saying cultivated or uncultivated. Oct. 18, '45 patent issued for the re-surveyed land. This tract fell four miles north of the temporary line of 1732.

In 1737 Martin Kitzmiller made a purchase of some lands near to Digges' first patented tract at Conewago, and the next year built a house and mill, and made considerable improvements, and was in possession of them at the time of the Royal order, and paying taxes and did the duties of an inhabitant of Pennsylvania. In 1747 he obtained a warrant for his lands from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, bearing date the 5th of Feb. 1747; notwithstanding which, in Feb. 1752, a man, a perfect stranger to Martin Kitzmiller, pretending to be a Maryland officer, accompanied by Dudley Digges, came upon the plantation of Martin Kitzmiller, which was 4 miles to the north of the temporary line—out of the line of Digges' first survey, and arrested him at the suit of John Digges. Martin Kitzmiller and his family judging this an unlawful act, resisted the pretended officer—upon which the persons who came with him went to his assistance. Several blows passed on each side, until one of Martin Kitzmiller's sons shot Dudley Digges and wounded him that he died.* They were tried on a charge of murder in York county and acquitted. The place where the act was committed, being fully proved by a variety of evidence, to have been in the last survey of Digges, and consequently in Pennsylvania. On this trial it was proved the pretended officer was not one, and had no writ or warrant to justify the arrest—from whence all persons present concluded Digges had never obtained one.

After the trial and acquittal of the Kitzmillers, an indictment was found against the pretended officer and all concerned with him in the riot. The case was tried at York.

The above was not the only case of Willmot's attempting to seize individuals at the suit of John Digges. He had previously arrested Adam Farney and carried him down to Baltimore.

On the 26th Jan. 1746, John Willmot, who called himself the under sheriff of Baltimore county, Maryland, upon a writ at the suit of John Digges, with six other men, all armed with clubs, came to the house of Adam Farney, laid violent hands on him, carried him away a prisoner down to Baltimore. They struck Louisa, Farney's wife, and his daughter Eve, and gave his said daughter a deep wound in the head. Farney entered bail and was discharged.

The inconveniences under which the more orderly labored, were more than ordinary, because the laws of neither province could be

* Upon this the pretended officer and his companions fled from Martin Kitzmiller and Jacob.

Those engaged with the sheriff were Dudley and Henry Diggs, sons of John Digges, John Stackers, Patrick Koyle, John Seyfert, and Anthony Worley.

extended to the places to which the mutual claims were not settled, either by survey or charter. The more unruly availed themselves of these harbors, and their conduct was ground for complaint, as is fully set forth in the following petition :

A petition from the Justices, Grand Jury, Commissioners and Assessors of the County of York, was presented to the House Feb. 18 1757, and read, setting forth, that near two townships, and many other small tracts of the best land in said county, are held under the Proprietary of the Province of Maryland, and therefore the inhabitants of these lands are not liable to pay taxes, or other public dues for the support of this government, neither do they (as they inform the petitioners) pay to the Province of Maryland, under whose jurisdiction they are, or ought to be, by the Royal order; that the situation of these lands being chiefly from five to fifteen or twenty miles and upwards north of the Temporary line, and consequently separated from Maryland by laws held under our Proprietaries, the petitioners apprehend to be the reason why the inhabitants of said lands are not called upon for public dues by the officers of Maryland; that as many of the inhabitants of the said lands as have convenient situations, and are in suitable circumstances, do distil great quantities of spirits, and keep public houses, and neither have license from, nor pay excise to, either of the Provinces; that some of them entertain the servants and hirelings of their neighbors on Sabbath days, and harbor and conceal many of such of the inhabitants of this Province as get in debt or commit any crimes cognizable before the court in said county, to the manifest injury of the public, and of numbers of the inhabitants of this Province; that nevertheless the persons residing on this land, sue for, and recover, their debts amongst the petitioners, and enjoy all the other privileges of Government with those who contribute towards the support thereof; the petitioners, therefore pray, that this House will consider the premises, and grant such remedy as shall seem expedient.—Votes of Assembly, iv. 694. Feb. 18, 1757.

CHAPTER XLII.

FIRST SETTLERS, &c.

First settlers in various parts of the county—Disputes and affrays between the Irish and Germans—At York 1750-1751—Sufferings of early settlers—Indian incursions—Abduction of Richard Bard—Education—Poor-house.

The first settlers of this county were principally Scotch-Irish, who settled in the southwest part of the county, on and along Marsh creek; some English descendants who settled in the borders of Maryland, in

and about Diggis' Choice, with some Germans, Low Dutch, and emigrants from the lower counties.

Among the first settlers on Marsh creek, about 1738-'40, were William McLellan, Joseph Farns, Hugh McClain, Matthew Black, James McMichell, Robt. McFarson, William Black, James Agnew (the cooper) Henry McDonath, John Alexander, Moses Jenkins, Richard Hall, Richard Fosset, Adam Hall, John Eddy, Edward Hall, James Wilson, John Eddy, jr. James Agnew, William Eddy, John Steen, John Johnson, John Hamilton, Hugh Vogan, John McWharter, Hugh Swainey, Titus Darley, Thomas Hoswick and some of the Campbells, Allison's, Morrisons, &c.

At that time, the limestone lands, in the lower part of the county, now so valuable in the hands of the German farmers, were not held in high estimation, on account of the scarcity of water, and the Scotch-Irish passed them by to select the slate lands, with the pure springs and mountain air to which they had been accustomed to at home. These settlers were of the better order of peasantry, and brought with them the characteristics of their native land. They were moral, industrious, and intelligent; and for the most part were rigid Presbyterians, or "Seceders." They were frugal, as the Scotch always are—plain in their mode of living, but cordial and hospitable. They were universally men of undaunted courage and high patriotic feeling; and when the alarm of the revolution first rung through the land, it called no truer or more willing hearts than those of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The manners and character of the early settlers have been very generally inherited by their descendants—many of whom still cultivate the same farms, worship in the same old churches, and hold fast to the rigid and venerated "form of sound words" of the Presbyterian church.

The region around Gettysburg, including all of Cumberland and part of Strabane townships, was originally known as "the Manor of Mask," established by warrant from the Penns in 1740, previous to which time many settlements had been made. Some dispute arose concerning the title; but a compromise was effected by the original settlers through the agency of Mr. McLellan in 1766, when the boundaries of the manor were marked, and a list of the names of the first settlers, with the date of their settlement, was returned to the land-office, to prove the incipency of their title.

The section of country around Fairfield or Millerstown, is known as the tracts, or Carroll tracts, upper and lower. These were large tracts, surveyed and held by the Carroll family, under Lord Baltimore's title, before the southern boundary line had been definitely settled, of which some account is given below. Charles Carroll had been agent for Lord Baltimore.—*Smith's Laws*, ii. 136.

The Germans settled between Hanover and Littlestown, in the limestone region. The names of some of the early settlers in this region are Martin Kidmiller, Adam Farney, Peter Weltie, Peter Reischert, Andrew Foreman, Stephen Ulrich, Abraham Haul, Derrick Jungblut, Frederick Schitz, Casper Bergheimer, Hans Martin Ungefehr, George Kuntz, Hans Morgenstern, George Marschtaler, Ludwig Schreiber, Andreas Herger, Dewalt Jung, Peter Ober, Andreas Schreiber, Herr Jungling, Peter Jungblut, Adam Sell, Peter Hertz, Herr Mosser, all of

whom took up lands, or settled under Maryland Rights. Shiely, Worley and others, settled in Conewago township.

Within the last 45 years, those from Ireland and Scotland, and their descendants, have been supplanted by Germans. The German language is now commonly spoken in many parts of the county.

At an early period, 1749, '50, '51, the Scotch-Irish and Germans had several affrays. In 1749 there were two prominent candidates, Hans Hamilton and Richard McAllister, for the sheriff's office, before the public. The election was held at York, in 1749, and for years afterwards, at the house of Baltzer Spengler. It was an unfinished building of logs, through an opening of which, tickets were received. In the cool of the morning all was quiet. The Germans were in favor of McAllister; the Irish for Hamilton; the former were very active for their candidate, and evidently gaining on their competitors; which vexed the ireful friends of Hamilton. Several of the Irish took possession of the polls—determined that none but their friends should vote. The Germans, determined upon their rights, without yielding an inch; when an affray ensued—promiscuous blows were severely dealt out—the Irish were routed.

A similar affray occurred in October 1750, at the election for representatives to the Assembly, when a large party of Germans drove the Irish off—knocked down the sheriff. The whole affair was investigated in the Assembly. Two versions are given of the proceedings.—The Germans did set forth by way of extenuation of their conduct, "that Hans Hamilton did not open the election till two o'clock in the afternoon, which caused no little uneasiness among the people. That Hamilton's party—the Marsh creek people gathered about the election house to give in their tickets, and would not suffer the Dutch people and other friends to come near the house, but did what they could to keep them off with clubs, so that the Dutch were obliged to do the best they could, or else go home without voting, and being then the most in number, they drove the people from the house, and when they had done so, they came in a peaceable manner to give in their votes; but when the sheriff saw his party was mastered, he locked up the box, and would not suffer the inspectors to take away more tickets, which made the Dutch people angry, and they strove to break into the house, and then the sober people desired the sheriff to continue the election; but he would not, and went away out of the back window, several of the inspectors going with him—and then the freeholders desired the coroner to carry on the election—which having done carefully and justly: and, afterwards, the sheriff was asked to come and see the votes read, and an account taken of them; but he refused, &c.

The whole matter was investigated—the sheriff was called before the Assembly, publicly admonished by the speaker, and advised to preserve better order in future."

The Germans and Low Dutch were either Lutherans, German Reformed, or Catholics: the latter principally in Conewago township; and though few prior to 1760, are now very numerous, and constitute a highly respectable portion of the community of this county, and many of them influential and intelligent. In 1767, there were under the care of the Revd. Mathias Manner, officiating priest, in York county (comprising Adams) 116 German and 78 Irish Catholics.

The prevailing religious denominations are Catholic, Lutheran, Ger-

man Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian, Dunkard or German Baptists, Mennonites, United Brethren, Church of God, Quakers or Friends, Episcopalians, all of whom have their regular places of worship.

During the French and Indian war, the Indians made occasionally hostile incursions into Adams, (then York) though greatly protected by the frontier settlements and the barrier of the South mountain, which shielded them to some extent against the savages: nevertheless, the more adventurous of the savages penetrated into the very heart of the settlements, perpetrated murders and abducted some, as will appear from the subjoined deposition:

York county, ss.

The affirmation of Richard Baird, of Hamilton's Ban twp., aged 33 years, who saith that his habitation being at the foot of the South mountain, on the southeast side thereof, on the 13th of April last, at 7 o'clock in the morning, he, this deponent, was in his house, with Katharine his wife, John his child about 7 months old, Thomas Potter, son of the late Capt. John Potter, Esq., Frederick Ferrick his servant, 14 years of age, Hannah McBride aged 11 years, William White 9 years old; in his field were Samuel Hunter and Daniel McMenomy laborers, when a party consisting of 19 Indians came and captured Samuel Hunter and Daniel McMenomy in the field, and afterwards came to the dwelling house of this deponent, and 6 of them suddenly rushed into into the house, and were immediately driven out by this deponent and Thomas Potter; the door of the house was thrown down by our pressing to keep the Indians out and their pressing to come in: they shot in the house at us, and shot away Thomas Potter's little finger. We then had time to know their numbers, and in a little time surrendered, on the promise of the Indians not to kill any of us; and took us about 60 rods up the mountain, where their match coats lay; for they were naked except the britch clouts, leggings, moccasins and caps; there they brought the two men that had been at work in the field, and in about half an hour ordered us to march, setting me foremost of the prisoners. We marched one after another at some distance; at about seven miles they killed my child, which I discovered by seeing its scalp; about 12 o'clock I saw another scalp, which I knew to be Thomas Potter's. I have since been informed they killed him at the place where their match coats lay. Friday the 14th, about 12 o'clock, they murdered Samuel Hunter, on the North mountain. They drove us over the Allegheny mountains in a day and a half, and on Monday night about 10 o'clock I escaped—they having sent me several times about three rods from the fire to bring them water. In 9 nights and days I got to Fort Lytleton, having had no food other than 4 snakes which I had killed and eat, and some buds and roots and the like; 3 Cherokee Indians found me about two miles from Fort Lytleton, cut me a staff and piloted me to the Fort.

In conversation with the Indians during my captivity, they informed me that they were all Delawares; for they mostly all speak English. One spoke as good English as I can. The Captain said he had been at Philadelphia about a year ago. I asked them if they were not going to make peace with the English? The captain answered and said, they

were talking about it when he was in Philadelphia last winter; but he went away and left them.

RICHARD BAIRD.

Affirmed and subscribed the 12th }
of May, 1758—Coramme Geo. }
Stevenson.

Education.—The state of education is on the advance. In several of the towns there are schools of advanced standing, and the schools conducted by well qualified teachers. Every township in the county except Germany, Latimore, Reading, Tyrone and Union, has adopted the Common School System. Thirteen districts have reported seventy-six schools; employing 73 male and 27 female teachers; the former receiving an average salary of \$17.94, and the latter \$9.59 per month. In these schools 2,064 males and 1,594 females are taught. A district tax of \$6,188.28 was raised. The State appropriation amounted to \$3,844.00. Cost of instruction \$5,517.34; fuel and contingencies \$667.94. Besides the common schools, and subscriptions there are several academies in the county.

Support of the Poor.—In this, as well as other counties, ample provision is made for the more unfortunate of mankind—the paupers.—About a mile east of Gettysburg is a poor house, a hospital, with a farm of 150 acres attached to it, well stocked and pretty well improved. There is also a school in the poor house for the children; and preaching every Sabbath. The inmates, chiefly foreigners, number from 90 to 100.

HISTORY OF PERRY COUNTY.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PERRY COUNTY.

Perry county organized—Situation of first court, &c.—Geology—Different kinds of soil, &c.—Synopsis of census of 1840—Description of streams—Warren springs—Public improvements; canals, turnpikes, common roads and bridges.

This county was a part of Cumberland until 1820, when it was, by an act of the Legislature, passed March 22, organized into a separate county; it is bounded north by Juniata county, east by the Susquehanna river, which separates it from Dauphin county; south by Cumberland and west by Franklin county. Owing to its natural boundaries, mountains and streams, enclosing it in a form of a triangle, its length is 38 miles; breadth 14; the area 539 square miles. Population in 1820 11,342; in 1830 14,257; in 1840 17,096. Aggregate amount of property taxable in 1844 was \$2,875,758 00.

The first Court of Common Pleas in Perry county, was held in Landisburg, on the 4th of December, 1820. Hon. John Reed, President Judge; William Anderson and Jeremiah Madden, Esqrs. Associates. Daniel Stambaugh, Esq. High Sheriff.

The following is a list of lawyers admitted shortly after the organization of the county:

George Metzger, John Creigh, William Ramsey, David Huling, Nicholas B. Woods, Frederick M. Wadsworth, Samuel Alexander, James Hamilton, John D. Mahon, Isaac B. Parker, E. L. Benedict, Andrew Carothers, William N. Irvine, William H. Breckenridge, Alexander Mahon, William McClure, George A. Lyon, Alexander A. Anderson, John Williamson, Samuel Riddle, Charles B. Penrose, Chas. W. Davis.

The following is a list of the first Grand Jury:

William English, Juniata township; Andrew Lynn, Tyrone; Henry Reslin, Juniata; Peter Mosses, Tyrone; Jacob Weibley, Juniata; Conrad Rice, Saville; William Brown, Juniata; Philip Fusselman, Tyrone; Christian Simons, Tyrone; Samuel Willis, Rye; Wm. Albigoat, Greenwood; William Porter, Buffalo; John Milligan, Saville; Daniel Matzer, Toboyn; Henry Hipple, Tyrone; Thomas Milligan, Saville; Moses Oatley, do.; Jacob Bird, do.; Nicholas Bird, Toboyn; Jacob Kogan, do.; Joshua Jones, Juniata; Thomas Kennedy, Tyrone; John Baton, do.; Jacob Kiser, Saville.

List of Constables, same time:

George Fetterman, Buffalo township; John O'Brian, Greenwood;

Thomas Martin, Juniata; Daniel McAlister, Rye; Mathias Moyer, Saville; John Cree, Tyrone; Abraham Kistler, do.; James McKim, Tobyne.

County Commissioners—1st Board:

Robert Mitchell, Thomas Adams, Jacob Huggins.

Prothonotary—Wm. B. Mitchell.

This county lies entirely within the central transition formation of the State. Geologically or physically viewed, the county is bounded on the south by the Blue mountain or Kittatinny; the Tuscarora forms the northwestern boundary, the Susquehanna the eastern; these three prominent and well defined boundaries, enclose the county in the form of a triangle. The surface of this county is truly diversified, viz: mountainous, hilly, broken, undulating and level; this variety also gives character to the soil; the richest and the poorest is to be met with in this county. The soil, where it is not too much broken by stony ridges is generally productive; that portion formed from the calcareous rocks, is very fertile, and produced, when well cultivated, very abundantly, wheat, rye, oats, corn, &c.

The geological character of the county has been investigated, and is thus described by Mr. Trego, Assistant State Geologist.

"The geological character of this county will perhaps be best understood by considering the several rock formations which it contains in a descending order, beginning with the highest. Two synclinal axes or lines of depression, pass across from the troughs of the coal basins on the east of the river, rising gradually to the southwest, and causing the rocks extending around their ends to dip and disappear, successively in this direction.

Thus we find the red shale which underlies the conglomerate floor of the coal fields, extending across the Susquehanna above the town of Dauphin or Greensburg, and occupying a little nook or cove on the west side of the river; and again above Millersburg the same formation, the red shale of Lykens' valley, crossing into Perry county and occupying a triangular area enclosed by Buffalo mountain.

The sandstone next in order below this red shale encloses it in Cove mountain, which is the union of Peters' and Second mountain; and in the north of Buffalo, which is an extension of Mahontengo mountain, joining with Berry's. Outside of these enclosing ridges, we have red shales and sandstones, extending for some distance on the river, and then uniting at the western points of the mountains, and stretching for some miles up Sherman's and Buffalo creeks.

The next inferior series composed chiefly of olive colored slates, with strata of gray sandstone, beginning on the Susquehanna near the mouth of Fishing creek, ranges westward, widens east of Landisburg, and thence sweeps round on the north of the red shale and sandstone of Sherman's creek, again reaching the Susquehanna above Halifax. Here it unites with the corresponding formation of the northern basin, which extends westward on the north of Bloomsfield to a point on the head of Sherman's creek, northeast of Moreland church, whence its northern division passes north eastward, crosses the Juniata below Millerstown, and reaches the Susquehanna above Liverpool. The exterior limit of the area occupied by the last mentioned series, is generally marked by a range of hills and ridges, containing the coarse fossiliferous sandstone, with the accompanying limestone next below in geological position.

These extend on the north of the Blue Mountain as far as Wagner's gap, where they pass northward near Landisburg, and then northeastward by Bloomfield across the Juniata on the east. From the neighborhood of Bloomfield, the northern division of these formations passes westward to near Germantown, and then, folding back to the northeast, across the Juniata near Millerstown, and extends by Pfoutz's valley to the Susquehanna.

The red and variegated shales lying between the last mentioned limestone and the sandstone of the Kittatinny and Tuscarora mountains, are seen in a narrow belt along the northern side of the former, until widening out in the neighborhood of Landisburg, it extends northeastward nearly to Bloomfield, and up Sherman's creek to the foot of Conococheague ridge, and thence northeastward along the base of Tuscarora mountain to Juniata, and so on towards the Susquehanna. Iron ore is found in many parts of the county, furnishing several furnaces.

Perry county lies between two prominent ranges of mountains, and the face of the country between these mountains is broken by a number of hills and ridges. The soil where it is not too much broken by stony ridges, is generally productive, especially the portions formed from the decomposition of calcareous rocks, is fertile, and when carefully cultivated amply repays the husbandman by abundant crops. Only a small proportion however of the soil is limestone; slate and gravel predominate. The following table exhibits, at one view, the quantity of different kinds of soil.

Limestone cleared land	13,410	acres.
Limestone uncleared	6,050	"
Slate land cleared	46,660	"
Slate land uncleared	58,120	"
Gravel land cleared	53,100	"
Gravel land uncleared	21,610	"
Sand land uncleared	5,040	"
Mountain or Rock	68,240	"
Known to contain iron ore	40	"

The whole quantity of cleared land of all kinds in acres, 139,000; the whole quantity of uncleared land, but fit for cultivation, 54,000; unfit for cultivation 74,100 acres. The average value per acre of cleared land was in 1838 estimated at \$25 an acre; of woodland fit for cultivation \$10; average value of woodland unfit for cultivation \$5. The whole value of all the cleared land \$1,527,000; of all the uncleared land \$787,000; the whole number of farms 1,424; average size 140 acres; average yield of wheat per acre fourteen bushels; rye ten; oats seventeen; barley eighteen; corn twelve.

According to the census of 1840, there in this county, eight furnaces, which produced 2,951 tons of cast iron; 2 forges and rolling mills which produced 1,300 tons of bar iron; furnaces and forges consumed 16,152 tons of fuel; employed 339 men including mining operations; capital invested \$303,150.

Live Stock—Horses and mules 4,383; 15,043 neat cattle; 16,932 sheep; 21,485 swine; poultry of all kinds, estimated at \$6,403.

Cereal grains—200,638 bushels of wheat; 411 bushels of barley; 192,258 bushels of oats; 143,519 bushels of rye; 37,052 bushels of buckwheat; 150,095 bushels of Indian corn.

Various Crops—23,929 pounds of wool; 1,350 pounds of hops; 968

pounds of flax; 89,369 bushels of potatoes; 13,007 tons of hay; 8½ tons of hemp and flax.

Four thousand, four hundred and eighty-two cords of wood sold the value of the products of the dairy, estimated at \$14,329; value of the products of the orchard \$9,374; value of home made or family goods \$20,934.

Twenty-three tanneries, tanned 9,720 sides of sole leather; 4,814 sides of upper leather; employed 58 men; capital invested \$56,550; all other manufactories of leather, saddleries, &c. 31; value of articles manufactured \$14,715; capital invested \$6,385; 13 distilleries, which produced 31,475 gallons; capital invested \$8,590; 4 potteries, value of manufactured articles \$2100; capital invested \$245.

Retail dry goods, grocery and other stores 57; capital invested \$169,200; 5 lumber yards; capital invested \$1600; 57 men employed; 60 men engaged in internal transportation; value of the produce of fisheries \$14,335; 22 barrels of tar manufactured \$1893; 5 men employed. Value of bricks and lime manufactured \$7269; 7 fulling mills; 5 wool-len manufactories; value of manufactured goods \$4370; capital invested \$6700; 2 printing offices—2 weekly papers; capital invested \$2000. One rope walk; value of produce \$3000; capital invested \$2200; carriages and wagons; value of manufactures \$2000; capital invested \$685. 24 flouring mills, which manufactured 11,200 barrels of flour; 28 grist mills; 120 saw mills; value of manufactured furniture \$3679; capital invested \$1760; 8 brick and stone houses built; 77 wooden ones; value of constructing or building \$38,842; value of all other manufactures not enumerated \$14,910; capital invested \$5,905. Total capital invested in all other manufactures \$264,024.

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A SYNOPSIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1840, OF EACH TOWNSHIP.

CENSUS OF 1840 OF PENN. COUNTY.		TOWNSHIPS, ETC.																					
		Furnaces.																					
		Forges, rol. mills.																					
		Flouring mills.																					
		Grist mills.																					
		Saw mills.																					
		Oil mills.																					
		Tanneries.																					
		Distilleries.																					
		Horses & Mules.																					
		Neat Cattle.																					
		Sheep.																					
		Swine.																					
		Bushels of Wheat.																					
		Bushels of Rye.																					
		Indian corn.																					
		Oats.																					
		Barley.																					
		Bushels of Buckwheat.																					
		Potatoes.																					
		Tons of hay.																					
		Pounds of wool raised.																					
		Value of the products of the dairy.																					
1. Buffalo,	0	0	1	1	5	0	0	0	256	809	988	1437	10735	10760	10608	14705	4	2315	5505	604	1779	\$474	
2. Centre,	2	0	0	2	7	0	3	1	289	1106	1298	1433	14024	9332	8684	11424	149	2512	9085	917	2584	1048	
3. Greenwood,	0	0	1	2	12	0	3	0	334	1000	1116	1329	16211	10196	16152	25286	0	1174	6910	587	1965	1777	
4. Carroll,	0	0	1	2	11	0	0	1	253	874	1265	1432	9488	12019	8276	9327	80	3975	6148	614	1192	330	
5. Juniata,	1	0	5	0	15	0	2	0	502	1530	1861	2313	20514	14657	15925	23177	0	6688	8084	1370	3142	1589	
6. Liverpool,	0	0	0	2	6	0	2	3	274	663	1028	1001	14658	9370	11024	15240	75	1199	5660	570	1603	870	
7. Madison,	0	0	6	0	10	0	1	2	333	1662	1742	2767	26310	11350	13534	14321	0	3056	7593	1654	3095	1305	
8. Oliver,	1	0	0	3	4	0	1	0	226	526	655	713	7164	4815	7867	11173	105	1104	4087	529	954	1412	
9. Penn.,	0	1	1	4	4	0	1	0	187	618	650	723	5400	8883	6055	7754	0	1245	4615	631	1216	491	
10. Rye,	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	103	321	440	489	2042	3237	2292	3660	0	685	1871	232	807	154	
11. Saville,	1	0	4	1	17	0	2	2	358	1378	1691	1861	16272	11786	12100	16545	0	4746	6482	1973	2557	1224	
12. Toboys,	0	0	2	2	11	0	3	1	501	1730	1881	2440	17269	13712	12898	16157	0	4038	6692	1873	3436	1845	
13. Tyrone,	2	0	3	4	11	0	5	3	698	2272	2216	2945	38153	19026	20850	20537	0	3358	13396	2164	3888	1827	
14. Wheatfield,	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	170	454	401	612	2386	4377	3920	2062	0	1067	3241	819	711	428	

The streams of this county are numerous.

Besides the Susquehanna already noticed, which forms the eastern boundary, and receive all the streams that water this county, there are many in it; the largest of which is the (Choniato) Juniata, a main tributary of the Susquehanna river, which rises by two distinct branches, called the Frankstown and Qaystown branches; after running a circuitous and sinuous course rising one hundred miles, enters this county, a few miles above Millerstown, pursuing a southeastern course of twelve miles, and empties into the Susquehanna at Duncan's Island, and in its course through the county, receives Wild Cat creek and several smaller streams on the north; Racoon creek, Buffalo creek, Little Buffalo and a few smaller streams on the south.

Burger's run rises in Wild Cat valley, after running a northeastern course for about 5 miles falls into the Susquehanna river at Liverpool.

Hunter's run rises south of Buffalo mountain and falls into the Susquehanna at Mount Patrick. Cackalamus creek rises at the foot of the Shade mountain, in Juniata county, running a south east course of twelve miles, falls into the Juniata river at Millerstown.

Wild Cat run rises in Racoon valley, a few miles north east of Ickesburg, meandering its course for eight miles through the valley of its own name, falls into the Juniata, opposite Millerstown. Buffalo creek rises in Liberty valley, at the base of Tuscarora mountain, winding its way eastward between Racoon Ridge and Middle Ridge, for about eighteen miles, it falls into the Juniata.

Little Buffalo creek rises near Middle Ridge, passes down between this ridge and Limestone Ridge, and empties into the Juniata at New Port. Little Juniata rises in Mahony Ridge, runs a southeastern course for 7 or 8 miles, and empties into the Susquehanna at Petersburg.

Sherman's creek has its fountain head in Franklin county, near the Round Top—flows an eastern course this county, more than 40 miles, receiving numerous tributaries, and empties into the Susquehanna immediately below the mouth of the Little Juniata. Patterson's run, Brown's run, Huston's run, and Limestone spring, in the western part of the county, constitute the heads of Sherman's creek, Montour's run & other tributaries. Cove run rises at the Cove mountain and falls into the Susquehanna. Fishing creek rises southwest of the Cove mountain; flows an eastern course for 8 or 9 miles, and empties into the Susquehanna, at the north base of the Blue mountain.

The several streams afford ample water power to 50 or 60 flouring and grist mills, to 125 saw mills, and a number of factories, forges, furnaces, &c.

The Warm Spring—The waters of which have some celebrity as to their medicinal properties and healing virtues. In cures of scrofulous affections and cutaneous diseases they have proved beneficial.

A visitor, in 1831, thus describes the place—These springs are on the farm of Mr. Kennedy, whose house at some distance from, until lately, offered the only accommodation to visitors; and the approach to either was difficult and rugged enough. Mr. Hipple, however, has erected a spacious, and in every way comfortable boarding house at the springs, and furnished as good cheer at the table and the bar as is to be found at any other watering establishment that has come under our inspection.

The chief advantage of those springs to those who are sick, but re-

are from town in order to enjoy the country, are the luxury of the bath and the scenery of country that surrounds you. Mount Pisgah nods in front, and the mountain from whence the spring issues, is in the rear, while the waters of Sherman's creek flow between. The springs rise at the foot of Quaker Hill, and emit about 90 gallons a minute. The temperature of the water is nearly that of river or creek water—in the summer.

The Springs are in a romantic and healthy situation about eleven miles north of Carlisle, twenty-two from Harrisburg, eight from Sterrett's Gap, and four from Wagner's Gap, and four from Landisburg.

The accommodations at present are good—charges moderate.

Two lines of public improvements pass through this county. The Pennsylvania canal crosses the Susquehanna in a pool or dam, at Duncan's Island and divides one branch the Susquehanna division passes along the eastern boundary of the country, ascending the right bank of the Susquehanna.

The Juniata division extends up the right bank of the Juniata river for a distance of fifteen miles, where it crosses the river by a rope ferry and passes up the right bank.

Since the opening of the canal, Perry county has been greatly improved. Where there was a dense forest twenty years ago, are now well cultivated and productive farms.

The Harrisburg and Huntingdon turnpike road runs along the left bank of the Juniata. The county is intersected by many roads, many of which are kept in good repair. Several fine bridges cross the larger streams. New roads are opening, and new bridges building. Ere many years, Perry may vie with her mother, old Cumberland.

CHAPTER XLIV.

TOWNS.

Bloomfield—Millerstown—Milford or Jonestown—New Port—Petersburg—New Buffalo—Liverpool—New Germantown, Ickesburg—Landisburg—Loyssville or Andersonsville.

BLOOMFIELD, the seat of Justice, was located on a tract of land belonging to Mr. George Barnett, (a wealthy and highly respectable citizen, still residing in the borough) and was so called from the name as given to the tract in the patent. The name of the post office is New Bloomfield. The town has since been extended westward upon lands once the property of Jacob Lupfer and Michael Shuman. The town is pleasantly situated in a narrow valley near the centre of the county; 5 miles from the Juniata river, 11 from the Susquehanna, 18 from Carlisle and 26 from Harrisburg. It contains about 120 houses, mostly

frame, and has a population of over 600 souls. The public buildings are a court house, jail, academy, school house*, 3 churches—German Reformed & Lutheran, 1 Presbyterian, and 1 Methodist. There are 5 stores and 5 taverns—3 clergymen, 2 physicians, and 9 lawyers; 3 printing offices belonging to as many weekly political newspapers; the country immediately around the town is hilly, and not very fertile; and from its isolated position, but little business is done in the place, except such as is peculiar to a seat of justice. The inhabitants are intelligent and sociable.

MILLESTOWN, a post town in Greenwood township, on the left bank of the Juniata river, opposite the mouth of Raccoon creek, 10 miles northeast from Bloomfield, and 29 miles west of Harrisburg, contains between 80 and 90 dwellings, a Presbyterian church, 5 stores, 3 taverns, a school house, a number of mechanics' shops. Population in 1840, 371.

The town was laid out about 45 years ago. The Juniata is crossed here by a wooden bridge—the western turnpike passes through it. When the canal was excavated here, the workmen found a number of human bones, supposed to have been the remains of Indians.

MILROD or **Jonestown**, in Juniata township, is on Big Buffalo crk., 5 miles north of Bloomfield. The town was laid out about 1814 or '16, and numbers 8 or 10 dwellings. Population 64.

NEW PORT, known for many years as Reiderville, is a post village in Oliver township, was laid out by one Reider about 1814. Its growth was very tardy till the canal was made, 15 years ago, since which it has steadily improved. When the county had been divided from Cumberland, it was fixed on as the county town, when it received its present name—New Port. The town consists of 100 dwellings, 3 taverns, 4 stores, a school-house and a Methodist church.

New Port bids fair of bearing a place of some importance, being directly on the bank of the canal, and being accessible by good roads, which pass through the best portions of the county. Near it are a grist and saw mill.

PETERSBURG, a post town and borough in Penn township, on the west bank of the Susquehanna river, 12 miles northwest of Harrisburg, is a flourishing and pretty town. It is 8 miles southeast of Bloomfield. Population 420. It contains 3 churches, viz: Presbyterian, Methodist, and Lutheran, 2 stores, 1 tavern, and a temperance house. Immediately below town is the Little Juniata, on which is Mr. Jones' merchant mill. About a mile and a half below, Sherman's creek empties into the Susquehanna, where is situated **DUNCANNON**, a flourishing manufacturing village. Messrs. Fisher & Morgan, own here one of the most extensive iron establishments in the interior of the State.—The works consist of a rolling mill and nail factory. From 80 to 90 tons of iron ore manufactured weekly. The Nailery contains 25 or more machines, capable of making 800 kegs of nails per week.

This place (Duncannon) contains a population of 290.

NEW BUFFALO, a post village in Buffalo township, is on the west

* The school in 1844 engaged 2 male teachers at \$20 per month. There were 88 male and 62 female teachers attending; a district tax of \$2,65 97 was raised; the State appropriation was \$95; cost of tuition \$280; school open 7 months. Fuel and contingencies \$35.

bank of the Susquehanna river, 12 miles northeast of Bloomfield, and 20 miles above Harrisburg. The town contains between 30 and 40 dwellings; a Methodist, and Presbyterian church, 3 stores, 2 taverns. Population 200. The town was laid out in 1800, by Jacob Baughman.

The township, says Mr. Steever, is divided by the Half-full mountain, which is noted on account of the singular discoveries that have been made, on and about it, as well as the wealth it is supposed to possess. The present inhabitants can recollect distinctly, that when their fathers used to have shooting matches, in which the Indians generally participated, in case the lead would get scarce, the Indians would pick up their tomahawk, run to the mountain, and in a few moments return with a supply of lead, in a crude state, they always insisted that there was more wealth in that mountain than any other in the State.

LIVERPOOL, a post town and borough in Liverpool township, is an important town on the Susquehanna, 16 miles northeast of Bloomfield, 30 above Harrisburg. It contains 140 dwellings; four taverns, five stores, two churches; German Reformed, and United Brethren, and 2 schools. Population 650. The Susquehanna division of the Pennsylvania Canal passes through, or along the town. Liverpool was incorporated 8 or 9 years ago. Considerable trade is carried on here. The Wild Cat creek is immediately below the town. There are several mills within three-fourths of a mile from the borough.

NEW GERMAN TOWN, a post town in Toboyne township, 20 miles west of Bloomfield, contains between 20 and 30 dwellings, several stores, and a tavern. There are 2 German churches in the vicinity of this place. The soil in this region is limestone and gravel, and well improved.

• ICKESBURG, a post village in Saville township, 9 miles northwest of Bloomfield, contains about 20 dwellings, 2 stores. There is a Presbyterian church near it. Population between 60 and 70.

LANDISBURG, a post town and borough in Tyrone township, contains about 60 dwellings, 2 taverns, 3 stores, 3 churches, viz: Presbyterian, Methodist, and Church of God. Population about 400. The first court was held here.

LOYSVILLE or Andersonville, laid out in 1840 by Michael Loy, is a brisk hamlet—one tavern, three stores, a Union church. Population between 50 and 60. It is in Toboyne township, 9 miles from Bloomfield.

CHAPTER XLV.

FIRST SETTLERS, &c.

First settlers and their settlements—Removed by Secretary Peters' &c.—Measures to prevent other intruders—Andrew Montour licensed for that purpose—He settles on Sherman's creek—His letter—Weiser visits him—Settlers in Sherman's valley surprised by the Indians—Robinson's narrative, &c.—Present population, &c.—Common Schools—Poor-house.

The first settlers of this county were principally Scotch-Irish, with some Germans, English, and their descendants. At a very early day, prior to 1733, John Harris, of Paxton, had cleared some lands and erected a house, near Juniata, of which the Indians complained to the provincial council. Not many years after—about 1740 or '41—one Frederick Star, a German, with several of his countrymen, made some small settlements on the Big Juniata, 25 miles from the mouth thereof, and about 10 miles north from the Blue hills. In 1742 the Indians urged their removal. The example of Star and his neighbors was soon followed by others; but the Indians persisted on their immediate removal. For that purpose, the government in 1748, sent the sheriff of Lancaster county, and three magistrates, with Conrad Weiser, to these places, to warn the people to leave immediately; but the settlers, in opposition to all this, continued their settlements, till 1750, when more decisive measures were adopted. On the 22d of May, 1750, Richard Peters, Mathew Dill, George Croghan, Benjamin Chambers, Conrad Weiser, Thomas Wilson, John Finley & Jas. Galbreth, Esqrs., having been appointed for that purpose by the Governor, after holding a council, a few days before, at the house of Geo. Croghan, Pennsboro' township, Cumberland county, accompanied by the under sheriff of Cumberland county, went to the place where Lycan, Cahoon, Gallaway and Hiddleston had settled, and where they found 5 cabins or log houses, took some of the settlers into custody, and set fire to their cabins. Thence they proceeded to Sherman's creek, where they found James Parker, Thomas Parker, Owen McKeel, John McClare, Richard Kirkpatrick, James Murray, John Scott, Henry Gass, Simon Girty and John Kilbaugh, who had settled lands and erected cabins thereon—whose cabins or houses were also set on fire. They took the men into custody, bound them in recognizance of one hundred pounds each, to appear and answer for their trespass, on the first day of the next county court to be held at Shippensburg.

Fearful that attempts would again be made to proceed with settlements by the whites, before these lands were purchased from the Indians, Andrew Montour, by a commission, dated April 18, 1752, was

licensed to settle and reside in any place he should judge convenient and central, and to preserve the lands from being settled by others, and warn all off who had presumed to go on them, and to report the names of all such as settled there that they might be prosecuted.

Montour took up his residence on Sherman's creek. While he was residing here, he addressed a number of letters to the Governor and Council. The following I copied from Montour's autograph letter preserved in the Secretary's office at Harrisburg.

Sherman's creek, 16th May, 1754.

Sir—I once more take upon me the liberty of informing you that our Indians at Ohio are expecting every day the armed force of this province against the French, who, by their late encroachments, is likely to prevent their planting, and thereby render them impossible of supporting their families. And you may depend upon it, as a certainty, that our Indians will not strike the French, unless this province (or New York) engage with them; and that, by sending some number of men to their immediate assistance. The reasons are plain; to wit: that they don't look upon their late friendship with Virginia, sufficient to engage them in a war with the French; I therefore think, with submission, that to preserve our Indian allies, this province ought instantly to send out some men, either less or more, which I have good reason to hope, would have the desired effect; otherwise, I doubt there will, in a little time, be an entire separation; the consequences of which, you are best able to judge, &c. I am informed, by my brother, who has lately come from the Lakes, that there is at that place a great number of French Indians, preparing to come down to the assistance of the French, at Ohio. I am likewise informed, by a young Indian man, (who, by my brother's directions, spent some days with the French at Monongahela) that they expect a great number of French down the river, very soon. I have delayed my journey to Ohio, and waited with great impatience for advice from Philadelphia, but have not yet received any. I am now obliged to go to Col. Washington, who has sent for me many days ago, to go with him to meet the half-king, Monacatotha, and others, that are coming to meet the Virginia companies; and, as they think, some from Pennsylvania—and would have been glad to have known the design of this province, in these matters, before I had gone.

I am, sir, your very humble servant,

ANDREW MONTOUR.

To Gov. H. R. Morris.

It has already been shown in a preceding part of this work, where many incidents are given in detail, and to which the reader is referred, that the early settlers of this county, with all the frontier settlers, were frequently surprised by the Indians, some of them murdered and scalped, others carried into captivity.

The following extract, from a narrative of Robert Robison, one of the early pioneers of Sherman's valley, is presented in this connection (though given in substance) to show what the state of things was at that time in this county.

Conrad Weiser called at the house of Andrew Montour, in August, 1754, on his way to Aughwick, to hold a treaty with the Indians.

In his Journal, he says—"Sept. 1st, crossed the Kittatinny mountain, at George Croghan's (Sterrett's) Gap, and Sherman's creek, and arrived that day at Andrew Montour's accompanied (from Harris's ferry) by himself, the half-king, and another Indian, and my son. I found at Andrew Montour's, about 15 Indians, men, women and children; and more had been there, but were gone.

Andrew's wife had killed a sheep for them some days ago; she complained that the Indians had done great damage to the Indian corn, which was now fit to roast; and I found that there were, most every day, Indians, of those that came from Ohio, with some errand or other, which always wanted victuals in the bargain. I gave him ten pounds of the government money."

The next day Weiser, accompanied by Andrew, and those who were with him before, went toward Aughwick.—(Prov. Rec.)

The next I remember of was in the year 1766, the Woolcomber family, on Sherman's creek: the whole of the inhabitants of the valley were gathered to a fort at George Robison's; but Woolcomber would not leave home; he said it was the Irish who were killing one another; these peaceable people, the Indians, would not hurt any person. Being at home, and at dinner, the Indians came in, and the Quaker asked them to come and eat dinner; an Indian answered that he did not come to eat, but for scalps; the son, a boy 14 or 15 years of age, when he heard the Indian say so, repaired to a back door, and as he went out he looked back and saw the Indian strike the tomahawk into his father's head. The boy then ran over the creek, which was near to the house, and heard the screams of his mother, sisters and brothers. The boy came to our fort and gave us the alarm; about forty went to where the murder was done, and buried the dead.

In the second war, on the 5th July, 1763, the Indians came to Juniata, it being harvest time, and the white people were come back to reap their crops: they came first to the house of Wm. White, it was on the Sabbath day; the reapers were all in the house; the Indians crept up nigh to the door and shot the people lying on the floor, and killed Wm. White, and all his family that were there, excepting one boy, who, when he heard the guns, leaped out of the window and made his escape.

The same party went to Robert Campbell's on Tuscarora creek, surprised them in the same way, shot them on the floor where they were resting themselves; one George Dodds being there harvesting, had just risen and gone into the room and lay down on the bed, sitting his gun beside him; when the Indians fired, one of them sprung into the house with his tomahawk in his hand, running up to where a man was standing in the corner; Dodds fired at the Indian not six feet from him; the Indian gave a halloo and ran out as fast as he could. They being an opening in the loft above the bed, Dodds sprung up there and went out by the chimney, making his escape, and came to Sherman's valley. He came to Wm. Dickson's and told what had happened, there being a young man there which brought the news to us, who were harvesting at Edward Elliott's; other intelligence we got in the night. John Graham, John Christy, and James Christy, were alarmed in the evening by guns firing at Wm. Anderson's, where the old man was killed with his Bible in his hand; supposed he was about worship; his son also was killed, and a girl that had been brought up

from a child by the old people. Graham and the Christys came about midnight. We hearing the Indians had got so far up the Tuscarora valley, and knowing Collins' family and James Scott's were there about harvest, 12 of us concluded to go over Bigham's gap and give those word that were there; when we came to Collins' we saw that the Indians had been there, had broke a wheel, emptied a bed, and taken flour, of which they made some water-gruel; we counted thirteen spoons made of bark; we followed the tracks down to James Scott's, where we found the Indians had killed some fowls; we pursued on to Graham's, there the house was on fire, and burned down to the joists. We divided our men into two parties, six in each, my brother with his party came in behind the barn, and myself with the other party came down through an oats field; I was to shoot first; the Indians had hung a coat upon a post on the other side of the fire from us; I looked at it, and saw it immovable, and therefore walked down to it and found that the Indians had just left it; they had killed four hogs, and had eaten at pleasure. Our company took their track, and found that two companies had met at Graham's, and had gone over the Tuscarora mountain. We took the run gap; the two roads meeting at Nicholson's, they were there first, heard us coming, and lay in ambush for us; they had the first fire; being 25 in number, and only 12 of us—they killed five, and wounded myself. They then went to Alexander Logan's, where they emptied some beds, and passed on to George M'Cord's.

The names of the 12 were Wm. Robison, who acted as captain, Robert Robison, the relater of this narrative, Thomas Robison, being three brothers, John Graham, Charles Elliott, William Christy, James Christy, David Miller, John Elliott, Edward McConnel, William McAlister, and John Nicholson; the persons killed were William Robison, who was shot in the belly with buckshot, and got about half a mile from the ground; John Elliott, then a boy about 17 years of age, having emptied his gun, he was pursued by an Indian with his tomahawk, who was within a few perches of him, when Elliott had poured some powder into his gun by random, out of his powder horn, and having a bullet in his mouth, put it in the muzzle, but had no time to ram it down; he turned and fired at his pursuer, who clapped his hand on his stomach and cried, och! then turned and fled. Elliott had ran but a few perches further, when he overtook William Robison, weltering in his blood, in his last agonies; he requested Elliott to carry him off, who excused himself by telling him of his inability to do so, and also of the danger they were in; he said he knew it, but desired him to take his gun with him, and, peace or war, if ever he had an opportunity of killing an Indian, to shoot him for his sake.—Elliott brought away the gun, and Robison was not found by the Indians.

Thomas Robison stood on the ground until the whole of his people were fled, nor did the Indians offer to pursue, until the last man left the field; Thomas having fired and charged a second time, the Indians were prepared for him, and when he took aim past the tree, a number fired at him at the same time; one of his arms was broken; he took his gun in the other and fled; going up a hill he came to a high log, and clapped his hand, in which was his gun, on the log to assist in leaping over it; while in the attitude of stooping, a bullet entered his

side, going in a triangular course through his body; he sunk down across the log; the Indians sunk the cock of his gun into his brains, and mangled him very much. John Graham was seen by David Miller sitting on a log, not far from the place of attack, with his hands on his face, and the blood running through his fingers. Charles Elliott and Edward McConnel took a circle round where the Indians were laying, and made the best of their way to Buffalo creek, but they were pursued by the Indians; and where they crossed the creek there was a high bank, and as they were endeavoring to ascend the bank they were both shot, and fell back into the water.

A party of 40 men came from Carlisle, in order to bury the dead at Juniata; when they saw the dead at Buffalo creek they returned home. Then a party of men came with Capt. Dunning; but before they came to Alexander Logan's, his son John, Charles Coyle, Wm. Hamilton, with Bartholomew Davis, followed the Indians to George M'Cord's, where they were in the barn; Logan and those with him were all killed, except Davis who made his escape. The Indians then returned to Logan's house again, when Capt. Dunning and his party came on them, and they fired some time at each other; Dunning had one man wounded.

I forgot to give you an account of a murder done at our own fort in Sherman's valley, in July, 1756; the Indians waylaid the fort in harvest-time, and kept quiet until the reapers were gone; James Wilson remaining some time behind the rest, and I not being gone to my business, which was hunting deer for the use of the company, Wilson standing at the fort gate, I desired liberty to shoot his gun at a mark, upon which he gave me the gun, and I shot; the Indians on the upper side of the fort, thinking they were discovered, rushed on a daughter of Robert Miller, and instantly killed her, and shot at John Simmeson; they they made the best of it that they could, and killed the wife of James Wilson, and the widow Gibson, and took Hugh Gibson and Betsy Henry prisoners. While the Indian was scalping Mrs. Wilson, the narrator shot at and wounded him, but he made his escape. The reapers, being 40 in number, returned to the fort, and the Indians made off.

I shall relate an affair told me by James McClung, a man whom I can confide in for truth, it being in his neighborhood. An Indian came to a tavern, called for a gill of whiskey, drank some out of it; when there came another Indian in, he called for a gill also, and set it on the table, without drinking any of it, and took out the first Indian, discoursing with him for some time; the first Indian then stripped himself naked, and lay down on the floor, and stretched himself; the other stood at the door, and when he was ready, he stepped forward with his knife in his hand, and stabbed the Indian who was lying down to the heart; he received the stab, jumped to his feet, drank both the gills of whiskey off, and dropped down dead; the white people made a prisoner of the other Indian, and sent to the heads of the nation; two of them came and examined the Indian, who was a prisoner, and told them to let him go, he had done right.—*Loudon's Narrative*, ii.

The present inhabitants are chiefly of Irish, Scotch and German origin; the latter are numerous in some parts of the county, and generally speak their own language; but nearly all understand English.

The prevalent religious denominations are Presbyterians, Luther-

ans, German Reformed, Methodist, United Brethren, and Church of God. These, collectively, have between 30 and 40 places of public worship.

Common education had been much neglected; however, it has lately received more attention, and the public school system has met with a favorable reception, having been adopted in every district except in Madison township. Several schools of advanced standing are found in this county.

In 1844, 14 districts had adopted the system, in which 67 schools were open for the reception and instruction of scholars; 67 male and 6 female teachers were employed; the former at an average salary per month of \$17.40, and the latter at \$7.16 per month; 1,896 male and 1,555 females were taught 2 months in the year; a district tax of \$4,133 22 was raised; and the state appropriation was \$3,226 00.

Provision is made for the unfortunate poor. Near Landisburg are fine buildings, on a well improved and productive farm, for their maintenance and comfort; where from 40 to 50 are supported.

APPENDIX.

Note A., p. 45.—The character of the *Neulaender* is fully depicted by the Revd. Muhlenberg, in the *Hallische Nachrichten*. Those whom they deceived, often imprecated the wrath of heaven upon the vile imposters. M. says: Sie winseln, schreien, lamentiren, und die Haende ueber dem Kopf zusammen schlagen, ueber den Lammer und Zerstreung, den sie sich nicht vorgestellt; und wie hingegen andere alle Elemente und Sacramente, ja gar alle Gewitter und schrecklichen Einwohner der Hoellen beschwoeren und anrufen, dass sie die Neulaender, Hollaendische Kaufherren, die sie verfuehret in unzaelliche Theilen zerknirschen und martern moechten u. s. w.

B. p. 48.—The scheme to educate the Germans, originate with the churches of Holland; and as early as 1751 or 1752, considerable sums of money were collectidd towards the undertaking. In England the plan was matured, and a society was formed, of which the following distinguished persons were members: the Right Hon. Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl of Morton, Earl of Finlater, and Lord Willoughby, of Parham. Sir Luke Schaub, and Sir Joshua Van Neck, Baronets. Mr. Commission Vernon, Mr. Chitly, and Mr. Fluddyer, Aldermen of London. John Bance, Robert Furguson, and Nathaniel Paice, Esqrs., of London. Rev. Benjamin Avory, L. L. D., Rev. Thomas Birch, D. D., Rev. Mr. Casper Wetstein, Rev. Mr. David Thomson, and Rev. Samuel Chandler, Secretary.

The scheme was managed in Pennsylvania by James Hamilton, William Allen, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, Conrad Weiser, Esqrs., and Rev. William Smith, Trustees General; and Rev. Michael Schlatter, Visitor General.

C. p. 78.—A proposition for the better securing the province of Pennsylvania from the inroads of the Indians, and finding them employment at home in their own country, to prevent them from coming abroad to seek it; with some few reasons why our present situation can never be a defenceable one, against such an enemy.

As the province of Pennsylvania has at present (1757) 1300 soldiers in their pay, viz: Col. Clapham's regiment of 400; Lieut. Col. Armstrong's battalion 400; Lieut. Col. Weiser's battalion 500.

Suppose the western battalion should garrison Fort Littleton (now Bedford county) and that, that fort should have always stores of all kinds sufficient, or rather more than sufficient, for 400 men for six months, that the western battalion should have three field officers, 100 men under the command of one of the field officers should always be in the fort, and the other 300 with the field officers should be perpetually employed against the enemy in their own country, as the Colonel of the said battalion should order.

It would be necessary, that there should be a constant and regular correspondence, between Col. Clapham, Lieut. Col. Armstrong and Lieut. Col. Weiser, and that they should endeavor, as far as in their power, for good intelligence.

Each of these Colonel's should have it in his power to employ, from time to time, and as often as they thought necessary, persons properly qualified to go into the enemy's country, in quest of intelligence, who should have equivalent rewards regularly paid, in proportion to the service they do, and the risk they run in obtaining their intelligence. (even the soldiers in the service) as such encouragement will certainly produce good effects—which intelligence being communicated from time to time, by each to the other, there would be a great probability of their judgment being right at all times, where to strike a blow to advantage.

Col. Clapham's regiment should garrison Fort Augusta, (now Northumberland county) and that 300 men of said regiment should remain in that fort, with one field officer. I mention 300 at this place, because it is a large fort, and a place of more importance than Fort Littleton. That Col. Clapham's regiment should be augmented by drafts from the eastern battalion to 500 men, on account of 300 being left to garrison Fort Augusta, and should have three field officers. That the remaining 200 of this regiment, and two of the field officers, should be employed in the same manner as the western battalion. At Augusta there should always be stores for 6 months at least for 500 men.

A strong fort should be built at Easton, (Northampton county) where Lieut. Col. Weiser's battalion should be stationed, with six months stores in said fort for 400 men; this battalion should likewise have three field officers. One hundred men and one field officer should be always in the fort at Easton, and the remaining 300 men, and two field officers of that battalion should be employed as that of Colonels Clapham and Lieut. Col. Armstrong.

If these were disposed of in this manner, the two battalions would be at the extremities of the present inhabited frontiers of this province, and the regiment in the centre, at pretty nigh equal distances from each other, and were they assiduous in the noble cause in which they are engaged, they might give seasonable intelligence to each other, which might enable one or other of them to distress the enemy; and as each of these colonels is supposed to have full power to strike the enemy where they best can, each of the Lieut. Colonel's would have 300 men, two field officers to conduct any enterprize they thought proper to undertake, and Col. Clapham 200 men, and, if at any time they judged it most for the benefit of the service, they might unite two, or all their bodies, in which case they would have a little army of 5 or 600 men, and four field officers; or 800 men and six field officers, which would be sufficient to find the Indians employment enough, and perhaps more than enough, in their own country, and prevent them from the fatigue of marching into this province in quest of English, to fight.

I would presume to offer a few reasons why the same number of troops (as they are at present disposed of) cannot be of the like service in defending this province.

The troops, at present, are divided into small bodies, at a considerable distance from one another, and seemingly independent of each other—they have no intercourse or connection, one with another; as for giving intelligence to each other, (which is a most material thing) it never has, as yet, I believe, been thought of; or at least, I may say with safety, it has rarely been practiced.

The troops being disposed in companies of 50 men, each company to garrison a fort, which forts if at any time attacked their garrisons are barely sufficient to defend them, for which reason they can be of no service to the country around them, as they cannot come to the assistance of the people, their garrisons being so small without exposing their fort, and if they should attempt to make a sally, and not meet with success, the consequence might be, the fort falling a prey to the enemy.

But suppose all these forts should continue in possession of the English, it would be only defending so much ground as each fort stood upon, as there is none of them that defend rivers, roads or passes, by which we could be greatly annoyed by a regular army (except Fort Augusta and Fort Littleton) as to Indians, every place is a pass to them, and we cannot pretend to stop their marches by guarding passes.

The advantages I would propose from the Fort at Easton, it would guard the river Delaware, preserve Easton from being destroyed and serve for a place of retreat to the eastern battalion, and where they could at all times be supplied with every necessary.

As our soldiers are not equal to Indians in the woods, I think it would be a great assistance to them, were they supplied with a green shirt, a green jacket, a green blanket and a green cloth cap, as the summer is the chief time of action, at which season of the year, the woods being very thick of green leaves, the Indians can conceal themselves in time of action much better than we can; but our being dressed in green, would be a great service to us, and would prevent, in some measure our parties from being discovered upon a march, which would likewise be of use.

Were the disposition and clothing &c., of the troops of this province as before mentioned, they would in some measure have the same advantage over the Indians, that they have all along over us; they could go to places where they would be certain of finding them, and in their turn lay the same snares to trapan them, that they now do for us in our country—When the Indians come to attack us in this province, it has been their general practice to proceed as follows.

They come within a little way of that part of the inhabitants they intend to strike, and encamp in the most remote place they can find, to be quite free from discovery; the next day, they send one, or sometimes two (and so in proportion to their parts) of the nimble young fellows down into the inhabitants to different places, to view the situation of the towns, the number of people at each house, the places the people most frequent, and to observe at each house, whether there are most men or women. To accomplish this they will lie about a house some days and nights, watching like a wolf, and seldom return to the party without carrying very particular intelligence; then as soon as all their spies return, it is determined to march in the night in small parties of 2, 3, 4, or 5 in a party, each party having a house allotted to them to attack—the strength of the party being calculated more than sufficient for the purpose intended—they arrive at their different destinations long before day, and knowing exactly the situation of the family and the number they have to engage, they make their attack about break of day, in the morning to the best advantage, and seldom fail to kill, and make prisoners the whole family. As the people know nothing of the matter until they are thus labyrinthed, it is agreed that the

moment each party has executed their part, they retreat with their prisoners and scalps to the remote place of rendezvous, they left the night before; by this means they are instantly assembled by different roads, marching in a body from thence, directly for the Ohio all that day, and perhaps the next night before they halt, if they are under any apprehensions of being discovered or pursued. Perhaps at some of these houses, thus attacked, some of the people may be fortunate enough to escape; the Indians not discovering them by some accident or other, as soon as the Indians are gone, they alarm the forts, and country around, then a detachment from the fort with a body of the country, proposes to pursue the enemy; all, or at least chief part of the day, is spent in assembling, and counselling, and at last it is concluded to pursue; but the Indians having eight or ten hours start of them, they return much fatigued, finding it impracticable to overtake the enemy and are obliged to put up with their loss.

Upon this the chief part of the remaining inhabitants, most adjacent to the place where this affair happens, fly and leave their habitations, and all they have to depend upon for support for their families, and some few perhaps determine to stay by their living, choosing rather to take the chance of dying by the hand of the enemy than starve with hunger by leaving their all behind; those must be constantly on the watch, and cannot apply themselves to any industry, but live as long as they can upon what they have already got. The Indians avoid coming nigh that place for some time, and will make their next attack in the same manner at a considerable distance from thence, where the people are secure, and not thinking much about danger; by and by, the people that fled from the first place attacked, hearing of no encroachments in that quarter, and being obliged through necessity, will return to their habitations again, and live in their former security, as if nothing had happened; and then it will be time, and the Indians will give them the second stroke, with as much success as the first; and in this manner have we, of the province of Pennsylvania, been embarrassed and had our limbs lopped off, and our flourishing country greatly laid waste.

I introduce the method the Indians have taken to destroy us, to prove the advantage that would accrue to this province and the cause in general, of our marching into the Indian country as here proposed; but let it be observed, it would not be prudent in us to march into their country in the same manner as they do into ours; that is, we should never begin a march without good intelligence, for these reasons: the Indians know our country well; I mean, the Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Munceys and Nanticokes; we know nothing of all theirs; we are thickly settled, and continue at our settlements, and therefore more difficult to find them, and quite uncertain, but by fresh intelligence; they are more hardy and can suffer more fatigue, and provide themselves better in the woods with provisions than we can; this may proceed from nature, or custom, or perhaps both; if from nature solely, we shall never attain these necessary qualifications for Indian fighting; but if from custom, it is to be hoped in time we shall become good soldiers in this way, and prove a check to this barbarous banditti.

It may be thought that we can proceed, as we are at present situated, to destroy their towns in the same manner that Lieut. Col. Arm-

strong did the Kittaning. This was a noble undertaking, and judiciously executed; but to this I would answer, that this glorious enterprise of Lieut. Armstrong's was quite an unexpected thing to the Indians; and as they are a very cunning, indefatigable people, it will put them more upon their guard for the future; and by our troops being constantly employed amongst them at different places, at the same time, if we should be sometimes discovered, (as we undoubtedly will) and fail of an intention in one quarter, it will produce some good effects in another, and by this means, they never could know where to provide against us, which is a parallel case with us at present, and will remain so, unless we can remove the seat of war, by carrying it into the Indian country, which cannot be done by one body, unless it is a powerful one, as we will be discovered in our march four times in five, and if discovered, and a small body, they will so counteract us, that we shall neither be able to execute our design nor retreat; and if there should be a succession of this bad fortune, it would be of very bad consequence; it would render it a difficult matter to persuade troops with success in that country.

It is presumed that all the troops in the pay of the province of Pennsylvania (to answer this purpose) are to be enlisted for life, as all king's troops are, otherwise this end can never be attained, as they will be continually, once a year, composed of new recruits.

Another bad tendency enlisting soldiers for a short time will have, that much time will be lost in recruiting, and in the interim between their being free and replacing them again by recruits (which are always esteemed inferior to old soldiers)—I say, in this interim, the province will be left quite defenceless, being entirely left without soldiers, and should the enemy take the advantage of this, they might overrun the province without opposition, as we have no militia.

When the troops are filled up again with recruits, before they properly know themselves to be soldiers, the time for which they enlisted is nigh expiring, and they grow indifferent whether they do their duty or not, if they can deceive their officers and escape punishment, their freedom engrossing more of their mind, than their duty.

I hope these few thoughts will be accepted of as coming from a person who has nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the province of Pennsylvania. If they are of any service, it is well; if not, let the author's zeal apologize for the attempt, and pardon his presumption.

D. p. 109.—John McCullough was a native of Newcastle county, Del. When he was 5 years old his father moved to Cumberland (now Franklin co.) owing to the hostile incursions of the Indians, his father retired with his family into York co. till 1756, when he again ventured to Cumberland. Some time in July, John McCulloch, then a young lad, was taken by the Indians, and was among them for some time.

E. p. 109.—The documents referred to being too long, are omitted in this place.

F. p. 178.—(Omitting some 40 pages of Mss. such as letters, &c., the following is all that can be given here): "Messrs. Hall and Sellers—As the affair of Frederick appears, at present, a very interesting subject, and I have not yet seen any proper account of it in any paper, I beg, therefore, you will allow the following relation of that matter, from the beginning, a place in your next, which will oblige many, as well as, gentlemen, your humble servant.—D.

Carlisle Feb. 16, 1766.

On the 18th and 19th of January, the first notice arrived here of Frederick Stump, and his men, having murdered a number of Indians within this county, and that William Blyth was gone down to inform the governor. This account came not by any express, but by a private gentleman on business of his own. It was the beginning of our court week. The magistrates in town immediately met, to consult on measures to be taken. Had the sheriff then gone, it would have greatly impeded the public business depending at court: And as all ends might be equally answered by the coroner, with the additional service of holding an inquest on the bodies, it was concluded to send him, and a message accordingly was immediately dispatched to him. As he lives some distance from town, and the place where he was to go lying remote, so that some little preparation was requisite, it was Thursday before he could get off. His directions were, to take a posse with him from beyond the hills, and try to take Stump and his men, hold an inquest on the bodies, and bury the dead. On the 23d in the afternoon, the Governor's orders came up, very near the same in substance with the above, and directing the sheriff also to go, and the Chief Justice's warrant, ordering the prisoners, when taken, to be sent down to Philadelphia, to be examined and dealt with as the law directs. The Sheriff, and some of the magistrates, were preparing to set off, according to the Governor's orders, but about 8 or 9 in the evening the prisoners were brought in by Capt. Patterson, and a party, from Juniata. Next day (being Sabbath) the weather very disagreeable, a guard to be provided, and some necessary preparation to be made, rendered it impracticable for the Sheriff to set off with the prisoners before Monday; nor had any body at this time, the least apprehension of any design to rescue them. The clause in the warrant, ordering them down to Philadelphia, began to be a topic of much conversation in the town. The more general, nay, almost universal sentiment was, that if they went down, they would undoubtedly be tried there, some not properly distinguishing between examination and trial; but the greater part apprehensive that an act might be made for that purpose.— On Monday morning, when the Sheriff was now nigh ready to set off, a number of respectable inhabitants of the town, with some from the country, went to Colonel Armstrong's, and warmly remonstrated against the prisoners being sent down, until the Governor's and Chief Justice's pleasures should farther be made known, and whether they insisted upon it, strenuously alledging, it was yielding up a most valuable privilege, and setting a precedent, that might hereafter be of pernicious consequence. They were then told, as were sundry others, on the same subject, at different times, that the Chief Justice's warrant must be obeyed; that he had an undoubted right to call any persons, in such case, before him, from any part of the Province; that there was a wide difference between examination and trial; that it was uncharitable to suspect any of the people below, while nothing illegal was yet done, of attempting to deprive us of so valuable a privilege; that it was at most but bare suspicion, and ought not to prevent from present duty, but all was overbalanced by the above too tender jealousy of privilege, and apprehensions of a particular law being made. It was also pleaded, it was not usual to have prisoners sent out of their proper county; and would not be insisted on by these

in authority, on a representation of matters being given, and the confessions of the prisoners being sent down. The weather, at the same time, was very bad; creeks broke up, and waters high; the Susquehanna apprehended to be dangerous, and most probable impassable; and to have had the prisoners lying by the way, would have been disagreeable, and might have been running some hazard. Upon the whole, therefore, it was thought most advisable, that the Sheriff should not, as yet, set off with the prisoners (tho' no determination was formed that they should not all be sent.) As the prisoners were, in consequence of the above result, to remain yet some time longer in this jail, the sheriff and prison-keeper requested a commitment, and were told it was not necessary, but this being farther insisted on, it was given, not before the above remonstrating and reasoning on the case, but after it, on Monday afternoon, with a necessary clause, "until removed by superior authority." It was also thought expedient, by the magistrates in town, at this critical junction, to have the assistance of as many of their brethren from the county as could conveniently be had, in an affair so embarrassed, through the above mentioned generally prevailing mistake; and notices were accordingly sent them on Tuesday and their attendance requested the next day. The hasty apprehension of the prisoners being ordered to Philadelphia for trial, had spread almost beyond credibility, like an electric shock, over all the county and into adjacent counties and governments; and, unexpectedly to all here, had occasioned a very general alarm. On the Wednesday, when the magistrates were met, an anonymous letter, that had been dropt in a porch and found by the sheriff, was brought to them, containing information, that several parties were formed and forming, to rescue the prisoners, if attempted to be sent out of the county, and shortly a party of 40 or 50 armed men were discovered on their way to town; but by the influence of several who met them, they were happily prevented, and prevailed on to disperse.

It now began to appear, by various accounts, that were the prisoners to be taken either by the direct road to Lancaster county, or by the way of York, or had they even been taken sooner, there was the highest probability of a rescue, by parties secretly formed for that purpose, as soon as it was known the prisoners were to be sent to Philadelphia. The magistrates therefore fully convinced of the imminent danger attending the prisoners going, thought the most safe and prudent, that they should not be removed until the Governor and Chief Justice were first informed how matters stood, which was accordingly done. And as there was not the least apprehension of any design against the jail save what appeared in the above party, and they had gone away perfectly satisfied, no one suspected any further disturbance or danger, while the prisoners were there. But on the Friday following, January 30 (!) a party of about 60 or 70, said to be chiefly beyond the North mountain, came on the same wicked design. They sent in two of their number a little before the body, who, going into the room of the jail, called for a dram, and got it. The jailor discovering some arms on them, immediately ran to the door and shut it, but was met by three more, who bolted in armed, seized him, carried him to a different room, set a guard on him, and threatened him severely, if he should stir. Instantly after these came the whole party, who having entered the town, till then undiscovered, had, with the most violent precipita-

tion, hastened to the jail, placed a guard on the door, and on all within, whom they thought might molest them; they then constrained a girl to get them the keys, lighted a candle, went down to the dungeon (tho' without crow bar, axe, or any such instruments) opened the door and brought out the prisoners. While this was transacting, the sheriff came, Colonel Armstrong, Messieurs Miller and Lyon, magistrates; the Rev. Mr. Steel, and some others of the inhabitants, had attempted to bring these infatuated people to reason, urging a conference, and that they should be satisfied in any reasonable demand. The sheriff and magistrates got in as far as the door, and some of them declared they would die before the prisoners should be taken out, not knowing what was transacting within, for in an instant the prisoners were at the door, and a cry made to clear the way. The sheriff attempted to lay hold of Stump, but was pushed off, and both he and the magistrates were jostled or borne away into the street, and the prisoners carried off. The whole transaction was but a few minutes. At the extremity of the town, going out, they compelled a smith to cut off their hand cuffs. At the instance of the sheriff and magistrates, who alledged that night, at that juncture, have more influence on this people than they could, the Rev. Messieurs Steel and Boucher, (the only clergy then in town) with some others, went after them, and overtook a few of the hindmost about a mile out of town (the body, with the prisoners, being gone off) these said that they, for their part, would agree to the prisoners being restored, on condition they were assured they should not be sent to Philadelphia. When this message was brought back, the sheriff, Col. Armstrong and Lyon, went after them, but came up with none, they having all proceeded as fast as they could on their way over the hill. On Sabbath it was agreed to raise the posse, and cross the hill, to attempt regaining the prisoners; this was accordingly done. In the temper those people were in, violent measures would have instantly occasioned the shedding of blood; the milder steps of reasoning and opening consequences were therefore pursued; and assurances given them, that the trial of the prisoners would undoubtedly be in their proper county. This was the grand point; and I doubt not the prisoners would have been returned the next day, had not a mischievous report been carried to them just after the sheriff and his posse came away, that a party of soldiers were ready to take the prisoners to Philadelphia, as soon as delivered.—When the Governor's letter came up, in answer to one informing him of the rescue, Col. Armstrong and some others with him, went over again, and had a number of them together. They all declared their willingness to return the prisoners, but desired opportunity to consult others of their number, and had unluckily permitted Stump to go to see his family, on his promise of returning in a few days, tho' some alledged he was still in custody somewhere among them. Those present promised to use their best endeavors to have both the prisoners returned.

This is a plain state of that unhappy affair. Some, I hear, reflect severely on the civil officers concerned it, and on the keeper of the prison; but I am fully convinced, on a candid examination it will be found they acted, every man, with the greatest uprightness of heart, that part which appeared at the time most conducive to the public good, tending to the preservation of good order, and support of govern-

ment, and what, perhaps, even those who may blame with the greatest severity, could have thought most prudent, had they been in the situation."

Carlisle, March 15, 1768.

Messieurs Hall & Sellers—

As several injurious aspersions have, in the affair of Frederick Stump, been cast on my people and me, and so assiduously propagated and made public, as that there now remains no other method of overtaking and wiping away the reproach, but by a public defence. I hope, therefore, a regard to injured innocence, will procure the following a place in your next paper, which will much oblige many, as well as, gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

GEO. DUFFIELD.

To the Public.—It gives me peculiar concern to find myself obliged to the disagreeable task of vindicating my conduct in this manner, in a matter where I thought myself secure from the attacks of malice itself; but the gross misrepresentations of facts, which I have good reason to believe, have been made by some invidious pen or pens from this town, and industriously spread, lay me under the unhappy necessity of either sacrificing my character of those assassins, or justify myself to the public by a true state of facts; which latter, every man having regard to either character or usefulness, would choose. This, therefore, I hope, will sufficiently plead my excuse. I am then openly reproached, as having advised and prevailed on Col. Armstrong to oppose the chief justice's warrant, ordering Stump and Ironcutter down to Philadelphia, and having also used influence in exciting the people that rescued the prisoners, to that riotous undertaking. As to the first of these, it is sufficient to observe: The prisoners were brought in on Saturday evening; on Monday forenoon, when they were nigh ready to be sent off, a number of reputable inhabitants of the town, with some from the country, met and remonstrated against it, as has been represented in this Gazette of the 3d inst., and that afternoon the temporary commitment of the prisoners, until removed by superior orders, was wrote. From early on Sabbath morning, until the whole was over on Monday, I was out of town, having been in course at my congregation; in the country; nor saw Col. Armstrong, nor heard from him, nor sent to him, from before the prisoners came in, until the Monday evening, after 7 o'clock, he came to my house, and greatly complained of the opposition which had that day been made to sending off the prisoners; and expressed, in the strongest terms, his sentiment, that the chief justice's warrant must be obeyed, and his earnest desire of having the prisoners taken down, according to the order therein contained, and went away fully of the same mind; only proposing to have the assistance of some of the magistrates from the country, in a matter where the uneasiness of the people was so general and great, which step had been proposed and advised to by some of the magistrates in town before he came to my house; nor had I any thing farther with the colonel on this head, at any other time. From this true state of the fact, which I am able to prove, if requisite, it is evident, 1st. That I had no intercourse of any kind with Col. Armstrong, from before the prisoners came in, until the evening after they had been, in consequence of the unreasonable weather, and remonstrance of the people, prevented,

from being taken off, and committed as above. 2dly. That the expedient of having other magistrates, was not by any advice of mine, but proposed before I so much as saw the Col. 3dly. That Col. Armstrong was equally firm in the sentiment of obedience being due to the chief justice's warrant at his going from my house, as he was at coming to it, and equally desirous of having it obeyed, and was the same afterwards, as I am also able to prove. And 4thly. As a natural consequence from the whole, that the author and spreader of the report, that Col. Armstrong was informed by me to disobey, or oppose the chief justice's warrant, were guilty of raising and spreading a false report. As to my having used any influence to excite those who rescued the prisoners, in that iniquitous step, I shall just observe: That week the prisoners were in jail, I was providentially prevented from visiting my charge; (the service I was then engaged in) this now appears a favorable circumstance, for had I been employed in executing that part of my office, the pen of detraction would, most probably, have construed it into sowing addition from house to house: but from the time I returned home on Monday afternoon, I was no where out of my house, except at two or three neighbors in town, and saw scarce any body but my own family until Wednesday morning, when I set off, by sun up, in company with several gentlemen, for Yorktown, and did not return till Saturday afternoon, (the day after the rescue) and can, if requisite, vindicate my character, stabbed by defamatory influence. On my way home, I was alarmed with the news of the rescue. On the next day (being Sabbath) I publicly declared from the pulpit, my detestation of the fact. Early on Monday I crossed the North mountain, in company with William Lyon, Esqr., before the posse were yet gathered, and joined my best endeavors, in attempting to recover those infatuated people to reason; and openly, in the presence of a large number assembled together, condemned their distracted conduct, and urged the return of the prisoners. The next Sabbath on subjection to government, and that week went over again, in company with Col. Armstrong, and some other gentlemen, who went to make those people assurances from the Governor, of the prisoners being tried in their own county. These things I say not with boasting, but in self vindication, and whether this was consistent with having excited to the fact, let the impartial world judge. I must have had a face of impudence, almost beyond Beelzebub himself, to have encouraged first, and then acted thus, and blamed and censured, even to raising resentment of some against me, for my being so much engaged.

But what innocents can secure from the impeachment of determined obloquy and reproach? But to attack myself alone, and attempt to stab a single character, did not suffice—Haman's malice cannot rest in aiming at Mordecai's men only; the whole nation is marked out for vengeance. The same spirit seems to have actuated these modern Hamans, in attempting to roll over the blame of rescuing the prisoners, entirely on my people, and assert that the rescuers were all of them, or that the whole was done by the *new side* (as they are termed): this charge must have proceeded from the greatest malevolence and rancor, beyond expression; partly in religion not having any hand, more or less, in the matter; and to attempt turning it into the channel, (though I know it was early done in this place, and is perfectly agreeable to the general course some have been steering for seve-

ral years past) is, I am bold to say, infamous and base to the last degree, calculated only to heighten the fire of party, embroil society, both civil and religious, weaken the country, by dividing it against itself, subserve in every respect, the Prince of Darkness, without being able of answering any one single valuable purpose. Suppose they had all been of my people that perpetrated the rescue, would it have been friendly, or acting the part of christian brotherhood, to have been so eager to expose the whole body? Would it not have been imitating Edon, as recorded by Obediah? Might it not, in such case, have been sufficient to name out the guilty persons, without attempting to board the whole society with infamy, unless they had already become infamous for such conduct? Or could any other reason be alleged for pointing out the particular society, unless to attempt rendering both me odious in the eyes of all good men, even on that suspicion of their having all belonged to me? Which yet is far from being the case. A great part of the rescuers came from beyond the North mountain; and though I detest the very idea of party in the affair, and esteem the attempting to fix it on, or roll it off, any one sect or party, an evidence of a wicked temper, as some of all sorts were concerned, as they happened to live in the neighborhood, or part of the country where the design was formed, and were made acquainted with it, both *old side and new*, Seceders, Covenanters, Church of England, and even Papists, as some of the persons concerned have declared. Yet, this I will assert, and can maintain, that as far as I have yet been able to learn the names of those found out to have been engaged, there are not more of what was formerly called the new side, than there are of what was called the old; this I do not say, to blame or free any one particular sect or party, but merely to show it was no party matter.

I have now stated this matter in a fair point of light, which I am able to maintain, and leave it to every impartial mind, what sentiment to form of the author or authors, and spreaders of such invidious misrepresentations. Every good man, I am sure, must hold them in detestation, as parts in society, civil or religious, base incendiaries, and a nuisance in a commonwealth. And yet, odious as the character is, and however detestable the conduct, there are some of so perverse a disposition, so uninfluenced by religion, and destitute of honesty, as to lurk privily for the innocent without cause, who sleep not except they have done mischief, and their sleep is taken away, unless they have attempted to cause some to fall. If any see proper to contradict the state of facts here given, I desire they may do it, ~~not~~ in the undermining way of private whispering and suggestion, the favorite plan of base detractors, whose safety lies in concealment, and whose day is as the shadow of death, but openly in the public prints, signed with their name. Nor shall I esteem myself bound to take any notice of any thing which the author will not dare openly to avow. And if none appear, I hope the public will be so candid as to take their silence on this head, as a full, though tacit confession, of their being convinced, that the representations they have made, or propagated, are false and groundless.

GEORGE DUFFIELD.

The Indian *Ma-de-u*, i. e. Conjurors, are a set of professional impos-

tors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of their people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers.

The Indians ascribing many of their diseases to the arts of sorcerers, witches, or wizzards, these conjurors or *Me-de-u*, are called for and consulted, not only to cure the diseases of the people, with which they are afflicted in the course of nature; but to counteract and destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, as in the case of Half-King, at Harris' ferry, who, the credulous Indians believed, had been bewitched by the French.

The conjurors pretend that some disorders cannot be cured by the ordinary remedies, generally employed by their common doctors.—They say that when a complaint or disease has been brought on by witchcraft, more powerful remedies must be applied, and measures adopted to defeat the designs of the one that has bewitched the unfortunate sufferer. This can only be done by removing or destroying the poisonous substance which has been conveyed into the patient, or if it is an evil spirit, to confine or expel him, or banish him to a distant region.

When the *Me-de-u* has succeeded in persuading the afflicted person that his disorder is such that ordinary remedies must fail, he then endeavors to convince him of the necessity of enabling him, by superior strength, to drive out the spirit, the patient must make the *Me-de-u* very strong, that is in few words, give him a large fee, which he will say, is justly due to a man, who like himself, is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient is rich, the conjuror will, in such a case, always ascribe the complaint, to the powers of witchcraft—To be relieved, the disordered one is modestly demanded to give a fine horse, a good rifle, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount.

When his fee is well secured, he prepares, and before, for the *hard task* he has undertaken, with as much apparent labor, as if he was about to remove a mountain, he casts his eyes all around him to attract notice—appears wrapped in thought and deep meditation, and enjoys for a while, the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation—Frightfully dressed, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side and all over him all the antick tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him—blows into his mouth—squirts some medicines which he has prepared, into his face, mouth and nose—he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans and pebbles—pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy; all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavors, as he says, to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, and continues in this manner until he is quite exhausted and out of breath, when he retires to wait the issue.

If the patient desires it, the visits are repeated from time to time; not however, without his giving a fresh fee previous to each visit.—This continues until the property of the patient is entirely exhausted, or until he resolves on calling in another doctor, with whom feeling must begin anew in the same manner that it did with his predecessor.

H. p. 264.—Teedyuscung. This notorious Indian chief, was a conspicuous character. His conduct on many occasions was impolitic, and

consequently irritated to the utmost the spirited nation of the Delawares; and was surrounded by enemies—his fate was destined—in 1763 he was burned with his house while lying in his bed asleep.

Col. Clapham's Instructions to Capt. Hambright, commander of a detachment from Col. Clapham's Regiment, given at Fort Augusta, Nov. 4, 1756. Sir:—You are to march with a party of two sergeants, two corporals, and thirty-eight private men under your command, to attack, burn and destroy an Indian town or towns with their inhabitants on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, to which Monsieur Montour will conduct you, whose advice you are directed to pursue. In every case you are to attack the town agreeable to the plan and disposition herewith given you, observing to intermix the men with bayonets equally among the three parties in the attack; and if any Indians are found there, you are to kill, scalp and captivate as many as you can; and if no Indians are there, you are to endeavor to act in such a manner and with such caution, as to prevent the discovery of your having been there, by any party that may shortly arrive after you, for which reason you are strictly forbidden to burn, take away, destroy or meddle with any thing found at such places; and immediately dispatch Monsieur Montour with one or two more to me, with intelligence. When you come near a place of action, you are to detach Monsieur Montour with as many men as he shall judge necessary to reconnoitre the parts, and to wait in concealment in the mean time with your whole party till his return; then to form your measures accordingly. After having burnt and destroyed the town, you are in your retreat to post an officer and twelve men in ambush, close by the wood side, at the most convenient place for such purpose which may offer, at about 12 miles distance from the place of action, who are to surprise and cut off any party who may attempt to pursue, or happen to be engaged in hunting thereabouts, and at the same time, secure the retreat of your main body.

It is very probable on these moonlight nights you will find them engaged in dancing, in which case, embrace that opportunity by all means, of attacking them, which you are not to attempt at a greater distance than 20 or 25 yards; and be particularly careful to prevent the escape of women and children, whose lives, humanity will direct, to preserve as much as possible. If it does not happen that you find them dancing, the attack is to be made in the morning, just at such a season when you have light enough to execute it, in which attempt, your party is to march to the several houses, and bursting open the doors, to rush in at once. Let the signal for the general attack, be the discharge of one firelock, in the centre division.

If there are no Indians at the several towns, you are, in such a case, to proceed with the utmost caution and vigilance, to the road which leads to Fort Du Quesne, there to lie in ambush, and to intercept their march to, or from the English settlements; and there to remain, with that design, till the want of provisions obliges you to return.

I wish you all imaginable success, of which, the opinion I have of yourself, the officers and party under your command, leaves me no room to write.

I am, sir, &c.

WILLIAM CLAPHAM.

P. S. You will not omit to post the sergeant with a party on the opposite side of the river during the attack, according to direction, to

prevent the enemy from escaping that way, and to reserve one half of your force.

J. p.—There was a conference held with the Indians at Mr. George Croghan's in Pennsboro township, Thursday, May 17, 1750—Present, Richard Peters, Secretary; Conrad Weiser, James Galbreath, George Croghan, George Stevenson, William Wilson and Hermanus Alricks, Esqrs.—Andrew Montour, Jac-nech-doar, Sai-ach-to-wano, Catara-dirha, Tohonady Huntho, a Mohock from Ohio.

The object of this conference was to conciliate the Indians, and give them assurances that those who intruded upon their lands on Juniata should be removed without any further delay.

Another conference was held at the same place, Thursday June 7th 1750—Present, Richard Peters, George Croghan, Matthew Dill, Hermanus Alricks, William Trent, George Stevenson, Esqrs.—Andrew Montour, Ca-na-ja-cha-nah, alias, Broken-Kettle, Hatchin-hatta, Cadre-dan-hin-nut, chiefs in the Seneca Nation, settled on Ohio.

K.—A meeting of the Commissioners and Indians, at Carlisle, Oct. 1st, 1753. Present—Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, Commissioners.

The Deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees and Owendots.

Conrad Weiser and Andrew Montour, Interpreters. James Wright, John Armstrong, Esq. members of the Assembly. The Magistrates & several other gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Cumberland.

The speech of the Commissioners:

Brethren, the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees & Owendots: Though the city of Philadelphia is the place where all Indians should go, who have business to transact with this government, yet your request, signified to Col. Fairfax, at Winchester, and by him communicated to the Governor, by an express to Philadelphia, he has been pleased on this particular occasion to dispense with your coming there, and has done us the honor to depute us to receive and treat with you at this Town, in his place and stead; this is set forth in his commission, which we now produce you, under the Great Seal of this Province, the authentic sign and testimony of all acts of Government.

Brethren—By this string we acquaint you, that the Six Nations do at our request, join with us in condoling the losses you have of late sustained by the deaths of several of your chiefs and principal men, and that Scarrooyady is to deliver for both what has been agreed to be said on this melancholy occasion.

Then the Commissioners gave a string of wampum.

The Scarrooyady spoke as follows:

Brethren—the Twightwees and Shawanese—It has pleased him who is above, that we shall meet here to day and see one another. I and Brother Onas join together to speak to you. As we know your seats at home are bloody, we wipe away the blood, and set your seats in order at your council fire, that you may set and consult again in peace and comfort as formerly, that you may hold the ancient union, and strengthen it and continue you your old friendly correspondence. Here a string was given.

Brethren—Twightwees and Shawanese—We suppose that the blood is now washed off. We jointly, with our Brother Onas, dig a grave for your warriors, killed in your country; and we bury their bones

decently; wrapping them up in these blankets; and with these we cover their graves. Here the goods were given to the Twightwees and Shawanese.

Brethren—Twightwees and Shawanese—I and my brother Onas, jointly condole with the chiefs of your towns, your women and children, for the loss you have sustained; we partake of your grief, and mix our tears with yours; we wipe your tears from your eyes that you may see the sun, and that every thing may become clear and pleasant to your sight; and we desire you shall mourn no more.—Here a belt was given.

The same was said to the Delawares.

And then he spoke to the Owendots in these words:

Our children and brethren, the Owendots—You have heard what I and my brother Onas have jointly said to the Twightwees, Shawanese and Delawares. We now come to speak to you. We are informed that your good old wise men are all dead, and you have no more left.

We must let you know, that there was a friendship established by you and your grandfathers; and a mutual council fire was kindled.—In this friendship all those then under the ground, who had not yet obtained eyes and faces (that is those unborn) were included; and it was then mutually promised to tell the same to their children, and children's children. But so many great men of your nation have died in so short a time, that none but youths are left; and this makes us afraid, lest that treaty so solemnly established by your ancestors, should be forgotten by you: We therefore now come to remind you of it, and renew it: We rekindle the old fire, and you put on fresh fuel.—Here a string of wampum was given.

The other speeches of burying the dead &c. were the same as those to the Twightwees &c. After each had been spoken to, Scarrooyady proceeded thus:

Brethren, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees and Owendots:—We the English and Six Nations, do now exhort every one of you to do your utmost to preserve this union and friendship, which has so long and happily continued amongst us. Let us keep the chain from rusting, and prevent every thing that may hurt or break it, from what quarter soever it may come.

Then the goods allotted for each nation, as a presence of condolence were taken away by each; and the council adjourned to the next day. (October 2d 1753—Same persons present that were the day before.)

The speech of the Commissioners.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees and Owendots—Now that your hearts are eased of grief, and we behold one another with cheerful countenances, we let you know that the governor and the good people of Pennsylvania, did not send us to receive you empty handed, but put something into our pockets to be given to such as would favor us with this friendly visit. The goods, therefore, we request you would accept of, and divide amongst all that are of your company, in such proportions as shall be agreeable to you. You know how to do this better than we. What we principally desire, is, that you will consider this present as a token of our esteem for you, and use it with a frugality becoming your circumstances, which call at this time for more than ordinary care.

Brethren—With pleasure we behold here the Deputies of 5 different

Nations, viz: the United Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Twightwees and Owendots. Be pleased to cast your eyes towards this belt, whereon six figures are delineated, holding one another by the hands. This is a just resemblance of our present Union. The five first figures representing the Five Nations to which you belong, as the sixth does the government of Pennsylvania, with whom you are linked in a close and friendly union. In whatever part the belt is broke, all the wampum runs off and renders the whole of no strength or consistency. In the like manner, should you break faith with one another, or with this government, the union is dissolved. We would hereby place before you the necessity of preserving your faith entire to one another, as well as to this government. Do not separate. Do not part on any score. Let no differences nor jealousies subsist a moment between Nation and Nation; but join altogether as one man, sincerely and heartily. We, on our part, shall always perform our engagements to every one of you. In testimony whereof, we present you with this belt. Here the belt was given.

Brethren—We have only this one thing further to say at this time. Whatever you answers you may have to give, or business to transact with us, we desire you would use dispatch, as it may be dangerous to you, and incommodious to us, to be kept long from our homes at this season of the year.

Oct. 3, 1753—same persons present.

Scarrooyady speaker:

Brother Onas—What we have now to say, I am going to speak in behalf of the Twightwees, Shawanese, Delawares and Owendots.

You have, like a true and affectionate brother, comforted us in our affliction. You have wiped away the blood from our seats, and set them again in order. You have wrapped up the bones of our warriors, and covered the graves of our wise men; and wiped the tears from our eyes, and the eyes of our women and children; so that we now see the sun, and all things have become pleasant to our sight. We shall not fail acquaint our several Nations with your kindness. We shall take care that it be always remembered by us; and believe it will be attended with suitable returns of love and affection.

Then one of the Twightwees stood up and spoke as follows (Scarrooyady, interpreter.)

Brother Onas: The Ottawas, Cheepaways and the French have struck us. The stroke was heavy and hard to be borne, for thereby we lost our King and several of our warriors, but the loss, our brethren, the English suffered, we grieve for most. The love we have had for the English, from our first knowledge of them, still continues in our breasts: and we shall ever retain the same ardent affection for them. We cover the graves of the English with this beaver blanket. We mourn for them more than for our own people.

Here he spread on the floor some beaver skins, sewed together in the form of a large blanket.

Then Scarrooyady spoke as follows:

Brother Onas—I speak now on behalf of all the Indians present, in answer to what you said when you gave us the goods and belt. What you have said to us yesterday is very kind, and pleases us exceedingly. The speech which accompanied the belt, is particularly of great moment. We will take the belt home to Ohio, where there is a greater and

wiser council than we, and consider it, and return you a full answer. We return you thanks for the present. Gave a string.

Brother Onas—Last spring when you heard of the march of the French army you were so good as to send us word, that we might be on our guard. We thank you for this friendly notice.

Brother Onas—Your people not only trade with us in our towns, but disperse themselves over a large and wide extended country, in which reside many nations. At one end live the Twightwees, and at the other end the Caghnawagas and Adirondacks, these you must comprehend in your chain of friendship; they are and will be, your brethren, let Onontio say what he will. Gave a string.

Brother Onas—I desire you would hear and take notice of what I am about to say to you now. The Governor of Virginia desired leave to build a strong house on Ohio, which came to the ears of the Governor of Canada, and we suppose this caused him to invade our country. We do not know his intent, because he speaks with two tongues. So soon as we know his heart, we shall be able to know what to do, and shall speak accordingly to him. We desire that Pennsylvania & Virginia would, at present, forbear settling our lands over the Allegheny hills. We advise you rather to call your people back on this side the hills, lest damage should be done, and you think it ill of us. But to keep up our correspondence with our Brother Onas, we will appoint some place on the hills, or near them, and we do appoint George Croghan on our part, and desire you to appoint another on your part, by a formal writing under the governor's hand. Let none of your people settle beyond where they are now, nor on the Juniata lands, till the affair is settled between us and the French. At present, George Croghan's house at Juniata, may be the place where any thing may be sent to us. We desire a commission may be given to the person entrusted by the government of Pennsylvania, and that he may be directed to warn people from settling the Indian lands, and empowered to remove them. Gave a belt and string.

Brother Onas—All we who are here desire you will hear what we are going to say, and regard it as a matter of moment. The French look on the great number of traders at Ohio with envy; they fear they shall lose their trade. You have more traders than necessary, and they spread themselves over wide country, at such great distances, that we cannot see them or protect them. We desire you will call back the great number of your traders, and let only three sets remain; and order these to stay in three places, which we have appointed for their residence, viz: Logstown, the mouth of Canawa and the mouth of Mohongialo; the Indians will then come to them, and buy their goods in these places, and no where else. We shall likewise look on them under our care, and shall be accountable for them. We have settled this point with Virginia in the same manner. Gave a string.

Brother Onas—The English goods are sold at too dear a rate to us. If only honest and sober men were to deal with us, we think they might afford the goods cheaper. We desire therefore that you will take effectual care hereafter, that none but such be suffered to come out to trade with us.—Gave a string.

Brother Onas—Your traders now bring scarce any thing but rum and flour. They bring little powder and lead, or other valuable goods.—

The rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities, by regulating the traders. We never understood the trade was to be for whiskey and flour. We desire that it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country; but that if the Indians will have any, they may go among the inhabitants and deal with them for it.—When these whiskey traders come, they bring thirty or forty cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink; and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted, for goods bought of the Fair traders; and by this means, we not only ruin ourselves but them too. These wicked whiskey sellers, when they have once the Indians in liquor, make them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly therefore beseech you to remedy it.—A treble string.

Brother Onas—I have now done with generals; but have something to say for particular Nations.

The Shawanese have heard some news since they came here, which troubled their minds; on which they addressed themselves to their grand fathers, the Delawares, and said, Grandfathers, we will live and die with you and the Six Nations: We, our wives, our children, and children yet unborn.

N. B. This was occasioned by Conrad Weiser's having told them in private conversation, that while he was in the Mobeck country, he was informed that the French intended to drive away the Shawanese (as well as the English) from Ohio.

Scarrooyady then proceeded, and said, I have something farther to say on behalf of the Shawanese.

Brother Onas—At the beginning of the summer, when the news was brought to us, of the approach of the French, the Shawanese made this speech to their uncles, the Delawares, saying, "Uncles, you have often told us, that we were a sensible and discreet people; but we lost all our senses and wit when we slipped out of your arms; however we are now in one another's arms again, and hope we shall slip out no more. We remember, and are returned to our former friendship, and hope it will always continue. In testimony whereof, we give you, our uncles, a string of ten rows."

The Shawanese likewise, at the same time, sent a speech to the Six Nations saying, "Our Brethren, the English, have treated us as a people that had wit; the French deceived us: but we now turn our heads about, and are perpetually looking to the country of the Six Nations and our Brethren, the English, and desire you to make an apology for us; and they gave right strings of wampum." The Delawares and Six Nations do therefore give up these strings to Onas, and recommend the Shawanese to him as a people who have seen their error, and are their and our very good friends.—Gave eight strings.

Brother Onas—Before I finish, I must tell you, we all earnestly request you will please to lay all our present transactions before the council of Onondago, that they may know we do nothing in the dark. They may perhaps think of us, as if we did not know what we were doing, or wanted to conceal from them what we do with our brethren; but it is otherwise, and therefore make them acquainted with all our proceedings. This is what we have likewise desired of the Virginians when we treated with them at Winchester.

Brother Onas—I forgot something which I must now say to you; it

is to desire you would assist us with some horses to carry our goods; because you have given us more than we can carry ourselves. Our women and young people present you with this bundle of skins, desiring some spirits to make them cheerful in their own country—not to drink here. Presented a bundle of skins.

Then he added—The Twightwees intended saying something to you, but they have mislaid some strings, which has put their speeches into disorder; these they will rectify, and speak to you in the afternoon.

Then the Indians withdrew.

Afternoon—The Twightwees speak by Andrew Montour.

Brother Onas—Hearken what I have to say to the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese and English. The French have struck us; but though we are hurt, it is but one side; the other side is safe. Our arm on that side is entire; and with it we have laid hold on our pipe, and have brought it along with us, to show that it is as good as ever. And we shall leave it with you, that it may be always ready for us and our brethren to smoke in when we meet together.

Here he delivered over the calumet, decorated with fine feathers.

Brother Onas—We have a single heart. We have but one heart. Our heart is green, and good, and sound. This shell, painted green on its hollow side, is a resemblance of it.

The country beyond us, towards the setting of the sun, where the French live, is all in darkness; we can see no light there. But towards sun rising, where the English live, we see light; and that is the way we turn our faces. Consider us as your fast friends, and good Brethren.

- Here he delivered a large shell, painted green on the concave side, with a string of wampum tied to it.

Brother Onas—This belt of wampum was formerly given to the king of the Piankashas, one of our tribes, by the Six Nations; that if at any time any of our people should be killed, or any attack made on them by their enemies, this belt should be sent with the news, and the Six Nations would believe it.

The Twightwees, when they brought this belt to the Lower Shawanese town, addressed themselves to the Shawanese, Six Nations, Delawares, and then on the English, and said—

Brethren, we are an unhappy people: we have had some of our brethren, the English, killed and taken prisoners in our towns. Perhaps our brethren, the English, may think or be told that we were the cause of their death; we therefore apply to you, the Shawanese, &c. to assure the English we were not. The attack was so sudden, that it was not in our power to save them. And we hope, when you deliver this to the English, they will not be prejudiced against us but look upon us as their Brethren. Our hearts are good towards them.—A large belt of fourteen rows.

Brethren—One of our kings on his death bed, delivered to his son, the young boy, who sits next to me, these eight strigs of wampum, and told him, "child, I am in friendship with the Shawanese, Delawares, Six Nations and English; and I desire you, if by any misfortune I should happen to die, or be killed by my enemies, you would send this string to them, and they will receive you in friendship in my stead."—Delivers the strings.

The following is a speech of the wife of the Piankasha King, after her husband's death, addressed to the Shawanese, Six Nations, Delawares and English: "Remember, Brethren, that my husband took a fast hold of the chain of friendship subsisting between your Nations: therefore I now deliver up this child into your care and protection, and desire you would take care of him; and remember the alliance his father was in with you, and not forget his friendship, but continue kind to this child."—Gave four strings black and white.

Brethren, Shawanese, Delawares, Six Nations and English—We acquaint all our Brethren, that we have prepared this beaver blanket as a seat for all our brethren to set on in council. In the middle of it we have painted a green circle, which is the colour and resemblance of our hearts, which we desire our brethren may believe are sincere towards our alliance with them.—Delivered a beaver blanket.

Then Scarrooyady stood up and said:

Brother Onas—The Shawanese and Delawares delivered this speech to the Six Nations, and desired they would deliver it to the English, and now I deliver it on their behalf.

Brethren—We acquaint you, that as the wife of Piankasha King delivered his child to all the Nations to be taken care of, they desire that those Nations may be interceded with, to take care that the said child may be placed in his father's seat, when he comes to be a man, to rule their people. And the Six Nations now in behalf of the whole, request that this petition may not be forgotten by the English, but that they would see the request fulfilled.—Gave four strings.

Then Scarrooyady desired the Six Nations Council might be made acquainted with all these speeches: and added that they had no more to say; but what they have said is from their hearts.

Oct. 4—Same persons present.

The commissioners, unwilling to lose any time, prepared their answers early this morning, and sent for the Indians, who having seated themselves, the following was made to them:

Brethren: Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees and Owendots—The several matters delivered by you, yesterday, have been well considered, and we are now going to return you our answers.

The concern expressed by the Twightwees for the death and the imprisonment of the English, with their professions of love and esteem, denotes sincere and friendly disposition, which entitles them to our thanks, and the continuance of our friendship—this they may certainly depend upon.

Brethren—You have recommended to us the several Nations, who, you say, live in that great extent of country, over which our traders travel to dispose of their goods, and especially the Twightwees, Adirondacks and Caghnawagas, who, you say, live at different extremities, and have good inclination towards the English. We believe you would not give them this character unless they deserved it. Your recommendation will always have a weight with us, and will dispose us in favor of them, agreeable to your request.

Brethren—The several articles which contain your observations on the Indian trades, and the loose, straggling manner in which that trade is carried on, through countries lying at great distances from your towns—Your proposals to remedy this, by having named three places

for the traders to reside in, under your care and protection, with a request that the Province would appoint the particular persons to be concerned in this trade, for whom they will be answerable. What you say about the vast quantities of rum, and its ill effects, and that no more may be brought amongst you, all these have made a strong impression upon our minds; and was it now in our power to rectify these disorders, and put matters on the footing you propose, we would do it with great pleasure; but these are affairs which more immediately concern government; in these, therefore, we shall imitate your example, by laying them before the governor, assuring you, that our heartiest representations of the necessity of these regulations shall not be wanting, being convinced, that unless something effectual be speedily done in these matters, the good people of this Province can no longer expect safety or profit in their commerce, nor the continuance of your affection.

Brethren—We will send an account to Onondago of all that has been transacted between us. We will assist you with horses for the carriage of the goods given you. We grant your women and young men their request for rum, on condition that it be not delivered until you shall have passed the mountains.

Scarrooyady some days ago desired us to give orders for the mending of your guns, &c. and we did so; being obliged to send for a gunsmith out of the country, as no one of that trade lived in the town; who promised to come; but having broke his word, it has not been in our power to comply with this request—Here the string given with the request was returned.

Having delivered our general answer, we shall now proceed to give you one to what was said by particular nations, as well by the Shawanese in the forenoon, as by the Twightwees in the afternoon.

Brethren—Delawares and Shawanese—We are glad to see you in such good dispositions to each other. We entreat you to do every thing you can to preserve the continuance of this agreeable harmony. The Shawanese may be assured we retain no manner of remembrance of their former miscarriages. We are perfectly reconciled, and our esteem for their nation is the same as ever. Gave a large string.

Brethren Twightwees—We shall take your several presents, shells, strings, beaver blankets and calumet pipe, with us, and deliver them to the governor; that these, and the several things said at the delivery of them, may remain in the council chamber, at Philadelphia, for our mutual use and remembrance, whenever it shall please the Great Being who sits above, to bring us together in council again. Gave a long string.

Brethren—We desire you will send these two strouds to the young King, as an acknowledgment of our affectionate remembrance of his father's love to us, and our good will to him. Be pleased to present to the widow of Piankasha King, our late hearty friend, these handkerchiefs to wipe the tears from her eyes; and I likewise give her son these two strouds to clothe him. Here two handkerchiefs and two strouds were given.

Brethren Twightwees—We assure you, we entertain no hard thoughts of you, nor in any wise impute to you the misfortune that befel the English in your town; it was the chance of war: We were struck to-

gether ; we fell together ; and we lament your loss equally with our own.

Brethren—Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees and Owendots—We have finished our answers ; and we hope they will be agreeable to you. Whatever we have said, has been said with a hearty good will towards you ; our hearts have answered our professions, and you will always find our answers agreeable to them.

Then the commissioners were silent ; and after a space of time, renewed their speeches to them.

Brethren—*Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Twightwees & Owendots*—We have something to say to you, to which we entreat you will give your closest attention, since it concerns us and you very much.

Brethren—We have held a council on the present situation of your affairs. We have reason to think, from the advices of Taaf and Calender, that it would be too great a risque, considering the present disorder things are in at Ohio, to increase the quantity of goods already given you : we therefore acquaint you, that, though the Governor has furnished us with a larger present of goods, to put in your public store house, as a general stock, for your support and service, and we did intend to have sent them along with you ; we have, on this late disagreeable piece of news, altered our minds, and determined, that the goods shall not be delivered till the governor be made acquainted with your present circumstances, and shall give his own orders for the disposal of them ; and, that they may be ready for your use, to be applied for, whenever the delivery may be safe, seasonable, and likely to do you most service ; we have committed them to the care of your good friend, George Croghan, who is to transmit to the governor by express, a true and faithful account how your matters are likely to turn out ; and on the governor's order, and not otherwise, to put you in the possession of them.

This we hope you will think a prudent caution, and a testimony of our care for your real good and welfare.

Brethren—We have a favor of a particular nature to request from your speaker, Scarrooyady, in which we expect your concurrence and joint interest ; and therefore make it to him in your presence.

Here the Commissioners, applying to Scarrooyady, spoke as follows :

Respected Chief and Scarrooyady—We have been informed by Andrew Montour and George Croghan, that you did at Winchester, in public council, undertake to go to Carolina, to solicit the release of some warriors of the Shawanese Nation, who are said to be detained in the public prison of Charleston, on account of some mischief committed by them, or their companions, in the inhabited part of that province ; and these two persons, who are your very good friends, have given it as their opinion, if, after you know what has passed at Ohio, you shall now leave this company of Indians, and not return with them to their families, and assist in the consultations with the Half-King, and their other chiefs, what measures to take in this unhappy situation of your affairs, all may be irrecoverably lost at Allegheny, and the loss, with justice, be laid at your doors. You may, perhaps, be afraid to disoblige the Shawanese, as it was at their instance you undertook this journey ; but we intend to speak to them, and have no doubt of obtaining their consent ; convinced as we are, that the release of these prisoners will be sooner and more effectually procured.

by the joint interposition of the Governor of Pennsylvania and Virginia, than by your personal solicitation, inasmuch as our governor, to whom we shall very heartily recommend this affair, can send with greater dispatch, his letters to Carolina, than you can perform the journey; for at this season, opportunities present every day of sending by sea to Charleston; and an express by land may be dispatched to Governor Dinwiddie as soon as we return to Philadelphia.

The Shawanese chiefs expressing dissatisfaction at this endeavor of the commissioners to stop Scarrooyady, it gave us some trouble to satisfy them and obtain their consent; but at last it was effected, and when this was signified to Scarrooyady, he made this answer:

Brother Onas—I will take your advice, and not go to Virginia at this time; but go home, and do every thing in my power for the common good: and, since we are here now together, with a great deal of pleasure, I must acquaint you, that we have set a horn on Andrew Montour's head, and you may believe what he says to be true, between the Six Nations and you. They have made him one of their counsellors, and a great man among them, and love him dearly.

Scarrooyady gave a large belt to Andrew Montour, and the commissioners agreed to it.

After this difficulty was got over, nothing else remained to be done; and as the absence of these Indians was dangerous, the commissioners put an end to the treaty, and took their leave of them, making them private presents at parting, to such of the chiefs, and others, as were recommended by the interpreters to their particular notice.

The letter of Taaf and Callender, referred to in the above report, was read and ordered to be entered.

September 28th, 1654, Shawanese cabins.

Sir—This day met with Joseph Nelson, coming from Ohio, and bro't the news, which I believe to be true; which I am sorry for of the French coming down and all the English have to move off the river Ohio, and have brought their goods with them. The Half-King went to the French fort to know what was the reason of their coming to settle the lands of Ohio. The commander told him the land was theirs, and discharged him home, and told him he was an old woman, and all his Nation were in his favor, only him, and if he did not go home he would put him in irons. He came home and told the English to go off the place, for fear they should be hurt—with tears in his eyes.

Sir—We are on our journey to the river, to see the Half-King, and to talk to him; but durst not take our goods over the hill. Pray, sir, keep this news from our wives, but let Mr. Peters know of it, as we understand he is to be in Carlisle.

We remain your friends, &c.

CALLENDER & TAAF.

To Wm. Buchanan.

L. p. 259—At a council held at Carlisle, Tuesday 13th, January 1756—Present: the Hon. Robert Hunter Morris, Esq., Lieut. Governor; James Hamilton, William Logan, Richard Peters, Esq., and Joseph Fox, Esq. Mr. Croghan not coming till Sunday, and no more than 7 Indians yesterday, he was sent for and asked the reasons of this delay, and why no more Indians were come; and in answer said: he

was employed in raising men and building forts, according to his instructions at Philadelphia, that he was at Kishicoquillas when the letter was delivered to him, that the Indians were mostly gone a hunting, and he expected as many more at least as were there, to come in a day or two.

Mr. Weiser was then sent for, and it was taken into consideration what should be said to the Indians.

Mr. Croghan informed the Governor and Council, that he had sent a Delaware Indian called Jo Hickman to the Ohio for intelligence, who returned to his house the day before he came away, and brought him the following account, namely :

That he went to Kittanning, an Indian Delaware town on the Ohio, 40 miles above Fort Du Quesne, the residence of Shingas and Captain Jacobs, where he found 140 men, chiefly Delawares and Shawanese, who had then with them, above 100 English prisoners, big and little, taken from Virginia and Pennsylvania.

That then the Beaver, brother of Shingas, told him that the governor of Fort Du Quesne had often offered the French Hatchet to the Shawanese & Delawares, who had as often refused it, declaring they would do as they should be advised by the Six Nations, but that in April or May last, a party of Six Nation Warriors in company with some Caghnawagos and Adirondacks called at the French fort in their going to war against the Southern Indians, and on these the governor of Fort Du Quesne prevailed to offer the French hatchet to the Delawares and Shawanese, who received it from them, and went directly against Virginia.

That neither Beaver nor several others of the Shawanese and Delawares approved of this measure, nor had taken up the hatchet, and the Beaver believed some of those who had were sorry for what they had done, and would be glad to make up matters with the English.

That from Kittanning he went to Logstown, where he found about 100 Indians and 30 English prisoners, taken by the Shawanese, living at the Lower Shawanese town, from the Western frontier of Virginia, and sent up to Logstown. He was told the same thing by these Shawanese that the Beaver had told him before, respecting their striking the English, by the advice of some of the Six Nations ; and further, he was informed, that the French had solicited them to sell the English prisoners ; which they had refused, declaring they would not dispose of them until they should receive advice from the Six Nations what to do with them.

That there are more or less of the Six Nations living with the Shawanese and Delawares in their towns, and these always accompanied them in their excursions upon the English, and took part with them in their war. That when at Logstown, which is near Fort Du Quesne, on the opposite side of the river, he intended to have gone there to see what the French were doing in that Fort, but could not cross the river for the driving of the ice ; he was however informed, that the number of the French did not exceed 400.

That he returned to Kittanning and there learnt that ten Delawares were gone to the Susquehanna, and as he supposed, to persuade those Indians to strike the English, who might perhaps be concerned in the mischief lately done in the county of Northampton.

Mr. Croghan said he was well assured, by accounts given him by

other Indians, that the Delawares and Shawanese acted in this hostile measure, by the advice and concurrence of the Six Nations, and that such as those as lived in the Delaware towns, went along with them, and took part in their incursions. And further, that a party of the Six Nations had brought some of the Cherokees from their country and settled them on the Ohio at Kentucke river about one hundred miles below the Lower Shawanese town, where they were now living.

Mr. Croghan was asked, why the Delaware he sent to Ohio did not come with the other Indians, and he said that he had undertaken to carry a message from one of his relations, whom he saw on the Ohio to some of his friends on the Susquehanna, and was gone upon that errand. He likewise said that the White Mingos and several other Indians were on hunting, and he had sent for them, and he hoped they would come, but he must inform the commissioners that great differences had arisen between the White Mingo and the Belt about a successor to Tanachrisson, that they were in great heats, and perhaps about, and if any thing hindered the White Mingo from coming, it would be hearing that the Belt was already at Carlisle.

It was then taken into consideration what should be said to the Indians, and in substance agreed to.

Mr. Hamilton being in November last at Harris', and finding the people collected here in the utmost confusion, and in continual fear of being fallen upon by a large body of French and Indians who were said by Scarrooyady and Montour to have passed the Allegheny Hills in their march towards this province, promised Aroas, an Indian of the Six Nations, then at Harris', called in English, Silver Heels, a handsome reward if he would undertake to go along to the east side of the Susquehanna as far as to Shamokin and Nescopecka to observe, what was doing by the Indians there, and return with the intelligence, and he accordingly went, and not having received any consideration for his journey he was called in, and desired to relate what he found doing by the Indians, and he gave this account.

That he found no Indians at Shamokin, and therefore proceeded higher up Susquehanna, as far as Nescopecka, where he saw 140 Indians all warriors, that they were dancing the war dance, expressed great bitterness against the English, and were preparing for an expedition against them, and he thought would go to the eastward. He did not stay with them, finding them in this disposition, but went to the house of an uncle of his at a little distance from Nescopecka, between that and Wyoming, who told him the Delawares and Shawanese on the Ohio were persuaded by the French to strike the English, and had put the hatchet into the hands of the Susquehanna Indians, a great many of whom had taken it greedily, and there was no persuading them to the contrary, and that they would do abundance of mischief to the people of Pennsylvania, against whom they were preparing to go to war.

N. B. After this Silver Heels desired a private conversation with Mr. Weiser, and in it assured him that the Delawares and Shawanese had acted entirely on their head and by the instigation of the French, and that the Six Nations neither knew any thing of or would approve their proceeding, and earnestly intreated him to believe him this to be certainly true.

At a council held at Carlisle, Thursday, 15th January, 1756.

Present: The Hon. R. H. Morris, Lieut. Gov. James Hamilton, Wil-

liam Logan, Esq. and Joseph Fox, Esq. The Belt, Seneca George, New Castle, David, Jagrea, Silver Heels, Isaac and others—Indians.

Conrad Weiser and George Croghan, Interpreters.

The Indians having taken their seats, the Governor spoke as follows:

Brethren—I came to this part of the Province, and brought with me some of the wise and governing part of the people of Pennsylvania, with intention to hold a treaty with the Indians that were yet our friends, and for that purpose sent messages to the several branches of the Susquehanna, to invite them to meet at Harris's ferry; but from the confusions that attend at the present times, I have reason to believe that the messengers I have employed have not been able to go to all our friends upon that river, so that the number of Indians now met is not so large as it would otherwise have been. However, you that are come, I esteem our hearty friends, and thank you for meeting us here, which I take the kinder, considering the dangers that at present attend those that are our real friends. And, in the first place, you will permit me, to thank you for the kind expression of condolence which the Old Belt in your behalf made at Harris's in my way to this town, upon the losses we had sustained, and the blood that was shed by our Indian enemies, which he was pleased to say, was a common loss, and affected you as well as us; thereby signifying, that we were one people and our cause the same; and you will allow me by this string to wipe the dust from your eyes and ears, and to desire that what I shall now say to you, in behalf of the people of Pennsylvania, may be heard with attention and make a proper impression on your minds. Gave a string.

Brethren—You very well know, and your ancestors must have informed you of the ancient friendship that has subsisted between the people of this province and the several tribes and nations of Indians, as well as those of the Six United Nations, from the time that William Penn first landed in this country, till within these few months.

This friendship has ever been sacred on our parts, and we cannot accuse ourselves of having violated any treaties that were substituted between us, but on the contrary have at all times and upon all occasions given marks of our love and affection for our Indian allies—You cannot be strangers, Brethren, of the manner in which we have lately been treated by some that not many months before gave us the strongest assurances of their fidelity, and of their accord renewed the former friendships subsisting between them and us.

They have in the most cruel and barbarous manner fallen upon our peaceable inhabitants, living quietly under the faith of those treaties that subsisted between us, and slaughtered them without distinction of age or sex—such treatment was what we least expected, and having settled in peace, were not prepared to resist such an attack.—But, though we have been unused to a warlike life, and were at first unprepared for war, yet our enemies may be assured, that we are not incapable of it, or of defending ourselves. In behalf of the people of Pennsylvania, I desire you will tell me who those Indians are that have acted so unfairly by us, and whether in this particular they have the advice and consent of the *Six Nations*. And I further desire you will tell me what is the reason of complaint against us; for they have never complained to us of any injury. Gave a belt.

Brethren—

In this critical state of our affairs, I do in the name and behalf of the Province desire your advice and assistance in what manner we may best put a stop to the ravages of our enemies; and as it may be necessary to send messages to several tribes of Indians in alliance with us, and it is dangerous to send our own people, I must desire some of you will undertake to carry such messages as there may be thought occasion to send. Gave a belt.

Council held on Friday, 16th January 1756—Same persons present as day before.

The Belt recited the substance of what was said yesterday upon the first.

Belt then said—Brethren :

When we of the Six Nations living on the Ohio were first informed of the French designs to take possession of lands upon that river, we resolved in conjunction with the *Shawanese* and *Delawares*, and their allies to hinder them from doing it, and sent the late Half-King to the French Commander, then on his march with a body of men for that purpose, to forbid him to proceed, and to require him to return home to Canada; that the Half-King and others with him, pursuant to that resolution, met the French commander,* and forbade him accordingly, but he paid no regard to their prohibition, but moved on, which led us to enquire into the cause of their boldness and presumption, in taking possession of a country belonging to the Six Nations, not only without their leave, but contrary to their express and solemn prohibition by the Half-King; and we then first learnt that the French had prevailed upon the *Shawanese*, who were a nation in alliance with the Six Nations, and living by their suffrance upon a part of their country and upon the *Delawares*, who were a tribe conquered by, and entirely de-

* When Half-King called on the French Commander he was coldly received; and sternly ordered to declare his business, which he did in these words:

Fathers, I am come to tell you your own speeches; what your own mouths have declared. You, in former days, set a silver basin before us, wherein there was the leg of beaver, and desired all the nations to come to it; to eat in peace and plenty, and not to be churlish to one another: and that if any person should be found to be a disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the dish a rod, which you must scourge them with; and if your father should get foolish, in my old days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.—Now, fathers, it is you who are the disturbers in this land by coming and building your towns, and taking it away unknown to us, and by force.

We kindled a fire, a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may despatch to that place; for, be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land, and not yours—I desire you may hear me in civility; if not, we must handle that rod which was laid down for the use of the obstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable manner, like our brothers the English, we would not have been against your trading with us, as they do; but to come, fathers, and build houses upon our land, and to take it by force, is what we cannot submit to.—*Drake v. p. 21—see note on page 308, ante.*

pendent upon them, to enter into a separate and private treaty with them, by which they, the *Shawanoe* and *Delawares* had agreed not only to permit the French to take possession of the country upon the Ohio, as far as they would, but to assist them against the English, if their aid should be found necessary in the contest, which the taking possession of that country should occasion.

That in consequence of this secret treaty, and upon the persuasion of the French, who have acquired a considerable influence over those two tribes, they had fallen upon the English and done the mischief complained of without any just reason or cause that we know of, or ever heard of. That the Shawanese indeed pretend that the imprisonment of some of their chiefs in South Carolina, is the cause of their conduct; but we look upon that as mere pretence, as those chiefs were released upon the application of the government of Pennsylvania and by them returned in safety to their nation.—Gave a belt.

Brethren—In answer to that part of your speech, desiring our advice upon the present critical state of your affairs, we can only say, that we are ready and willing to give you our best advice and assistance. But you have sent messages to the Six Nations in their great council. We think it more prudent to wait for theirs, that we may know their resolutions, and this we are rather inclined to, as we ourselves by your messengers Scarrooyady and Montour sent a message of our own to enforce yours, and giving thereby our sentiments to the united council. And we would not have you uneasy at not receiving an answer, for the season of the year is bad, and the members of the great council live remote from each other, and require time to get together.

Then the Belt spoke as a warrior.

Brethren—We are sorry our number is not greater, but few as we are, we are all warriors, and at your service whenever you call upon us, and as the French are the cause of it, we esteem them our enemies, and shall, whenever you think proper severely revenge it upon them. The ensuing spring may furnish us with a favorable opportunity, when we shall gladly join and assist you against them.

January 17, 1756, same present.

The Old Belt, addressing himself to the Governor and people of Pennsylvania, in behalf of themselves and the government of Virginia, and holding a stick with an Indian scalp and two belts of wampum tied at the end of it said:

Brethren—We now by this belt of wampum put you in mind of your message of condolence sent us on the death of Tanachrisson (the Half-King); and as he was accounted by us a ruler both among the warriors as well as in council matters, you said right that his death had greatly affected us all. We take your message of condolence very kind and return you our thanks, for the regard you have shown us in sending us that message, and as his death was occasioned by our enemy, the French, driving him from the lands he was settled on near the Ohio, we sent out some of our warriors, at two different times to revenge ourselves on them, either by taking some prisoners or scalps on his account, but by some accident they were disappointed going through their journey. Yet we have by your assistance fortunately taken one of these Indian enemies nearer home, and now inform you, that we think it very proper that your message of condolence for our brother's death should be sent by you, by way of New York, over the Mohock's

country to the Six United Nations, and to their several towns; and we have agreed to join with you in this message, and to send this scalp (lately taken from our enemy, who was, as we have mentioned, the occasion of our friend's death); and in order to confirm our said message, have joined with your belt, another of our own, in order to comfort and ease the hearts of the Six Nations, and to let them know that our said brother's death did not pass unnoticed, or was forgotten by us.

Then he delivered the Governor the belts and scalp, tied together, and proceeded:

Brethren—As we cannot tell how far our enemy may incline to extend their claim to the lands in these parts, we desire you would immediately take possession of, and build a fort at Shamokin, lest they, who are a cunning, designing people, should take possession before you, and prevent you. And we desire also that you would place some proper person to live always there to manage Indian affairs, (mentioning Conrad Weiser, or in case of his refusal, some other proper person) that we may have him to advise with in all difficult matters, and that this may be a place of refuge in times of distress for us, our wives and children to fly to for safety, and be also a security for you, and prevent their taking those lands to themselves.

The Belt also acquainted the Governor, that as they had been at a loss for some proper house to come to, when they came among the inhabitants, they had agreed among themselves for the future, to make use of William Blythe's, in this town, and had now brought him into council with them, and requested the governor would consent to it, and that William Blythe might take upon him Jagrea's (the Indian) name, in order to direct any of their brethren, the Indians, at their several towns, whose house to enquire for, when they came to see their brethren of Pennsylvania. And as we may want, on some occasions, to send you a message from the Indian country, and we having adopted Thomas Graeme, who is now among us, as a warrior, we now inform you that we have given him the name of Koss-how-wey-ha,* (Newcastle's Indian name), and Newcastle we call Ah-knoy-is, for the future, and Jagrea, Sata-ka-roy-is. And to confirm, gave a string of wampum.

The Governor then acquainted the Belt, and other Indians, that he

* It was nothing uncommon among the Indians to confer their names upon whites, and those whom they adopted. At Fort Stanwix, I was present, says Richard Peters, when the Delawares and Shawanese were released by the Iroquois, or Six Nations, (originally five) from the subordination in which they had been held from the time of their having been conquered. The ceremony was called *taking off the petticoat*, and was a curious spectacle. When I was adopted into the family of a Tuscarora chief, at the time of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, he made me a speech, in the style used on such occasions, in which he assured me of his affection; and added, that he was pleased with my being "one of the young people of the country of the much respected and highly esteemed Onas:" which means a *quill* or *pen*. He gave to me one of his names—Tegochtiass. [Letter to R. Vaux.

David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, was among the Indians from 1746 to 1808, the day of his death—had the name of Ga-nous-se-rach-ery conferred upon him by the tawny sons of the woods.

joined with them in sending the message of condolence to the Six United Nations, and in their manner of doing it, and should very soon forward it by way of New York, to their several towas, and should also, at their request, make immediate provision for building a strong house at Shamokin, and that he should desire, and depend on their assistance in guarding the men, he should send on that account from any attacks of our enemy Indians.

He then told him, he approved of their choice of Blythe's house, and their exchanging his name with Jagrea's, and their choice of Thomas Graeme, and the exchange of his name with Koss-how-cy-ha.

He then acquainted them, he had in behalf of the brethren of Pennsylvania, provided a present for them, in these distressing times, which he should deliver them to-morrow, and accordingly, it was delivered in the presence of the governor and commissioners the next day.

Monday, 19th January, 1756—Present, same as before.

Last night the late Half-King's son, Johnny, and a Nanticoke Indian called Johnny, came to town, deputed, as they said, to make the excuse of the White Mingo and other Indians, for not waiting on the governor, being in the midst of their hunting; but Mr. Croghan says, that they are well disposed, yet they would not come because of the difference subsisting between the White Mingo and the Old Belt.

The governor sent for Johnny and John King, and the other Indians into council, and spoke to them in these words:

Brethren—I desire you will impart with the two Indians who are sent by the White Mingo and others, as deputies to represent them here, all that has passed between you and me. What was said by me, was meant for them as well as you; and, indeed, all our friendly Indians ought to be made acquainted with it, as you shall see them and find opportunity to speak to them. Then the governor addressed himself to Johnny and John King; expressed a great deal of satisfaction at seeing them, and hearing that the White Mingo and the other Indians were in health and well disposed; and said that he accepted their excuse, and as he was obliged to visit the other parts of the province, he had ordered the Indians now present to communicate to them what had passed in the several conferences, that they might inform those that sent them of it, and had likewise reserved for them, as he expected to see them, a present of equal value with what was given to the other Indians.

The governor then proceeded in his speech to all the Indians.

Brethren—It will be some time before the fort can be finished at Shamokin, and till then you may reside at one or other of the forts now building, or at Harris's, or at Conestogo Manor, and I desire you will make your choice, that the necessaries may be provided for you, at the place you shall choose.

If you incline to live at, or near the forts, you may hunt at the same time, and I have directed the officers to give you two pence a pound for all the venison you shall deliver at any of the forts, and to be just and kind to you in any dealings you may have together.

Brethren—Mr. Weiser and Mr. Croghan have something from us to confer with you about; you will regard what they say, as if spoken by me, and I expect you will be ready to execute whatsoever shall be required of you for the public service at this time.

I now take my leave of you, heartily wishing you health and all manner of prosperity.

The Indians thanked the governor for his kind speech, promised to communicate to the two deputies the particulars of their several conferences—mistook the governor, as if he had offered them their choice of the forts, Harris's and Conestoga Manor to live always at for the future, and therefore besought the governor to excuse them from living at any other place than Shamokin, and renewed their request to him to begin to build a strong fort there as soon as possible, that they might go there and dwell in safety; but he set them right, by telling them that he desired them to chose one of these places to live at till the fort should be built and no longer, and they chose Harris's.

Memorandum.

Mr. Peters, who staid behind the commissioners, found Johnny and John King very much disgusted at their not being more particularly taken notice of, and rewarded for their trouble, in going with a message from Mr. Croghan to the Indians who were hunting, and now coming to Carlisle. Whereupon, he sent for them, and by the advice of Mr. Logan, who was not gone out of town, Mr. Weiser and Mr. Croghan, he gave them each five pieces, and told them he was left to do this, and to confer with them, and ask their news; which, as the governor before they came had fixed on the several stages of his journey, and could not then alter them, was showing them all the respect possible. On this they expressed great satisfaction, entered freely into discourse, and John King being a little merry, began to be open, and in the course of his conversation, discovered a transaction between the Delaware; who was sent to the Ohio (Jo Hickman) and him, and averred positively, that he solicited him to strike the English, and when he refused, he upbraided him with cowardice and being a woman; and said further, that the White Mingo was going out of these parts, and, as he said, to Onexquago, to be out of the way.

M.—The mother of Regina was a native of Reutlinger, Wirtemberg, Germany. She and her husband had immigrated to America prior to the French war, and located in the upper part of Lancaster county. The family were members of the Lutheran congregation, under the pastoral charge of the Revd. Kurtz of Tulpehocken. Regina and her older sister, Barbara, were abducted Oct. 16, 1755. Regina was only 8 years of age at the time. After they had been taken about 400 miles, they were separated, never to see each other again! Their sufferings and privations may be imagined more easily than described. After Regina had been restored to her mother, they both paid the Reverend Muhlenberg a visit, in the month of February, 1765. Touching as the incidents related in this occasion are, want of space precludes a detailed account of them.

N.—Sometime in March, 1768, Generals Butler and Parsons, two of the commissioners for Indian affairs in the northern and middle department of the United States, from the Big Miami, where they had concluded a treaty of peace with the Shawnee nation of Indians; in a few days afterward, March 28th, a principal Seneca chief, with five young men of his nation arrived; and on the evening of the 30th, the inhabitants and the strangers assembled in the court house, on which occasion Captain O'Bail, the chief, addressed General Butler, as follows:

Brother,—The representative of the Thirteen Fires (United States) and all present, I desire you to listen!

Yesterday you heard my words—I told you my mind upon some subjects; but I promised to unbosom myself fully to you to day. This island was once mine. The ground upon which we now stand, formerly belonged to my people. Harken to my words, brother—for I am now about to divulge to you the cause of my distress—the cause of the uneasiness which I told you hung heavy upon my mind.

Brother,—I have heard from the British, that you have concluded a treaty with the nations westward;—although I was so informed—yet my mind could not be quieted—I therefore came among other things, to satisfy myself of what had been done between you and those nations.

Brother,—Listen! although I joined the arms of the Great King,* and assisted him in his war against you, I have now relinquished all connection with him—I am not afraid of him, or of what he can do to me. A string.

Brother,—If you remember, in the old councils the Great King told us, that the French had relinquished all their claim to this country to him. Perhaps the writings by which they did that still remain in your possession:—those writings I am desirous of seeing. A string.

Brother,—My people were the old inhabitants of this island—it becomes us both to join our endeavors to prevent injuries from befalling it—to ward off the disturbance which promise, before it be long, to distress us—our women—and our little ones. As for me—my life is short—'tis already sold to the Great King.—Let us unite our strength, that we may be strong.—Let us live in friendship, that we may be able to prevent all people from doing us an injury. A string.

Brother,—Once more hearken to me! I fear I tire your patience;—but as the business upon which we have met is good—listen to me patiently, while I declare to you all my sentiments. I wish to see what hath been done with the other nations to the west—that every thing may be clear to us. The Great Spirit above direct us!—and I am convinced that whatever is said or done is good and right. Let us, Brother, implore his assistance—Let us be tied together in friendship—Encircle us within yourselves—that none may dare to provoke either of us, or to offer insult or injury to either party. A belt.

[Agreeably to O'Bail's desire, the definite treaty of peace with Great Britain; that article of the treaty of alliance with France, which contains a renunciation of all claims to the country, within the limits of the United States, as described in the definite treaty aforesaid; the treaty at Fort McIntosh, with the Wiandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippawas; and that at the Miami with the Shawanee nations were produced.] Whereupon General Butler addressed O'Bail, in answer to his speech as follows.

Brother,—It is with happiness I hear the sentiments which you have expressed.—As to the information which you desired, I shall give it to you with satisfaction, and as full as it may be in my power.

What you mention of this country having belonged to your people, is unnecessary for us to go into an examination or explanation of; these matters were settled by and between our forefathers in a friendly manner, before we were born—but with respect to the means by

* Alluding to the King of England.

which the United States are become the sovereigns and owners of this country, I will now inform you:—Twenty and more years ago the King of England and the King of France went to war about the right to this territory, and after they had fought a long time, a treaty of peace was concluded between these two powers, by which the King of France ceded his right to this country to the King of England.—Twelve years ago, when the King of England made war on the Thirteen Fires (U. S.)—The King of France, willing to shew his friendship to the United States, joined their arms against him, and took them by the hand as brothers, and relinquished to them all the claim he ever had to this country—The United States having conquered the British King, he ceded to them all the territory which we have described to you as contained in the definite treaty of peace, concluded between Great Britain and the United States, which we read to you at Fort Stanwix, which I now hold in my hand, and will again explain to you here if you desire it.

When we thus, by the prowess of our arms, became possessed of all those lands, no people within our boundaries had any right; yet the United States commiserated the situation of the Indians; and instead of driving them beyond the Great Lakes from their old places of habitation, they offered them peace, friendship and protection, and lands for themselves and their families to live and hunt on.

In return for this clemency, they only require, on the part of the Indians, a strict adherence to their engagements. They have settled boundary lines between the United States, the Wiandots, Delawares, Ottawas and Chippawas, by a treaty at Fort M'Intosh, and the Shawannee nation by a treaty at the Miami river, which we have lately concluded.—They have proffered the same kindness to all the other nations, whose acceptance, we doubt not, will take place so soon as they will be able to dispel the clouds of delusion which hang over them—and to see their true interest. I promise you that while there is honor or faith in the United States, the engagements which have, or hereafter may be entered into with the Indian nations, will be most punctually complied with. In testimony of what I have mentioned to you, I here produce to you the papers, which record the transactions which have taken place between the United States and your's and other nations.

Here the different treaties were shown.

It shall be our constant endeavors to preserve a friendly intercourse between your nations and the Thirteen Fires, so long as they preserve their faith with us. I approve of your going on to Congress, as I think the measure argues the goodness of your intentions, and shews us that you are sincere.

O'Bail again replied.

Brother,—I yesterday told you of the trouble which oppressed me—I feel myself as just awaked from a dream—for I begin now to consider the future lot of my little ones, and reflect with anger on the deceptions practised on us by the Great King over the water. I assisted him—fought his battles—while he sat quietly in his forts—nor did I ever suspect that so great a person—and *one who wore a red coat*—sufficient of itself to tempt people, could be guilty of such palpable injustice—of such glaring falsehood.—My reason for telling you that this island would soon be disturbed is, that I am determined to avenge the injuries which I and my people have sustained from the King. He hath al-

ready begun to settle his people on the lands beyond the river, opposite to Niagara. Those buildings nor settlements shall remain. I will go peaceably to him and will desire him to move off—This request I will repeat calmly to him three times—if he will not then decamp, I am resolved to strike him, and hence will flow these inquietudes which I mentioned. A string.

Brother,—When we have settled all matters fully, my desire is, that Congress appoint seven of you, which I will take by the hand and lead you to our council fire at the Jenessee; there you will discover the truth of what I say to you, and that I am sent with authority by my people. A string.

Brother,—I now take this string to strengthen your hearts—I repeat my desire that we should join our force together, by which means we shall be able to accomplish all our ends, and to drive the Great King quite away. I request you to make all these things known to the Great Council—where I wish to see you as soon as possible, as we cannot do our business unless you be present. A string.

To which General Butler replied.

That he could not answer to Captain O'Bail's last requisitions—That the duty of the commissioners was to make peace, &c. with the Indian nations, and that the right of making war remained alone in Congress—that he would carefully transmit to Congress all which he said upon the subject. A string.

It must give great satisfaction to every lover of peace to find the disposition of the late hostile part of the Six Northern Nations much changed in favor of the United States, since the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in Oct. 1784, and shew to the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York, the propriety and good policy of cultivating the friendship of, and living on a good footing with these nations.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Bedford to his acquaintance in this borough, dated March 27th, 1786.

Last evening I had the honor to be introduced to Captain O'Bail, or Cornplanter, the Chief of the Senecas, one of the Six Nations, a young Chief or Captain of their warriors, and four young men, in company with Major Montgomery, on his return from the treaty, and Mr. Joseph Nicholson their interpreter. I was delighted with their easy address and natural politeness. A great number of the inhabitants of this place waited upon them; some out of curiosity, and others to pay their respects to them. I understand they are now on their way to Congress at New York, to manifest their pacific disposition towards the Americans.

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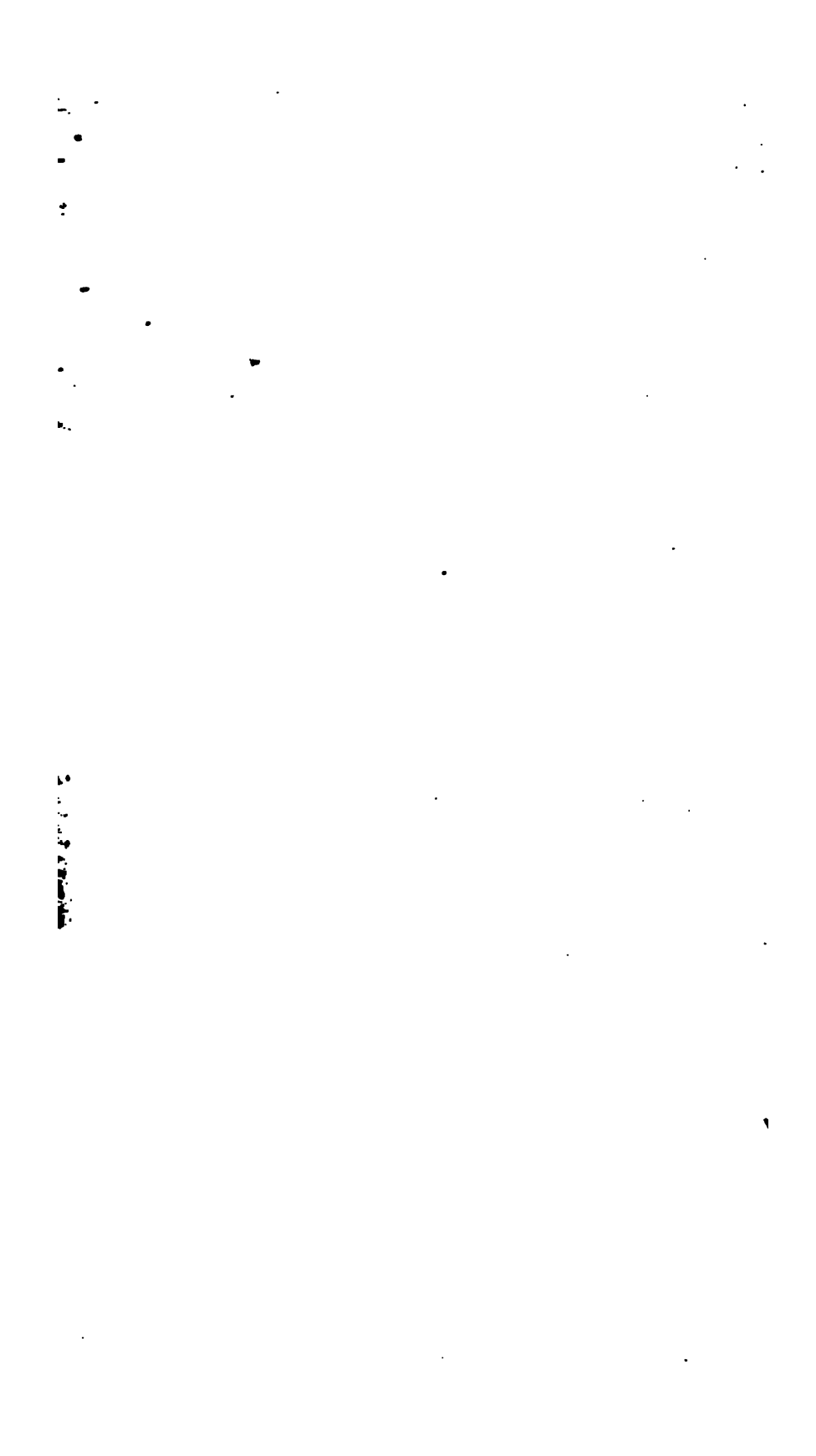
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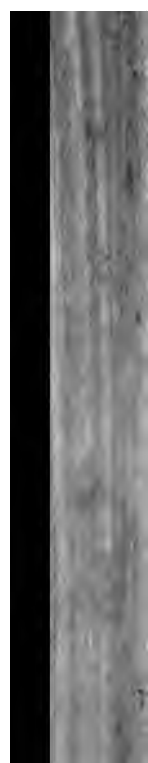
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